

SEXUAL ASSAULT REPORT™

LAW ■ PREVENTION ■ PROTECTION ■ ENFORCEMENT ■ TREATMENT ■ HEALTH

Volume 14 Number 4

ISSN 1096-0155

March/April 2011

Pages 49 – 64

Role of Anogenital Injury in Sexual Assault Cases

by Jenifer Markowitz, ND, RN, WHNP-BC, SANE-A and Teresa Scalzo, Esq.*

Anogenital injury is often seen as the ultimate evidence in sexual assault cases. However, the reality is that anogenital injury evidence has significant limitations. Specifically, in the vast majority of cases we are limited in our ability to distinguish between injuries resulting from a sexual assault and those sustained during consensual sexual activity. This point may not be well understood by legal practitioners and clinicians alike, resulting in the portrayal of anogenital injury as having clear and unambiguous significance. Understanding the emerging research on consensual sexual activity injury can therefore help us provide more accurate information to attorneys, judges, and juries in adult sexual assault cases.

Research on Injury Rates

Estimates for the frequency of anogenital injury in adult sexual assault cases vary widely in the literature. Studies provide us with a broad range of estimates based on varying exam techniques; some are as infrequent as 5% in examinations using only direct anogenital inspection, while others are as frequent as 87% using colposcopic magnification (Massey et al., 1971; Slaughter & Brown, 1992). The most recent literature suggests that the rates of

See *INJURY*, page 52

Understanding the Predatory Nature of Sexual Violence

by David Lisak, Ph.D.*

There is no domain of crime and violence as fraught with misunderstanding and misconception as that of sexual violence. Perhaps the most telling indication of the degree to which sexual violence is viewed through multiple veils of myth is the following paradox: In the hierarchy of violent crimes, as measured by public discourse, state sentencing guidelines, and the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, sexual assault typically ranks only second to homicide, and in some cases it ranks even higher. Consider the following statement by the Alaska legislature in its justification of new sentencing guidelines passed in 2006:

In Senate Bill 218, the low end of the range for the most serious sex offenses is higher than the mandatory minimum or low end of presumptive sentences for some crimes that result in death. This is intentional and not anomalous. Sex offenses cause great harm to victims, their families and to the entire community. Death has always been seen as the greatest harm that could be inflicted by an offender. But death can be caused by reckless conduct. Sex offenses are not reckless—they are at the very least knowing, and often intentional. The proportionality of the sentences imposed by Senate Bill 218 to other

offenses in our criminal code was considered. The severity of the sentences in comparison to other crimes was intentional (Alaska State Legislature, 2006).

Such sentencing structures serve as a message from the community: "We view sexual assault as an extremely serious crime." At the same time, however, the number of sexual assaults that are actually prosecuted is a tiny fraction of the number committed in any year. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of all sexual assaults are never reported to the criminal justice system, and among those that are reported, attrition at various levels dramatically reduces the number of actual prosecutions. Ultimately, only a tiny handful of rapists ever serve time for sexual assault, a shocking outcome given that we view sexual assault as close kin to murder in the taxonomy of violent crime (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Frazier & Haney, 1996; National Victim Center, 1992; Spears & Spohn, 1997).

Underlying this paradox are numerous, intersecting mythologies about sexual assault. There are the "classic" myths about victims: "women secretly harbor a desire to be raped;" women "cry rape" only when it suits them; and men are never the victims

See *SEXUAL VIOLENCE*, next page

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Two Critical Decisions on Medical Forensic Examinations	51
Excellent Book Weaves Together Narratives of Multiple Victims of the Same Serial Rapist	53
Recent Court Decisions	54
Changes on the <i>SAR</i> Editorial Board: Thank you to Mary Koss, Welcome to Shirley Paceley	58
New DVD Poignantly Documents Female Survivors' Healing From Incest and Child Sexual Abuse	60

SEXUAL VIOLENCE, from page 49

of sexual assault. There are also “classic” myths about rapists: they wear ski masks, hide in ambush, attack strangers, and inflict brutal injuries on their victims (Burt, 1980; Field, 1978).

There is also a set of newer myths about sexual assault, myths that have been spawned by the new generation of victimization studies that have emerged since the 1980s. These studies documented that sexual assault was both far more prevalent than traditional crime surveys indicated, and that most sexual assault victims did not report their victimization. These studies also clearly revealed that most sexual assaults are not committed by strangers in ski masks, but rather by “acquaintances” or “non-strangers” (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

These realizations led to the general adoption of new language and new categories of sexual assault. Terms such as “acquaintance rape” and “date rape” emerged and took hold. Unfortunately, these new terms have created a new mythology about sexual assault. The term “date rape,” which has become woven into the fabric of public discourse about sexual violence, carries with it the connotation of

“rape lite.” Victims of “date rape” are typically viewed as less harmed than victims of “stranger rape”; and “date rapists” are typically viewed as less serious offenders, and frankly less culpable than stranger rapists. Date rape is often viewed more in traditionally civil than in traditionally criminal terms; that is, as an unfortunate encounter in which the two parties share culpability because of too much alcohol and too little clear communication. When jurors in a criminal case adopt this view, they are likely to apportion blame to both parties, and are thereby less likely to find the defendant guilty (Estrich, 1987).

One of the consequences of this new mythology of date rape is that there has been very little, if any, cross-communication between the study of date rape—a literature typically based in, and focused on, college campuses—and the long-established literature on sex offenders and sexual predators. In fact, in the author’s personal experience, there is typically considerable resistance within civilian universities to the use of the term “sex offender” when referring to the students who perpetrate acts of sexual violence on campuses. This resistance is one of the legacies of the term, “date rape,” and it has served to obscure one of the unpleasant facts about sexual violence in the college environment: that just as

in the larger community, the majority of this violence is committed by predatory individuals who tend to be serial and multi-faceted offenders.

In the larger community there has been a gradual reckoning with the predatory nature of sexual violence. This reckoning has led to concerted efforts to find effective treatment and management strategies for sex offenders and, simultaneously, to a realistic assessment of the efficacy of those strategies. In the university community a similar reckoning would influence strategies for the prevention of sexual violence, as well as for the adjudication of cases that fall within an institution’s jurisdiction.

Sexual Predators in the Community

Research on sex offenders spans many decades and has contributed much to our understanding of the behavior and characteristics of rapists, their underlying motivations, and the developmental antecedents of sex offending. Historically, one of the failings of this research literature is that it has been based exclusively on the study of captured and, typically, incarcerated offenders. This is understandable as it is difficult to study sex offenders who have

See *SEXUAL VIOLENCE*, page 55

Sexual Assault Report™

Co-Editors: Sgt. Joanne Archambault (Ret.)
Kimberly A. Lonsway, Ph.D.

Associate Editor: Anne L. Perry, Esq.

Contributing Editor: Wendy J. Murphy, Esq.

Managing Editor: Lisa R. Lipman

Editorial Director: Deborah J. Launer

Founding Editor: Joan Zorza, Esq.

Publisher: Mark E. Peel

Editorial Board

Karen Baker, Director, National Sexual Violence Resource Center, Enola, PA

Victoria Banyard, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH

Elizabeth Barnhill, Executive Director, Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Des Moines, IA

Susan Bazilli, LL.B., Director, International Women’s Rights Project, Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria, B.C. Canada

Rebecca Campbell, Ph.D., Professor, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI

Juley Fulcher, J.D., Ph.D., Director of Policy Programs, Break the Cycle, Washington, DC

Michelle M. Garcia, Director, Stalking Resource Center, National Center for Victims of Crime, Washington, DC

William M. Green, M.D., FACEP, Director, Sexual Assault Forensic Medical Education Program, California Clinical Forensic Medical Training Center, UC Davis Health System, Sacramento, CA

Trudy M. Gregorie, Senior Director, Justice Solutions, Washington, DC

Ellen Halbert, Director, Victim Witness Division, Travis County District Attorney’s Office;

Founding Editor, *Crime Victims Report*, Austin, TX

Mary P. Koss, Ph.D., Regents Professor, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ

David Lisak, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Psychology, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA

Jennifer G. Long, J.D., Director, AEquitas: The Prosecutors’ Resource on Violence Against Women, Washington, DC

Jenifer Markowitz, ND, RN, WHNP-BC, SANE-A, Medical Advisor, AEquitas: The Prosecutors’ Resource on Violence Against Women, Washington, DC

Jessica Mindlin, J.D., Victim Rights Law Center, Portland, OR

Lynn Hecht Schafran, Esq., Director, National Judicial Education Program, Legal Momentum, New York, NY

Lacey M. Sloan, Ph.D., MSSW, Associate Professor Qatar University, Doha, Qatar

Cassandra Thomas, Senior Vice President, Houston Area Women’s Center, Houston, TX

Michael Weaver, M.D., FACEP, Medical Director, Forensic Care Program & V.P., Clinical Diversity, St. Luke’s Health System, Kansas City, MO

Joan Zorza, Esq., Founding Editor, *Sexual Assault Report*; Editor, *Domestic Violence Report*, Washington, DC

Affiliations shown for identification purposes only. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of a writer’s agency or association.

Sexual Assault Report is published bimonthly by Civic Research Institute, Inc., 4478 U.S. Route 27, P.O. Box 585, Kingston, NJ 08528. Periodicals postage paid at Kingston, NJ and at additional mailing office. (USPS# 016-794) Subscriptions: \$165 per year plus postage and handling in the United States and Canada. \$30 additional per year elsewhere. Vol. 14 No. 4, March/April 2011. Copyright © 2011 by Civic Research Institute, Inc. All rights reserved. Unauthorized copying expressly prohibited. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Civic Research Institute, Inc., P.O. Box 585, Kingston, NJ 08528. *Sexual Assault Report* is a registered trademark owned by Civic Research Institute, Inc., and may not be used without express permission.

The information in this publication is not intended to replace the services of a trained legal or health professional. Neither the editor, nor the contributors, nor Civic Research Institute, Inc. is engaged in rendering legal, psychological, health or other professional services. The editors, the contributors and Civic Research Institute, Inc. specifically disclaim any liability, loss or risk, personal or otherwise, which is incurred as a consequence, directly or indirectly, of the use and application of any of the contents of this publication.

For information on subscribing or other service questions contact customer service: (609) 683-4450 or civres2@aol.com

SEXUAL VIOLENCE, from page 50

not been identified by the criminal justice system, but it carries with it potentially significant limitations. Since the vast majority of sexual assaults are never reported, and the majority of rapists are never prosecuted, the largest population of rapists, i.e., those responsible for the vast majority of sexual assault, were historically left out of the research literature. This limitation of the literature has been partially corrected in recent years with the study of “non-incarcerated” rapists (see below), which tends to show a convergence of findings with the older literature on incarcerated offenders. Despite such limitations, the study of incarcerated rapists has produced notable and enduring findings about the perpetrators of sexual violence.

Motivations and Taxonomies. One of the most important contributions made by the study of incarcerated sex offenders was the clarification of the role of sexuality in the perpetration of sexual assault. Since sexual assault involves sexual behavior, it was long believed to be primarily motivated by sexual impulse; deviant sexual impulse, but sexual impulse nonetheless. This confusion of context with motivation was clarified mainly by the work of Nicholas Groth, who published a typology of rapists in the 1970s. Groth labeled each type based on the principle motivation manifested by the rapists in that group (Groth, 1979).

The two primary and numerically largest types identified by Groth were the “power” rapist and the “anger” rapist. The power rapist is motivated by his need to control and dominate his victim, and inversely, to avoid being controlled by her. The anger rapist is motivated by resentment and a general hostility towards women, and was more prone to inflicting gratuitous violence in the course of a sexual assault. Not surprisingly, these types are rarely found in pure form. Most rapists are actually blends of power and anger motivations; however, a predominance of one or the other is often discernible (Groth, 1979).

The third and, thankfully, numerically far smaller type is the sadistic rapist. This rapist is motivated by the sexual gratification he experiences when he inflicts pain on his victim. The sadistic rapist has become a staple of the American media, but these, once again, are extremely rare cases (Groth, 1979).

Groth’s identification of anger and power as the primary motivations behind sexual

assault has endured, and has become the basis for attempts at defining more refined taxonomies of sexual assault. These efforts have largely yielded modest results, and have focused on identifying blends of power and anger motivations, and on distinguishing developmental antecedents for the various types. Not surprisingly, among those developmental antecedents, one of the most prominent is a history of childhood abuse. Sexual abuse, physical abuse, and neglect are all significantly more prevalent in the backgrounds of rapists than in the backgrounds of non-offending men (Knight & Prentky, 1987; Lisak & Miller, 2003; Prentky, Cohen, & Seghorn, 1985; Weeks & Widom, 1998).

Serial Offending and Recidivism. Perhaps the most sobering data that have emerged from the study of incarcerated rapists are the sheer numbers of victims attacked by the average rapist. Most rapists who are prosecuted are convicted on a single count of sexual assault. However, when researchers have granted confidentiality to offenders in exchange for

have been grouped into categories dictated by their apparent choice of victim: (1) rapists, who attack adults; (2) child molesters, who attack children, and; (3) incest offenders, who attack children within their own family. These categorizations have rested on the assumption that these choices of victims were stable, even fixed characteristics of the offenders. However, the labeling of an offender as either a rapist, a child molester, or an incest offender has typically been based on nothing more than what the offender was convicted of.

The reality turns out to be far murkier. There is now substantial evidence for considerable “crossover” among these categories. So much so, in fact, that it is questionable whether it is advisable to apply specific victim-category labels to an offender. Multiple studies have now documented that between 33% and 66% of rapists have also sexually attacked children; that up to 82% of child molesters have also sexually attacked adults; and that between 50% and 66% of incest

Perhaps the most sobering data are the sheer numbers of victims attacked by the average rapist. In one study, the average number of victims for each rapist was seven, and in another study it was 11.

a truthful accounting of their sex offending history, the reality of sexual assault emerges. In one study, the average number of victims for each rapist was seven, and in another study it was 11 (Abel et al., 1988; Weinrott & Saylor, 1991).

A similar picture has emerged from research emanating from intensive sex offender management programs. Offenders tend to have very lengthy offending careers, beginning in adolescence and often spanning several decades. By the time they are captured—if they are captured—they have often victimized scores or even hundreds of individuals (Abel et al., 1988; Nisbet, Wilson, & Smallbone, 2004; Prentky et al., 1997).

Crossover Offending. There is increasing attention being paid to another prominent phenomenon associated with sex offending: the tendency of these offenders to be *non-specialists*; to offend against different age groups and different “classes” of victims. Historically, sex offenders

offenders have also sexually attacked children outside their families (Abel et al., 1988; Heil, Ahlmeyer, & Simons, 2003; Weinrott & Saylor, 1991; Wilcox & Sosnowski, 2005).

Sexual Predators on Campus

Beginning in the 1980s, social science researchers began to systematically expose the reality of interpersonal violence in America. The first step in this process was the onset of a new generation of victimization research that documented the true prevalence of both sexual and domestic violence. Shunning the traditional data collection methods of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, these researchers revealed three fundamental realities: (1) most interpersonal violence is perpetrated by individuals who in some way are known to the victim; (2) most of this violence is never reported to authorities; and (3) most

See SEXUAL VIOLENCE, next page

SEXUAL VIOLENCE, from page 55

perpetrators of this violence are never prosecuted (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Koss, 1996). Much of this research was focused on college populations, not only because of their convenience, but because college students fall within the age range of maximum vulnerability to sexual violence—18 to 24 years (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

As this new generation of victimization research was disseminated, it revealed with increasing clarity an enormous gap in the research on sex offenders. There were studies of incarcerated rapists, but there was almost no research on the men who were actually committing the vast majority of sexual assaults, that is, non-stranger rapists whose victims rarely report, and who were almost never subject to prosecution (Lisak & Roth, 1988, 1990).

This gap began to close with research that began in the mid-1980s and focused on non-incarcerated rapists. Researchers discovered that it was possible to gather accurate data from these men because they did not view themselves as rapists. They shared the very widespread belief that rapists were knife-wielding men in ski masks who attacked strangers; since they did not fit that description, they were not rapists and their behavior was not rape. This has allowed researchers to study the motivations, behaviors, and background characteristics of these so-called “undetected rapists.”

Motivations and Characteristics. Many of the motivational factors that were identified in incarcerated rapists have been shown to apply equally to undetected rapists. When compared to men who do not commit sexual assault, these undetected rapists are measurably more angry at women, more motivated by the need to dominate and control women, more impulsive and disinhibited in their behavior, more hyper-masculine in their beliefs and attitudes, less empathic, and more antisocial (Lisak & Ivan, 1995; Lisak & Roth, 1988, 1990; Malamuth, 1986; Malamuth et al., 1991; Ouimette & Riggs, 1998).

In the course of 20 years of interviewing these undetected rapists, in both research and forensic settings, it has been possible for me to distill some of the common characteristics of the *modus operandi* of these sex offenders. These undetected rapists:

- Are extremely adept at identifying “likely” victims, and testing prospective victims’ boundaries;

- Plan and premeditate their attacks, using sophisticated strategies to groom their victims for attack, and to isolate them physically;
- Use “instrumental” not gratuitous violence; and they exhibit strong impulse control and use only as much violence as is needed to terrify and coerce their victims into submission;
- Use psychological weapons—power, control, manipulation, and threats—backed up by physical force, and almost never resort to weapons such as knives or guns;
- Use alcohol deliberately to render victims more vulnerable to attack, or completely unconscious.

Serial and Crossover Offending.

The data most emphatically contradicts the mythology about date rapists, namely, the misconception that they are somehow less serious offenders than their counterparts who attack strangers. In fact, the findings from recent studies indicate that these men are as likely to be serial and multi-faceted offenders as are incarcerated rapists.

To illustrate, in a study of 1,882 university men conducted in the Boston area, 120 rapists were identified. These 120 undetected rapists were responsible for 483 rapes. Of the 120 rapists, 44 had committed a single rape, while 76 (63% of them) were serial rapists who accounted for 439 of the 483 rapes, averaging six rapes each. These 76 serial rapists had also committed more than 1,000 other crimes of violence, from non-penetrating acts of sexual assault, to physical and sexual abuse of children, to battery of domestic partners. None of these undetected rapists had ever been prosecuted for these crimes (Lisak & Miller, 2002).

A recent study of US Navy recruits replicated these findings. Of 1,146 men assessed, 13% acknowledged having committed rapes. Of these rapists, 71% were serial offenders who committed an average of six sexual assaults (McWhorter et al., 2009).

Also mirroring the findings from the study of incarcerated sex offenders, a recent study of college rapists found that the most powerful predictor of committing sexual assault during college was a history of having committed sexual assault during high school. This same study also found a higher prevalence of childhood abuse in the backgrounds of rapists, matching the findings from an earlier study of undetected rapists (Lisak, Hopper, & Song, 1996; White & Smith, 2004). Finally, the Navy

recruit study also determined that men who had committed sexual assaults prior to entering the military were 10 times more likely to commit a sexual assault during their first year in the service (McWhorter et al., 2009).

Implications for University Communities

The implications of the research on undetected rapists—research that has largely focused on men in college environments—point to the similarity of these offenders to incarcerated rapists. They share the same motivational matrix of hostility, anger, dominance, hyper-masculinity, impulsiveness, and antisocial attitudes. They have many of the same developmental antecedents. They tend to be serial offenders, and most of them commit a variety of different interpersonal offenses. These data indicate that they are accurately and appropriately labeled as predators.

This picture conflicts sharply with the widely-held view that sexual assaults committed on university campuses are typically the result of a basically “decent” young man who, were it not for too much alcohol and too little communication, would never do such a thing. While some campus sexual assaults do fit this more benign view, the evidence points to a far more sinister reality, in which the vast majority of sexual assaults are committed by serial, violent predators.

This reality has potentially significant implications for how universities deal with sexual violence within their communities. Prevention efforts geared toward persuading men not to commit sexual assault are very unlikely to be effective. Lessons can be drawn from many decades of experience in sex offender treatment, which have demonstrated that it is extremely difficult to change the behavior of a serial predator even when you incarcerate him and subject him to an intensive, multi-year treatment program. Rather than focusing prevention efforts on the rapists, it would seem far more effective to focus those efforts on the far more numerous bystanders—men and women who are part of the social and cultural milieu in which rapes are spawned and who can be mobilized to identify perpetrators and intervene in high-risk situations.

The more sinister reality of sexual violence in the university setting also carries implications for university judicial

See *SEXUAL VIOLENCE, next page*

SEXUAL VIOLENCE, from page 56

processes. A judicial board would hardly seem the appropriate venue to deal with a sexual predator. Further, cases of non-stranger sexual assault are extremely difficult to properly investigate and prosecute; they are in fact far more complex than the majority of stranger sexual assaults. A proper investigation requires skilled and specially-trained investigators working closely with specially-trained prosecutors. Absent a proper investigation, almost every non-stranger sexual assault case quickly devolves into the proverbial "he-said-she-said" conundrum, and judicial board members are left helpless to discern what actually may have occurred. This situation increases the likelihood of inadequately or even poorly handled cases, thereby increasing the harm done both to the victim and to the larger community.

One institution that has begun to earnestly wrestle with these implications is the United States Military. In the wake of the sexual assault scandal at the Air Force Academy and faced with severe pressure from Congress, the military services have undertaken what is perhaps the most comprehensive program to confront and prevent sexual violence that has ever been undertaken by a major institution. Sexual assault education and prevention programs have been implemented at multiple points during a new recruit's training, large-scale bystander education programs are being implemented, and significant efforts are being made to improve the investigation of sexual assault cases (US Department of Defense, 2009). Progress has been variable, both within and across the services, and it is still too early to determine the overall effectiveness of the new policies and prevention efforts. However, at a minimum, the US Military has already demonstrated that it is possible for a major institution to honestly confront sexual violence, and to do so with the comprehensive initiatives required for a reasonable chance at success. In so doing, it has raised the bar for other institutions in the United States, and implicitly challenged colleges and universities to make a similar commitment.

References

- Abel, G.G., Becker, J.V., Cunningham-Rathner, J., Mittelmann, M.S., & Rouleau, J.L. (1988). Multiple paraphilic diagnoses among sex offenders. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, 16, 153-168.
- Alaska State Legislature, Senate Journal, text for Senate Bill 218, February 16, 2006, 24th

Legislature, 2nd session. Available at http://www.legis.state.ak.us/basis/get_single_journal.asp?session=24&date=20060216&beg_page=2201&end_page=2227&chamber=S&jm=2207.

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.

Estrich, S. (1987). *Real rape*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Field, H. S. (1978). Attitudes toward rape: A comparative analysis of police, rapists, crisis counselors, and citizens. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36, 156-179.

Fisher, B.S., Cullen, F.T., & Turner, M.G. (2000). *The sexual victimization of college women* (Report No. NCJ-182369). Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, US Department of Justice.

Frazier, P.A., & Haney, B. (1996). Sexual assault cases in the legal system: Police, prosecutor, and victim perspectives. *Law and Human Behavior*, 20, 607-628.

Groth, N. A. (1979). *Men who rape*. New York: Plenum Press.

Heil, P., Ahlmeyer, S., & Simons, D. (2003). Cross-over sexual offenses. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research and Treatment*, 15(4), 221-236.

Knight, R. A. & Prentky, R. (1987). The developmental antecedents and adult adaptations of rapist subtypes. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 14(4), 403-426.

Koss, M. P. (1996). The measurement of rape victimization in crime surveys. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 23(1), 55-69.

Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55, 162-170.

Lisak, D. & Miller, P.M. (2003). Childhood abuse, PTSD, substance abuse and violence. In P.C. Ouimette & P. Brown (Eds.), *PTSD and Substance Abuse Comorbidity*, pp. 73-88. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Lisak, D. & Roth, S. (1988). Motivational factors in nonincarcerated sexually aggressive men. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 795-802.

Lisak, D. & Roth, S. (1990). Motives and psychodynamics of self-reported, unincarcerated rapists. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 60, 268-280.

Lisak, D. & Ivan, C. (1995). Deficits in intimacy and empathy in sexually aggressive men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 10, 296-308.

Lisak, D. & Miller, P.M. (2002). Repeat rape and multiple offending among undetected rapists. *Violence and Victims*, 17, 73-84.

Lisak, D., Hopper, J., & Song, P. (1996). Factors in the cycle of violence: Gender rigidity and emotional constriction. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 7, 507-523.

Malamuth, N.M. (1986). Predictors of naturalistic sexual aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 953-962.

Malamuth, N.M., Sockloskie, R.J., Koss, M.P., & Tanaka, J.S. (1991). Characteristics of aggressors against women: Testing a model using a national

sample of college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 59, 670-681.

McWhorter, S.K., Stander, V.A., Merrill, L.L., Thomsen, C.J., & Milner, J.S. (2009). Reports of rape perpetration by newly enlisted male Navy personnel. *Violence and Victims*, 24, 204-218.

National Victim Center (April 1992). *Rape in America: A report to the nation*. Arlington, VA: Author.

Nisbet, I.A., Wilson, P.H., & Smallbone, S.W. (2004). A prospective longitudinal study of sexual recidivism among adolescent sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 16, 223-234.

Ouimette, P.C. & Riggs, D. (1998). Testing a mediational model of sexually aggressive behavior in nonincarcerated perpetrators. *Violence and Victims*, 13, 117-130.

Prentky, R.A., Lee, A.F.S., Knight, R.A., & Cerce, D. (1997). Recidivism rates among child molesters and rapists: A methodological analysis. *Law and Human Behavior*, 2, 635-659.

Prentky, R., Cohen, M., & Seghorn, T. (1985). Development of a rational taxonomy for the classification of rapists: The Massachusetts Treatment Center system. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*, 13, 39-70.

Spears, J.W. & Spohn, C.C. (1997). The effect of evidence factors and victim characteristics on prosecutors' charging decisions in sexual assault cases. *Justice Quarterly*, 14, 501-524.

Tjaden, P. & Thoennes, N. (2000). *Full report of the prevalence, incidence, and consequences of violence against women* (NCJ 183781). National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Washington, DC.

U.S. Department of Defense (2010). *Fiscal Year 2009 Annual Report on Sexual Assault in the Military*.

Weeks, R. & Widom, C.S. (1998). Self-reports of early childhood victimization among incarcerated adult male felons. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13, 346-361.

Weinrott, M.R. & Saylor, M. (1991). Self-report of crimes committed by sex offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 6, 286-300.

White, J.W. & Smith, P.H. (2004). Sexual assault perpetration and re-perpetration: From adolescence to young adulthood. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 31, 182-202.

Wilcox, D.T. & Sosnowski, D.E. (2005). Polygraph examination of British sexual offenders: A pilot study on sexual history disclosure testing. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 11, 3-25.

*Dr. David Lisak is an associate professor of psychology at the University of Massachusetts-Boston, and a forensic consultant and researcher who has studied the motives and characteristics of rapists and murderers, as well as the long term impact of childhood abuse on men. He consults widely with universities, the US Military, and other institutions regarding sexual assault prevention and policies. Dr. Lisak also serves on the Editorial Board for SAR, and can be reached at dllisakfc@gmail.com. ■