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Bedroom Rape
Sequences of Sexual Behavior in Stranger Assaults

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This article examines the sequential, temporal, and interactional aspects of sexual assaults using sequential analysis. Fourteen statements taken from victims of bedroom-based assaults were analyzed to provide a comprehensive account of the behavioral patterns of individuals in sexually charged conflict situations. The cases were found to vary in the sexual severity of assault, distinguishing a variety of motivations and behavioral repertoires of offender and victim. Two quite distinct styles of offense were identified: multiple and single, which may have very different implications for research into rapist taxonomies and rape prevention strategies.

Keywords: rape; sexual assault; sequence analysis

The number of sexual offenses recorded by the police in England and Wales between March 2002 and March 2003 reached 48,654. Of these sexual offenses, 35% were classified under sections 19 (a and b) of the British Home Office guidelines, that is, termed rape of a male or female (Simmons & Dodd, 2003). However, these figures are not truly representative of the number of sexual crimes committed by individuals within the United Kingdom. The Rape Crisis Federation of Wales and England state that less than 7% of callers to its helpline had reported the assault to the police (Rape Crisis Federation [RCF], 2003).

Research examining sexual assault has tended to fall into two categories. On one hand, attention has focused on characteristics of the assailant to understand the etiology of sexual violence, and assessing the heterogeneity and taxonomic structure of the population of sexual deviants (Barker, 1989; Canter & Heritage, 1989; Canter & Kirby, 1995). Conversely, research has centered on victim characteristics. Descriptions of how victims react to offenders in a rape scenario are used as a means of developing rape prevention strategies (Block & Skogan, 1986; Carter, Prentky, & Burgess, 1995;
Klein & Steinberg, 1989; Scully, 1990). The experiences and meanings attributed by the victim to the traumatic experience that are expressed in these descriptions of events are also incorporated into research aiming to create a support service for the psychological and physiological consequences following sexual violation. The limitations of these approaches are discussed in more detail, and an alternative direction, sequential analysis, is outlined.

Offender Behavior Approaches

One strand of research investigating sexual assault behavior has centered on identifying homogenous subgroups within the rapist population by associating certain types of behavior with certain types of rapists. Two major taxonomies have developed: the more clinically based Massachusetts Treatment Centre taxonomy (MTC:R3) that collects and collates an array of information about the offender from a variety of different aspects of the offender’s life (Knight, 1999; Knight & Prentky, 1990; Knight, Warren, Reboussin, & Soley, 1998); and the investigative approach (offender profiling) that classifies offenders into types dependent on the behaviors engaged in within the assault itself (Canter, 1995; Canter & Heritage, 1989). Both approaches focus exclusively on the offenders’ behavior; although they offer some useful information, both fail to explicate what actually occurs in sexual offenses. If sexual assaults are viewed as a socially structured phenomenon, as an interaction, it is imperative that analysis incorporates the behavior of both individuals involved in the incident. Research in the field to date has only studied one side of the social interactional information of sexual assaults: focusing solely on the offender’s behavior. This article, in acknowledgment of the intrinsically interpersonal nature of this type of offense, analyzes the behavioral repertoire of victim and offender. If sexual assaults are to be analyzed as an interaction, the fact that motivations and goals may develop and change during the time course of any interaction (Clarke, 1983) must also be considered. Hence, if a taxonomy rests on identifying motivational patterns, its conclusions would be greatly enhanced by incorporating the dimension of time into its methodology; that is, it is likely that the goals and motivations of the offender may develop and shift throughout the course of the assault. Therefore, to investigate the nature and function of behaviors within a sexual assault, it is important for a structural analysis of the behavioral repertoires to proceed based on temporal relationships (Van Hooff, 1982). Therefore, the current study incorporates the dynamics of sexual offenses by capitalizing on the assumption that the variety of actions that happen in sexual assaults may indicate the different modes of relationship that offenders have with their victims. To fully encapsulate and explicate the variations in offense styles, the
sequential nature of these interactions will be considered to be of fundamental importance in this article.

**Victim Behavior Approaches**

The second strand of research investigating sexual assault has concentrated on victim behavior. Specifically, there has been a great deal of debate over what a person should do when confronted by an assailant. The literature suggests two polarized views (a) acquiesce, or do not resist, and (b) resist and/or fight (Carter et al., 1995). Strategies for successfully avoiding rape have been examined in several studies, and the general consensus has shown that women who resist physically have a better chance of avoiding rape than those who do not (Block & Skogan, 1986; Giacinti & Tjaden, 1973; Klein & Steinerg, 1989; McIntyre, 1980; Queen’s Bench Foundation, 1976; Sanders, 1980; Scully, 1990). Contrary to the above, some research has indicated that if victims fought back, it would lead to severe injury or death. In studies by Lees (1997a) and Bart and O’Brien (1985) victim resistance was met with higher levels of violence, and the use of violence was found to be similar and substantial in stranger and acquaintance rapes.

Carter et al. (1995) found that different two types of rapists responded differentially to victim resistance. First, the rapists who are dominant, aggressive, and highly assaultive reported that they responded to resistance and verbal attacks by the women by becoming more sexually excited and violent. Second, almost an equal number of men reported that signs of weakness and other such passive responses served to increase their sexual excitement. It is this second group of men who stated they would have been stopped by aggressive or forceful refusal by the women (Giacinti & Tjaden, 1973).

Only two studies have analyzed the sequence of offender attack, victim resistance, and assault outcomes (Quinsey & Upfold, 1985; Ullman & Knight, 1992). These studies demonstrated that the amount of physical resistance displayed by a woman, and her level of physical injury, could be the result of the level of offender violence (Ullman & Knight, 1992). Therefore, the use of physical force on the part of the victim may contribute little toward exacerbating the offender’s aggression or increasing injury outcome (Ullman, 1998). These results highlight the need for more studies incorporating the sequence of events to obtain accurate information about the effects of resistance strategies on attack outcomes (Ullman, 1997).

Predicting where certain behaviors are most likely to occur in an assault, and determining the probability of two events occurring together at specific times, will lead to a richer understanding of how sexual assaults unfold over time. An examination of the sequential aspect of offenses illustrates exactly
how the different outcomes of an attack can come about. The current study was part of a larger project investigating a diverse sample of rape-victim statements. It soon became clear that the course of events in these offenses fell into about six distinct groupings, differentiated largely by their location. Each type can now be characterized in great detail; however, it is essential not to mix the types while doing so. This would be rather like trying to write a single sensible grammar for a corpus of speech drawn from an assortment of six different languages. The current study deals with offenses that occurred while the victims were in bed, as their restricted starting point made them the most coherent and clearly defined group of all. The selection of these specific cases adds focus to the inquiries, allowing an investigation of behavioral patterns to proceed unhindered by external factors such as situational and environmental cues and victim behavior prior to attack. The inclusion of a specific types of assault was utilized in the current exploratory analysis to highlight the rich findings that sequential analysis can produce, suggesting a new methodology that could produce greater texture and depth than the more conventional descriptive studies of sexual offenders and offenses. However, the need to analyze each of the distinctive families of offenses as a distinct phenomenon in its own right means that only relatively small sample sizes can be attained for each family. The next section discusses sequence analysis in more detail and, in particular, illustrates its applicability to the area of sexual assault.

**Sequence Analysis**

Sequences such as those found in crime scenes tend to be social. They involve an interplay of two individuals in which the actions of the two parties are interdependent, with the whole interaction being structured in time (Warner, 1992). Jones and Gerard (1967) proposed that an individual actor’s present behavior is not only contingent on, or predictable from the actor’s own past behavior or internal determinants, but also their partners’ influence on their subsequent behavior or social determinants. Thus, a set of rules, or a grammar, would be formulated to provide a system for predicting the likely responses of an individual in a variety of different situations.

Sequential statistics find patterns in data sequences by seeking statistical dependencies between events over time. Sequential analysis is a visual, quantitative approach to data that allows a researcher to achieve a richer qualitative understanding by “looking at the data to see what it seems to say” (Tukey, 1977, p. 5). One method of sequence analysis, lag sequential analysis (LSA), is a simple method for summarizing interactions between behaviors (Faraone & Dorfman, 1987). This method is a form of exploratory data anal-
ysis that lends itself to relatively straightforward summary statistics of rather complex data. Lag sequential analysis is used to determine whether, given a particular category of event, subsequent categories occur more or less often than would be expected by chance. Thus, it is determined whether there is a cross-dependency between a specified behavior by one person, and a specified behavior by the other person that occurs earlier in time (Faraone & Dorfman, 1987).

Behavior can be seen to consist of a finite number of elements, juxtaposed in strings within a behavioral stream (Gottman & Roy, 1990). Lag sequential analysis allows dependencies to occur not only between adjacent events but also between events separated from each other by a given number of intercalated events (Van Hooft, 1982). This notion of lagged dependence is important, as Dawkins (1976) suggests that subsidiary goals are often set up in the service of more global ones. Thus, decisions about possible actions in the distant future may be taken before decisions that concern the near future. For example, the offender may ask the victim for a piece of clothing that he will later use to bind the victim, before he has gained control over the situation in the immediate present. It may not be the way one event follows another in succession that matters after all, but the way in which the whole encounter needs to consist of certain major phases, and the way each of these phases consists of some necessary and some optimal subcomponents.

Sequence analysis has been used successfully in previous research to examine the phases and patterns of behavior in various social activities including marital conflict (Gottman, 1979), traffic violations (Clarke, Forsyth, & Wright, 1998, 1999), and violent episodes between individuals (Beale, Cox, Clarke, Lawrence, & Leather, 1998). It has not yet been used to examine sexual assaults. The main aim of the current study was to investigate sexual assaults using sequential analysis, a new mode of analysis for these data.

**METHOD**

**Data**

The data consisted of a homogenous subset of 14 witness statements taken from female victims of sexual assault, provided by a number of police forces throughout England. The material consisted of anonymous written statements taken from victims collected using police interviewing protocols. Statements were selected for analysis if they met the following criteria:
(a) They were full enough in content to perform LSA; (b) they all detailed an incident of stranger rape—that is, the victim did not know the perpetrator; and (c) all accounts began when the victim was in bed.

All transcripts were in a narrative form, with any police questioning being omitted from the statement. In the transcripts, a brief description of the residential location of the victim is provided followed by an in-depth description of the sequences of events leading up to and including the offense. The victims’ description of events ranges from 1,118 words to 2,700 words, starting from either the beginning of the day to a few hours before the assault took place. All but one of the accounts ends when the victim contacted the police. In this single case, the event ends when the offender leaves the scene of the crime, and no further information is provided.

Coding Scheme

A coding scheme was formulated using a larger corpus of written transcripts taken from victims of sexual assault (45 statements). The transcripts were rich in behavioral detail for the offender and victim actions. Two separate coding classification schemes were formulated, distinguishing clearly the actions of the two individuals.

The victims’ behaviors fluctuated between actively engaging in some form of behavior, either self-induced or in reaction toward the offender, or being passively engaged in some form of activity—sensing, feeling, or being forced into an activity. Five separate categories predominated: behaviors occurring (a) before, (b) during, and (c) following the assault, (d) introspective declarations, and (e) speech acts. In total, 123 separate victim behaviors were drawn from the statements analyzed.

Offender behavior was distinguishable according to his intentions: maneuvering, controlling, and preparing the victim and/or scene. Seven broad categories were highlighted: (a) approaching the victim, (b) moving, (c) controlling, (d) preparing the victim, (f) the sexual acts engaged in, (g) postevent behaviors, and finally (7) speech acts. In total, 135 separate behavioral acts were drawn from the statements analyzed.

The reliability of the coding framework was assessed in six different ways, giving an average kappa of .89, which is an 89% agreement between raters after correcting for chance (see Fossi, 2002). This ensured that the coding scheme could be used dependably to reduce statements into analyzable units, while a back-translation test showed that it captured the essence of the statements without undue loss of important detail.
Statistical Analysis

The sequential data were inputted into the statistical package MacShapa (Sanderson et al., 1994), and the data were analyzed using LSA. Conditional transitional probabilities were calculated, and state transition diagrams were presented graphically, showing just how events are sequenced in time. Finally, $z$ scores were calculated to identify which transitional probabilities deviated significantly from their expected values. When accounting for $z$ scores, the resultant state transition diagram depicts sequences of events that are linked not because of their absolute frequencies but because of their relationship with each other, that is, the presence of Event Y makes subsequent Event Z more likely than it would otherwise be.

Phase Identification

Initially the intention was to analyze the whole assault sequence in one go. However, certain kinds of events can occur early and or late in the sequence, which causes the patterns to appear to be looping back on themselves in a misleading way. To prevent this, the assaults were divided into seven phases, each of which was analyzed separately. The phases were defined in such a way that all completed rapes had to pass through all of them, in the same order (see Table 1).

The apparent complexity of the interactions that occurred in the bedroom cases led these statements to be divided into attacks where the victim was subjected to numerous sexual acts—multiple assaults—and those cases where the victim was only subjected to one or two sexual acts—single

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**TABLE 1: Phases of Sexual Assault**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Events leading up to the victim being alerted to the offender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Events between the victim being alerted to the offender and the offender making first physical contact with the victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Events between first physical contact and penetration occurring (penetration was defined as digital, genital, or oral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Events between first penetration and last withdrawal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Events between last sexual withdrawal and when the offender last contacts the victim physically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Events between last physical contact and the last sighting of the offender (also included hearing the offender leave the scene)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Events between the offender escaping and the end of the statement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
assaults. It must be noted at this point that the names designated to differentiate the sexual assaults (multiple and single) do not relate in any way to the impact that the sexual assaults have had on the victims. The terms are used to provide details on the nature of the assault.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of victim and offender behaviors in sexual assaults were interpreted using seven key stages of events (Phases A to G) that were identified in the statements provided by victims of sexual assault. The statements were found to differ mainly in the sexual severity of assault, which uncovered differences in the motivations and behavioral repertoires of victim and offender, and pointed to two distinct styles of offense.

Phase A: Victim’s behavior prior to being alerted to offender. In the majority of cases, the sequences of behaviors that lead the offender to make physical contact with the victim while she is in bed are relatively quick and homogenous. The most predictable sequence of events is the offender gaining immediate physical control over the victim, which because of her prostrate position happens relatively quickly (see Figure 1). Figure 1 is an example of a state transition diagram. In all of the state transition diagrams, victim behaviors are indicated by ellipses, and offender behaviors by rectangles. The movement from one behavior to another is highlighted by solid arrows if the behavior originates from the victim, and a dashed arrow if the offender instigated the behavior, with thicker lines indicating more probable links.

It is in Phase B, where the offender first makes physical contact, that differences in styles of assault start to appear. From here on, the results for multiple and single assaults are presented separately.

Multiple Assaults

Phases B and C: From when the victim is alerted to the offender up until first penetration. Analysis of the sequence of behaviors using LSA revealed the following pattern of actions in these phases. The state transition diagram is too complex to illustrate in full; however, sections of the diagram have been extracted to emphasize the evidential support for the conclusions drawn. When the victim is alerted to the offender, the offender instantly starts to interact verbally with the victim, asking her whether she has material objects, for example, jewelry. The offender is quick to move toward the victim and
gain physical control. When physical control is established, it is the verbal dialogue that continues before the offender makes sexual advances (see Figure 2). Speech is the most common category of code for the victim, particularly when she replies to the offender’s question about something personal, and when she makes the situation clear to the offender, for example, that they are alone. Eighty-seven percent of the victim speech is preceded by offender speech, suggesting that the victim is only being vocal as a result of the offender’s questions (in single assaults, victim speech is much less frequent with only 36% of her behavior being classified as so-called speech, compared with 52% in multiple assaults). This suggests that the offender is trying to engage the victim in some form of conversation. See Figure 2.

With regards to the offender’s behavior, he is most commonly found replying in a personal manner to a victim’s question and asking a personal question himself, as well as moving closer to the victim and becoming sexually intimate. Behaviors of a sexual nature are seen to cluster together, following each other in succession, with the offender carrying out a number of intimate acts before fully penetrating his victim. See Figure 3.

This type of assault is very intimate with the offender attempting to form some kind of a relationship with the victim. The offender verbally interacts and carries out numerous physical intimacies on the victims. This would point to the offender striving for some pseudo-closeness with the victim, rather than the assault being one of brute force. This style of offense behavior corresponds in part to Knight et al.’s (1998) opportunistic rapist, who is
Offender asks a personal question

Victim replies to a personal question, e.g., her name

Victim declares situational fact, e.g., no money

Offender asks for an object, e.g., money

Victim replies about the situation they are in, e.g., alone

Offender enquires about the situation

Victim provides an explanation in response to a question

Offender expresses how he is feeling

Victim asks the offender a question

Figure 2: Multiple Bedroom Rapes, From First Physical Contact Until First Penetration—Speech

Offender undresses himself

Offender pulls at victim’s clothing

Offender moves closer to the victim

Offender touches/feels the victim’s body

Offender positions the victim sexually

Offender kisses the victim

Offender positions himself sexually

Offender penetrates the victim genitaly

Victim replies to a personal question, e.g., her name

Victim declares situational fact, e.g., no money

Offender asks for an object, e.g., money

Victim provides an explanation in response to a question

Offender expresses how he is feeling

Victim asks the offender a question

Figure 3: Multiple Bedroom Rapes, From First Physical Contact Until First Penetration—Sexual Behavior
impulsive, wants immediate sexual gratification, has ritualized fantasies, and uses instrumental aggression in his assaults. The bedroom assaults, which may involve several distinct sexual acts, involve an offender’s acting out a script of a consensual relationship, using only enough force to ensure he gets what he wants. Equally, the behaviors discussed above fit into two of Canter, Heritage, and Johannessen’s (1989) modes of rape interaction: intimacy and sexual. The offenders’ attempts to engage in consensual fantasy with his victim indicates his inability to formulate relationships with women. Thus, he engages in intimate and prolonged sexual acts to satisfy his desire for sexual experiences.

**Phase D: Behaviors from first penetration to last withdrawal.** When first penetration has been gained, two separate clusters of interrelated events are extracted from the statements. First, the offender is found carrying out successive sexual acts on the victim, and the victim can do little to dissuade him (Figure 4). The one reaction from the victim that occurs the most frequently is that of victim resistance. Crucially, there are only two likely responses to the victim’s outburst, either the offender ignores her attempts to halt him in
his endeavor, or she realizes her inability to stop the offender and freezes in fear, which allows the offender to continue.

The second cluster of interrelated behaviors involve the offender withdrawing from the sexual assault and either ending the assault, or maneuvering the victim for another spate of assaults (Figure 5). The only victim behavior that is predicted in this section is when the victim makes a statement about the situation in which they find themselves, that is, that she is expecting someone to arrive. This is most likely to be followed by the offender’s physically controlling her in some way, or, more successfully for the victim, that he withdraws from her sexually. The offender either withdraws from a sexual act and ends the sexual onslaught, or he repositions the victim for another intimate act before stating what he expects from the victim sexually, that is, that she should make it good for the both of them.

The offender appears to be acting out a script, undertaking sequences of actions dependent not on what the victim says or does but based on creating an illusionary consensual interaction. Although the empirical evidence is
mixed with regards to linking social skills and sexual offenses (cf. Hollin, 2000), social competence is a necessary requirement for consenting sexual behavior. It is possible that an impairment in social skills might lead individuals to resort to coerced sexual behavior as an alternative sexual outlet (Howells, 1986). The fact that in this type of assault, the offenders are found trying to engage the victim in conversation and creating an illusionary consensual interaction points to the possibility that the offender is striving for an interaction that he feels incapable of in a more natural setting.

Phase E, F, and G: From last withdrawal to the end of the statement. Only very few behaviors are extracted from the offender following last penetration. The offender either withdraws or physically removes himself from the victim, or he acquires an object and gives it to the victim, telling her to do something with it. This type of behavior appears to be in keeping with this style of offense, as the offender is trying to emulate being in a consensual relationship with the victim. In asking the victim to participate in, what would appear to the victim, unrelated behaviors (to a sexual crime), the offender is pointedly demonstrating the motives behind his assault. For example, in one case, the offender gave the victim a cigarette following his assault. This may be considered a routine postcoital behavior for some individuals in a consensual relationship; however, it seems a rather perverse action to undertake following a forced sexual encounter. Once again, we are seeing examples of the offender encouraging an interaction with the victim. This is not in an attempt to persuade the victim to consent to his intentions; however, it appears to be a means for the offender to try and build up a relationship with a woman.

There is little time for the victim to take any action at this point in the interaction, as the offender still holds the more dominant position. In line with Ullman (1998), the use of physical force was found to contribute little toward exacerbating the offender’s aggression. From the evidence of this data set, the offender is intent on carrying out a consensual fantasy, paying little attention to the victim’s resistance strategies as he is so wrapped up in the context of his role-play. The victim in this type of assault has been subjected to a prolonged assault in which the offender was seen trying to form a relationship with the victim. The offender engages the victim in conversation right up to the end of the assault. Following the escape of the offender, the victim is commonly seen to express the emotions of fear and shock. The victim is keen to seek help as soon as possible, and the help she seeks is most commonly that of the police.
Single Assaults

This group of assaults tends to involve rather fewer sexual behaviors.

Phase B: Behaviors from when the victim is alerted to the offender up until he makes first physical contact. When the victim is alerted to the offender in the single assaults, she plays a more active role, for example, screaming and attempting to remove herself from the scene. The offender reacts to these behaviors, approaching the victim with speed and verbally and physically controlling her aggressively (see Figure 6). This would suggest that unknown to the victim, her role in this stage might direct the offender away from his intended course. In engaging in active behaviors, the victim increases the period of time before the offender finally gains control over her.

Phase C: From physical contact up until first penetration. When the offender has made first physical contact, speech again plays the most dominant role, with the offender controlling the victim aggressively and directing her into various positions. The offender uses a more instrumental approach in his control over the victim. Figure 7 highlights that the use of a weapon plays...
a pivotal role in directing the victim and preparing the victim for the assault. The more physical approach is in response to an outburst by the victim, either of her screaming or resisting the offender. The offender utilizes a level of control that will force the victim to cooperate with him. In accordance with some research, resistance was met with higher levels of violence (Bart & O’Brien, 1985; Lees, 1997a) suggesting that the conclusions from Ullman’s (1998) sequential study that showed no increase in the risk of physical injury for women who fought back may need revising.

Asking the offender a question is the most common vocalization used by the victim, together with resistance occurring when the offender has made contact with her, and responding verbally to requests made by the offender, for instance giving information and answering his questions. The victim

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**Figure 7:** Single Bedroom Rapes, From First Physical Contact Until First Penetration

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plays much more of a reactive role. By making his intentions explicit and controlling the victim so overtly, the victim has little chance to alter the offender’s course of action.

There is a stark difference in the use of conversation in this group from than in the multiple assaults. Rather than the offender’s engaging the victim in some form of conversation, the speech acts are of a controlling nature. The offender verbally directs the victim to arrange herself and objects, such as furniture, into a position he requires, as well as controlling the victim and informing her of his intentions. The victim’s speech is centered on inquiring into whom she is dealing with and what is happening, as well as screaming.

**Phase D: From first penetration to last withdrawal.** When the offender has made sexual contact with the victim, there are two main effects that can be extracted from the state transition diagram. The first describes the offender’s behavior toward the end of the assault, where he attempts to finalize his actions by kissing the victim before withdrawing sexually. The second describes how as soon as the victim complies with the offender’s advances, the offender engages her in sexual penetration. It is clear that this phase is very clear-cut to the offender, with his entire concern resting on the sexual act itself.

It is of interest to note, when considering whether the offender reached climax in the assaults, the offender failed to ejaculate on more occasions when the offense was sexually single in nature. Of the statements, 62% involved the offender’s failing to ejaculate (compared with only 33% in multiple assaults), but with all offenders penetrating the victim genetically. The foundations for this style of assault could rest on a frustration motive. A number of studies have highlighted that incarcerated sexual offenders tend to be people who generally experience persistent dissatisfaction with their consensual sexual relations (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974, 1976; Groth & Burgess, 1977). The aim of sexual relations for these offenders was to attain orgasm as quickly as possible with little concern for mutual satisfaction (Record, 1977). It appears that some offenders are unaware that sexual behaviors satisfy needs beyond those related to sexual release alone. This lack of awareness has been linked to erectile or ejaculatory problems (Marshall & Barbaree, 1993; Neubeck, 1974; Schimel, 1974). When considering the speed and directness of this type of offense, the offender’s intentions are clearly sexual, with the failure to ejaculate perhaps being caused by sexual dysfunctions. This could offer some light on the reasons why this style of offense is undertaken with speed, with the element of control being so important throughout the assault.
**Phases E, F, and G: From last withdrawal to the end of the statement.** When the offender withdraws from the victim sexually, only a few behaviors are found to be predictable. Although the offender concluded the sexual aspect of the crime, all physical contact with the victim is not stopped at this stage. The offender controls and maneuvers the victim to steal something from her. For example, the offender pulls the victim onto the landing and then asks where he can find her jewelry. In the scenarios where the offender did not steal from the victim, he withdraws from the victim sexually, redresses himself, and then moves away from the victim altogether.

The victim is commonly unable to move following the escape of the offender. Perhaps following an assault of this nature the victim has not had time to comprehend what is happening to her until the offender left the scene. The disorientation felt by the victim is exacerbated by the fact that in a number of cases she tries to find out the time. In looking for the time, the victim may be trying to contextualize the incident, reasserting herself back into reality. The victim also screams as reported in a number of the statements. It is felt that the victim engages in more behaviors in this style of assault simply because she feels the need to assess what has happened to her following such a swift assault.

This style of offense is not easily mapped onto any of the typologies mentioned in the offender profiling literature. The assaults are most similar to the mode of interaction of impersonal interaction in the Canter et al. (1989) profiles, where the victim is treated as an object for the offender’s desires. It could also be loosely compared to the rapist who is so-called pervasively angry in the Knight (1999) typology, as the offender is not carrying out a fantasy-driven sexual assault; however, his actions utilize a high degree of physical and verbal force. The above analysis suggests more of a correlation to the literature that supports the ideology that rape is an expression of virility, mastery, and domination (Cohen, Garafalo, Boucher, & Seghorn, 1971; Groth, Burgess, & Holstrom, 1977). The need to dominate a woman has been found to be a common motive for rapists (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979) and has been found to be a factor in the assaults analyzed in the current study. Rape has, however, also been considered as an opportunity for the offender to vent his rage on the victim, where sex is the weapon and rape is the means by which the offender hurts and degrades his victims (Hollin, 1999; Lanyon, 1997). This hypothesis has been commonly used to describe the offender’s need to retaliate for perceived wrongs or rejections that he has suffered at the hands of women. What this research suggests is that rape can be used as a weapon when the offender has some form of sexual dysfunction.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The current study was an attempt to use the interactive dimension of sexual offenses to differentiate the various types of attack that occur. The use of sequential information not only uncovered idiosyncrasies in the behavior of individuals locked in a conflict situation but also highlighted the importance of the context in which the assault occurs, and the influence that time has on the outcome. Table 2 shows a summary of the major findings of the analysis.

The emergence of a variety of motivations and means to assault emphasized the potential of offense profiling as a future technique in the investigation of offenses.

Clinical taxonomic methods of offender profiling focus on the rapist and his development and are not immediately applicable to criminal investigations in that they require a wealth of background information to classify offenders into types. Investigative approaches to offender profiling can be directly applied in an investigation; however, they rely on uncovering causal relationships between the offenders’ behavior at the crime scene and his personality characteristics. In both these systems, social interactional information has been studied in isolation: classifying offenders into types depending on what behaviors the offender engaged in within the offense.

In acknowledgment of the intrinsically interpersonal nature of this type of offense, this article analyzed the behavioral repertoire of victim and offender. The incorporation of time in the study of offense behaviors uncovered a plethora of information regarding the decision strategies and interactional details that enhance the understanding of the sexual assaults analyzed. It is reassuring that the similarities that were found between the styles of offense matched clinical and investigative taxonomic methods, as this validates the inclusion of offender motivation in sexual assault. Rather than an alternative approach to the study of sexual offenses and offender profiling, the approach of offense profiling juxtaposes these two traditions.

Including offense location in differentiating offense styles opens up the arena of environmental and situational factors in the analysis of crime scene behaviors. Do offenders choose the location of their crime based on the personality and motivational differences, or do the expediencies of the environmental context of the crime play a decisive factor in the style of assault undertaken? The analysis of a more robust sample size that includes clinical data (such as the information collected for the MTC:R3 taxonomy) along with crime-specific variables, for example, exact location, openness of crime scene, witnesses, and so on provides a comprehensive investigation into factors that affect offenders during the course of an assault.
### TABLE 2: Summary Findings of the Bedroom Style of Assault

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Offender Motivation</th>
<th>Means to Assault</th>
<th>Victim Resistance</th>
<th>Effect of Resistance on Offender</th>
<th>Noteworthy Behaviors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bedroom multiple</td>
<td>Enacting a script and/or fantasy</td>
<td>Through conversation</td>
<td>Increases with level of intimacy</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The offender acts as though he is in a relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedroom single</td>
<td>Sexual frustration</td>
<td>Through physical control</td>
<td>Secondary to compliance</td>
<td>Increases the level of physical control</td>
<td>Failure of offender to ejaculate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The in-depth analysis of victim behaviors has a direct impact on the literature regarding victim resistance strategies. The current study indicated that the amount and success of victim resistance was dependent on the style of approach undertaken by the offender and that offender reactions were dependent on where in the assault the resistance took place, as well as the offender’s overall motivations. The variety of issues surrounding the means and outcomes of resisting goes some way in explaining the reasons for the diversity of results in studies looking at the effectiveness of particular rape prevention strategies.

Reliable and consistent protocols for women to use when faced with an attacker would be too complicated to retain in a moment of conflict. However, a knowledge of effective strategies and possible outcomes of undertaking particular activities is felt to be beneficial in providing individuals with a formal process in which to assess unpredictable and volatile situations. Carter et al. (1988) stipulated that knowledge is the only weapon a victim has in such a situation; “Knowledge can provide a sense of power, as well as the confidence to act rather than resign out of helplessness” (pp. 211).

The current study also began to highlight different coping strategies undertaken by the victim when the offender left the scene of the crime. Immediate reactions from victims were hypothesized as being dependent on the style of offense that the victim had been subjected to. It is suggested that an understanding of the multitude of reactions to an offense directly after it occurred may shed light on the future coping strategies of victims. An understanding of the behaviors engaged in throughout the assault, and when the assault was completed, would provide an abundance of material and information that could be useful in the treatment and after-care of victims of indecent and/or sexual assault.

REFERENCES


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Claire Lawrence, Ph.D., is a lecturer at the School of Psychology at the University of Nottingham. She has researched various aspects of interpersonal aggressive behavior since 1990. She has studied aspects of aggression across varied contexts including prisons, public transport, schools, public houses, and secure hospitals. She has published in various journals including the British Journal of Social Psychology, Aggressive Behavior, Environment and Behavior, and the British Journal of Clinical Psychology. She has also coedited a book Work-Related Violence: Assessments and Interventions (with P. Leather, C. Brady, D. Beale, and T. Cox, 1999). Her current work examines individual differences in triggers for aggression and violence and has resulted in the development of the Situational Triggers of Aggressive Response (STAR) scale.