

Rape and Racial Patterns

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ABSTRACT. According to most studies rape is primarily an intraracial assault. Yet a few studies have found the offense to be primarily interracial. There is general agreement that black offender-white victim is the predominant type of interracial rape. In all, these studies allude to regional and temporal variations in the racial characteristics of rape. In order to determine if there is temporal variation within one city, this study, using police data, examines the racial characteristics of rape for a five year sequential time period in San Diego, California. Furthermore, a factor controlling for the number of rapes committed by the same offender is entered into the analysis.

The results indicate that rape is primarily intraracial during four years, but predominantly interracial during a fifth year. Further variations are revealed when the racial interactions are classified according to the extent of an offender's assaultive activity. The Series offender, one who commits two or more assaults, complicates the relationship between race and rape. The extensive assaults of a few individuals influence the racial characteristics of the crime. The Series assaults of black offenders suggests that interracial rape is not a unitary concept. Furthermore, it is illustrated that failing to control for the activities of the Series offenders distorts the actual number of offenders of any racial group and consequently over- and underestimates the representation of different racial groups.

INTRODUCTION

During the past decade, attempts to describe and explain the relationship between race and rape have received increased attention by scholars. To date, research and theoretical efforts have included de-

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scriptions of the intra- and interracial character of the crime, explanations for the overrepresentation of certain minorities as offenders and victims, and identifications of the methodological problems that handicap more definitive explanations of race and crime in general and race and rape in particular.

An overview of previous efforts to identify the racial characteristics of rapists and their victims reveals the complexity of the issue. Results show temporal and regional variations. Moreover, past failures to consider important offender-related characteristics have obscured certain explanations of the nature of the relationship between race and rape.

Do rapes generally occur between offenders and victims of the same race or do they involve offenders and victims of different races? Or, alternatively, is there no pattern? This study reexamines these questions in one city over five sequential time periods. In addition, a factor controlling for the number of rapes committed by the same offender is entered into the analysis and serves to qualify answers to the above questions.

THE INTRARACIAL ASSUMPTION

Menachem Amir's (1971), now classic, intensive analysis of rapes occurring during 1958 and 1960 in Philadelphia examined the interaction between the crime and a host of phenomena. The linkage between race and rape however, was an integral portion of his work. Amir's generalizations and conclusions pertaining to race and rape, as well as to rape in general have been benchmarks for subsequent studies of rape.

Amir analyzed the intraracial character of the offense (i.e., the frequency of victims who were assaulted by offenders of the same race). His analysis of 646 victimizations revealed that 76.9% of the rapes were between blacks and 16.3% of the rapes were between whites. Hence, over 93% of Amir's observations were intraracial. The proportion of interracial rapes, those involving victims and offenders of different races, was comparatively small: 3.3% of the victimizations involved a black offender and a white victim, while 3.6% involved a white offender assaulting a black victim (Amir, 1971,44). It was concluded, from these data, that rape was primarily an intraracial offense involving minorities. Support for Amir's

generalizations emerged from other studies based in different cities. The data for some of these studies were based in discrete time intervals, usually a year, while for others, following Amir's example, the data represented aggregated time periods.

In 1967, for example, a survey of 17 cities was conducted for the Eisenhower National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. This National Survey obtained representative samples of police rape reports from each of the 17 cities. The aggregation of the rape information for all the cities supported Amir's findings. Out of 456 rapes, almost 90% were intraracial. Moreover, 60% of the total cases involved black offenders and victims (Mulvihill, Tumin, and Curtis 1969, 209).

Curtis (1974) assembled offender-victim racial interaction data from published studies, unpublished sources, and the 17-city survey. His purpose was to ascertain any trends in the racial characteristics of rape. Curtis was able to discuss six cities which had racial interaction data for at least two discrete time intervals. Five of the six cities satisfied this minimal requirement, while the data for Washington, D.C. consisted of five intervals. Intraracial rape between blacks was the predominant pattern in Chicago, New Orleans, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. (1974, 26). However, Seattle and San Francisco did not conform to this pattern. In these two cities, the majority of the intraracial rapes were victim interracial rapes. Moreover, of the 305 rapes in Seattle during 1973, 51.8% were of the black offender-white victim variety (1974, 26).

THE WEST PHENOMENON

The higher proportions of black-white interracial rape in Seattle and San Francisco formed the basis for a pattern. Agopian et al. (1974) found that 34.4% of 180 rapes in Oakland, California, during 1971 were of the black offender-white victim variety. Nelson and Amir (1977) found that 60.8% of the 158 rapes reported to the Berkeley, California Police Department between 1968-1970 were of the black offender-white victim variety. The pattern discerned by Curtis (1975) after incorporating the statistics from Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley, was referred to as the West Phenomenon of black-white rape. Hence, the proportions and racial composition of intraracial and interracial rape were not constant nor ubiquitous throughout the United States, based on the limited

geographic coverage of the existing studies. Katz and Mazur (1979) chronicled ten studies of race and rape. Their conclusions support the West Phenomenon. Moreover, the authors include Denver, Colorado in the West by citing two studies that found interracial rape to be 27.3% (MacDonald, 1971) and 40.3% (Hursch and Selkin, 1974).

In a more recent addition to the collection of studies supporting the West Phenomenon, Kline (1981) examined all the rapes reported to the Police Department of Long Beach, California, from 1976 to 1980. Data pertaining to the race of the offender and the victim were available for 1278 (90.7%) of the 1409 cases examined. Black offender-white victim rape comprised 35% (448) of the total (1981, 116).

CHANGES IN INTERRACIAL RAPE

The greater proportion of black-white rapes occurring in the West has been but one issue discussed by scholars. Other observations indicated that nationwide the proportion of black-white rapes has been increasing; the proportion of white offender-black victim rapes has remained unchanged and comparatively rare. This issue has been examined by Curtis (1974), Katz and Mazur (1979) and more recently and extensively by LaFree (1982). LaFree notes that Mulvihill et al. (1969) found the proportions of black-white rape to be 10.5% for 17 cities in 1967. But subsequent studies have not produced proportions below 12.9% (1982, 312). LaFree obtained this conclusion after citing twenty-four different studies of rape either known by the police (case files) or reported by victims in the National Crime Panel (NCP) Victimization Surveys. Furthermore, from these data LaFree calculated an average proportion of black-white rape of 25.8% while the average for white-black rape was 1.45% (1982, 313).

The paucity of white-black events perhaps has been responsible for the absence of adequate explanations for the occurrence of this phenomenon. Generally, it has been assumed that black women do not report rapes by white assailants (Agopian et al., 1974; Brown-miller, 1975; Nelson and Amir, 1975; Curtis, 1976; Katz and Mazur, 1979). However, LaFree takes issue with this assumption because the NCP victimization surveys, which sought to measure the extent of and the reasons for unreported victimizations, showed

black-white rapes are more common than white-black rapes (1982, 314).

EXPLANATIONS

Theoretical models for explaining, black-white rape and its apparent increase have been numerous, but two models in particular have received considerable attention. Both models are attributed to Curtis (1975, 1976). Moreover, "both explanations begin with the assumption that America is a highly stratified society with race-specific rules of sexual access" (LaFree, 1982, 314).

One model, the normative or social interaction model, suggests that the increasing liberalization of white women, coupled with an increase in the socio-economic opportunities for the black males lead to an increase in black male-white female social interaction. Therefore, rape is a by-product of increased social interaction. However, LaFree (1982) notes that Curtis does not explain why this model should lead to only increases in black-white rape and not to increases in white-black rape.

The second explanation offered by Curtis is the politicalization or the conflict model. The essence of this model is that black-white rape serves as the black male's mechanism for challenging the authority of white society (LaFree, 1982). In other words, "this argument sees rape of white women as the penultimate way for a black man to serve revenge on his white male oppressor . . ." (Curtis, 1975, 78). A less extreme interpretation by Curtis (1975) maintains that black-white rape results from the black offender's perception of white women as symbols of freedom rather than targets for their revenge.

Curtis (1975) suggested that until adequate data are available, "the wisest course seems to be joint recognition of black politicalization and social interaction" (1975, 81). Recently, LaFree (1982) used NCP victimization data in order to empirically verify the correspondence of black offender-white victim rape with the normative or the conflict model. The former model was not supported while the latter received only partial support. LaFree hypothesized that conflict rapes would be characterized by more violence, personal injury, medical attention and victim resistance. Yet, he found no significant difference between racial groups and the forementioned variables (1982, 323).

NUMERICAL DISTORTION—OFFENDER ACTIVITY

My primary criticism is that the previous works have distorted the number of rape offenders. The authors simply did not control for the number of rapes committed by the same offender. A hypothetical example may clarify this point. Suppose there are ten rapes of white victims; five committed by black assailants and five by white assailants. Hence, rape is 50% intra- or interracial and it normally would be assumed that the representation of each offending race would be the same percentage. Yet, these data can reveal that five of the assaults were committed by five different white offenders; one was attributed to one black offender and four were committed by the same black offender. While rape is still 50% intra- or interracial, the actual number of offenders decreases from ten to seven. Consequently, the proportion of black offenders decreases from 50% to 28.57%, and the white proportion increases from 50% to 71.43%.

This example alludes to another issue pertinent to race and crime. Specifically the overrepresentation of minorities as offenders in comparison to their proportion of the total population. This issue has been examined by others (e.g., Bonger, 1943; Mulvihill et al., 1969; Amir, 1971). In his study of rape, Amir found that minorities were overrepresented as offenders and victims (1971, 43). Obviously agreement with earlier findings that rape is primarily an intraracial offense between minorities explains victim overrepresentation. Offender overrepresentation has been the subject of theoretical debate (see Hindelang, 1978, 93-109) which has evolved into a methodological dilemma (see Pope, 1979, 347-357). While I shall address overrepresentation in my data my main purpose is to illustrate the linkage between offender activity and the total proportion of intra- or interracial rape.

The cause for offender distortion is not intentional on the part of the authors of previous studies. The cause is of a methodological nature in general and of data limitations in particular. For example, the two most popular data bases, the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and NCP Victimization Surveys do not in the former and cannot in the latter control for the number of offenses committed by the same offender. I shall assume the authors of studies using other data sources could not obtain an accurate accounting of offender activity or did not consider the issue. Therefore, my hypothetical example and the essence of my argument are based on the assumption that one has a data base that provides a more accurate accounting of of-

fender activity. However, failing to account for the extent of an offender's activity is the major but not the only mode for numerical distortion.

NUMERICAL DISTORTION—RACIAL CONFUSION

Most discussions of the racial character of rape by other authors have concentrated exclusively on the involvement of blacks and whites. While the Spanish-Americans or latinos have received less attention in their roles as victims and offenders. The reasons for this situation are numerous, but two of the major ones are: the non-involvement or relatively minute involvement of latinos; and the preference or bias of authors only to view the racial character of rape in black and white terms.

MacDonald's study in Denver reveals more latino victims (42) than black victims (31) and more latino offenders (86) than blacks (76) (1971, 51, 56). Yet, MacDonald reveals that "three in five negro rapists attacked white women" (1971, 51). Similar detail is absent for the latinos. This is an example of where the magnitude of latino victimization and criminality are greater than blacks, but the author chooses to provide more detail about black involvement.

The rarity of latino involvement was conveyed in Amir's Philadelphia study. Latinos or Puerto Ricans accounted for 10 of 1,292 offenders and 9 to 646 victims. Because of this negligible involvement, Amir places the latino victims and offenders in the white category (1971, 13). Other works illustrate the paucity of latino involvement (e.g., Agopian et al., 1974; Chappell et al., 1971). However, Nelson and Amir (1977) use the latinos in a rather odd manner in their essay on hitchhike rape.

Throughout a majority of Nelson and Amir's essay, even in the section on racial patterns, the only races discussed are black and white—until one reads their discussion of the offenders. The authors gleaned from the literature that aggressive rape is a lower class phenomenon (1977, 286). The authors assert the association between aggressiveness and class explains the large proportion of black hitchhike offenders (21 out of 29 offenders) (1977, 281, 286). Then in an effort to reinforce their assertion, the authors reveal that 4 of 8 or 50% of the white offenders are actually Chicano (1977, 286). It is curious that for a majority of the essay, Nelson and Amir utilize the statistical melting pot by classifying the latinos as white. But when

the opportunity arises to characterize hitchhike rape as an aggressive lower class phenomenon—the latinos are conveniently discovered. The authors did not discuss the class origin of the remaining four white offenders nor do they present any additional support for their class labels of the black and latino offenders. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of evidence that suggests the latinos' experience with the criminal justice system is somewhat different from the black experience and greatly different from the white experience (see Bondavalli and Bondavalli, 1981, 49-69). In view of this fact, there appears to be some confusion in classifying the latinos.

This confusion may lead to distorting the actual number of offenders of other racial groups. Hindelang (1978, 105) in discussing some of the measurement problems with the victimization surveys advises that the representation of black offenders may be artificially inflated because some victims, adhere to the popular stereotypes of criminals and may report latino offenders as black offenders (McNeeley and Pope, 1981, 37-41). Sagarin notes that in cases of interracial rape the tendency of people to confuse races is not a myth (1977, 151). This confusion could emerge in police case file data, especially in the cases where the offender has not been apprehended by the police and the only indication of race is the victim's description.

METHODOLOGY

In this study, I present rape offense data from police case file that identify race of the victim and offender and portray the number of offenses committed by each offender. My purposes are to show that: (1) the racial character of rape varies during a five year sequential time period; (2) the racial character of rape varies according to the extent of an offender's activity; and (3) accounting for offenders' activities changes racial group representation.

The data represent all of the rapes and attempted rapes reported to the Police Department of San Diego, California from 1971 to 1975. The total number of cases is 764, but some cases were deleted; 56 or 7.33% of the cases were deleted because they were labeled as unfounded or the elements of rape were not present in the case. Another 96 or 12.57% of the cases were deleted because they were pair or multiple assailant rapes. This exclusion is based on the concept-

ual grounds that the motivations for pair or multiple assailant rapes are different from lone or single assailant rapes (Amir, 1971, 182-226; Groth, 1979, 110-117). Hence, this study is based on 612 lone assailant rapes which comprise 80.1% of the total.

The race of the victims and offenders were obtained from incident and investigation reports. Five classifications were encountered: white; black; latino; Indian; and oriental. Indian and oriental were combined to form the classification "other." Using these four racial groups creates four types of intraracial rape and the possibility of twelve types of interracial rape; only ten types appear in the data.

The rape data are presented by year (1971-1975) and are classified according to the number of rapes committed by the same person. Thus, three categories of offender activity are used:

- Unknown:* The number of rapes committed by the same person are unknown.
- Single:* An offender committed one rape and is apprehended by the police.
- Series:* An offender committed two or more rapes before apprehension.

The Unknown group represents the uncleared cases where the description of the offender's race is provided by the victim and/or witnesses, because the offender remains at-large. The Single and Series groups represent a refinement of the cleared cases. The offender's races are substantiated by the victims, witnesses, and criminal justice personnel. The only commonality among the three categories is that the rapes were committed by one person who acted alone and without an accomplice.

Population data for the City of San Diego will be presented later in the text in regards to a discussion of racial group representation. The population data emanate from a special census taken in 1975 under the auspices of the California State Department of Finance and released by the San Diego City Planning Department. These data provide estimates of the racial composition of the city during the final year of the study. Because of the alleged problems of numerical distortion and racial confusion, the Unknown activity group will not be considered in the discussion of racial group representation.

One of the major issues associated with rape has been that many

states' rape statutes do not allow the rape victim to enter the criminal justice system totally as a victim, but further complicates her plight and trauma by localizing the cause of the incident within the behavior of the victim. This sad state of affairs was prompted by unrestricted inquiries into the sexual history of the victim. In order to avoid what has been labeled the "degradation ceremony" (Weis and Borges, 1973, 103) many states, including California, sought to revise their rape statutes. The California revision of interest to this study pertains to judges restricting inquiries into the sexual history of the victim and making certain that jurors are not instructed that a victim's sexual history has any bearing on her credibility (see *Deering's California Evidence Codes*, 1978; Sections 782 and 1103). Therefore, the last year of this study, 1975, was the first full calendar year that the new rape statute was in effect. Associations between the new law and the patterns of rape during 1975 will be conveyed.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the total amount frequencies of reported rape in general and by offender activity groups in particular. The annual totals exhibit data instability. The moderate increase between 1971 and 1972 (11 rapes) is followed by a sharp decline in 1973 (28 rapes). But following 1973, 1974 represents a sharp increase (44 rapes) and 1975 continues this trend of sharp increases with the reporting of another 64 rapes over the 1974 total.

The search for data stability within each offender activity group is futile. Numerically and proportionally the Unknown group is at its lowest during 1971. While the remaining years exhibit only minor numerical and proportionate fluctuation. The incidents committed by the Single group between 1971 and 1974 are numerically and proportionally stable. But 1975 shatters this stability with the number of rapes more than doubling over the previous year (44 to 90). The magnitude of the increase during the same time period that a new rape statute is in effect suggests there is a relationship between the phenomena. The Series group is numerically and proportionally predominant during 1971. For the remaining years this group does not exhibit significant proportional variation but 1973 interrupts any sense of numerical stability with 18 Series rapes.

Table 2 reveals the distribution of racial interactions for

TABLE 1.
Offender Activity: 1971-1975

Year	Offender Activity			Total
	Unknown	Single	Series	
1971	13 (13.8)	36 (38.3)	45 (47.9)	94
1972	41 (39.0)	34 (32.4)	30 (28.6)	105
1973	33 (37.9)	36 (41.4)	18 (20.0)	87
1974	52 (39.7)	44 (33.6)	35 (26.7)	131
1975	62 (31.8)	90 (46.2)	43 (22.1)	195
Total	201	240	171	612

() = Percentage Annual Total.

1971-1975. According to these data, intraracial rape is primarily between whites and the predominant type of interracial rape is the black offender-white victim. However, with the exception of 1971, rape is predominantly an intraracial offense. During 1971, interracial is 52.7% of the total incidents with black offender-white victim rapes alone accounting for 40.8% of the total incidents.

During every year, the number of latino offender-white victim rapes exceeds the number of latino intraracial rapes. Similarly with the exception of 1972, the number of black offender-white victims rapes exceeds the number of black intraracial rapes. Therefore, whites are overwhelmingly the predominant victims of interracial rape (217 out 256). White interracial offenders are relatively rare (13 assaults). The number of white victims and the victims of white assailants totals 230 out of 256 interracial assaults. Hence, the

TABLE 2.
Intra and Interracial Rape 1971-1975:
All Activity Groups

Race Offender/Victim	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White/White	30 (32.3)	42 (40.4)	35 (40.7)	52 (40.0)	86 (45.0)	245 (40.56)
Black/Black	12 (13.0)	23 (22.1)	16 (18.6)	21 (16)	14 (7.3)	86 (14.24)
Latino/Latino	2 (2.1)	2 (1.9)	1 (1.1)	3 (2.3)	6 (3.1)	14 (2.32)
Other Intraracial		1 (0.9)	1 (1.16)		1 (0.5)	3 (00.5)
Sub-total Intraracial	44 (47.3)	68 (65.4)	53 (61.6)	76 (58.5)	107 (56.0)	348 (57.6)
White/Black		1 (1.0)		3 (2.3)		4 (0.7)
White/Latino	1 (1.0)	2 (2.0)	1 (1.1)	1 (0.7)	4 (2.0)	9 (1.5)
Black/White	38 (40.8)	19 (18.27)	23 (26.7)	28 (21.5)	45 (23.5)	153 (25.33)
Black/Latino	6 (6.45)	3 (2.8)	1 (1.1)	3 (2.3)	2 (1.0)	15 (2.5)
Black/Other				2 (1.5)	2 (1.0)	4 (0.7)
Latino/White	4 (4.3)	7 (6.7)	6 (7.0)	17 (13.0)	25 (13.0)	59 (9.7)
Latino/Black		2 (1.9)	1 (1.1)		2 (1.0)	5 (0.8)
Latino/Other					1 (0.5)	1 (0.17)
Other/White		1 (1.0)	1 (1.1)		3 (1.5)	5 (0.83)
Other/Latino		1 (1.0)				1 (.17)
Sub-total Interracial	49 (52.7)	36 (34.6)	33 (38.4)	54 (41.5)	84 (44.0)	256 (42.4)
Offender Race Unknown	1	1	1	1	4	8
Total	94	105	87	131	195	612
Total Unknown	93	104	86	130	191	604

Intraracial; Interracial by Year; Chi-Square = 7.41; d.f. 4; $P \leq .20$

() = Percentage of Total—Unknown

remaining interracial assaults totalling 26 are minority interracial rapes.

The year-to-year difference of the racial interactions depicted in Table 2 are not significantly different. Only two years are more than 10 percentage points from a median of 50% (1972 and 1973). But the fact that 1971 is primarily interracial indicates the problems of forming generalizations from observing only one year.

Table 3 displays racial interactions for the incidents committed by the Unknown activity group. Again 1971 is the anomaly showing the lowest proportion of intraracial rape (41.7%). But for the remaining four years Unknown intraracial rape is numerically and proportionally stable. Hence the year-to-year differences are not significantly different.

Like the total racial interactions (Table 2), the Unknown group is primarily intraracial between whites and interracial rape is primarily black offenders and white victims. Again, for four out of the five years, the number of black-white assaults exceeds the number of black intraracial assaults. Whites comprise the majority of the victims in the Unknown intra- and interracial assaults. In reality, the Unknown group is probably a combination of Single and Series Offenders.

The racial interactions of the Single Activity group presents a contrast from the Total and Unknown group (Cf, Tables 2, 3, and 4). Every year shows this group as being highly intraracial—at least in excess of 59%. However, the same generalizations persist for a majority of the intraracial rapes are between whites, while the majority of interracial rapes are black offender-white victim (Table 4).

Although the year-to-year differences are not statistically significant some important features of these data need to be examined. Between 1971 and 1974 the number of white and black intraracial rapes are stable and the numeric difference between the two races is slight. This parallelism ends because between 1974 and 1975, the number of white intraracial rapes increase by 30 or 250% while during the same time period black intraracial rape remains a constant 10. The abrupt increase of white intraracial rapes during 1975 disrupts the consistency of the intraracial rape figures across years. This increase suggests a positive association between a particular type of racial interaction within a specific offender group and a revised rape statute.

The racial interactions of the Series Activity group presents a

TABLE 3.
Intra and Interracial Rape:
Unknown Offender Activity

Race Offender/Victim	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White/White	4 (33.3)	13 (32.5)	10 (31.3)	17 (33.33)	24 (41.4)	68 (35.2)
Black/Black		7 (17.5)	8 (25.0)	9 (17.65)	4 (6.9)	28 (14.5)
Latino/Latino	1 (8.3)	2 (5.0)			2 (3.4)	5 (2.6)
Other Intra			1 (3.13)			1 (.5)
Sub-total Intra-racial	5 (41.7)	22 (55.0)	19 (59.6)	26 (51.0)	30 (51.7)	102 (52.9)
White/Black		1 (2.5)		1 (1.9)		2 (1.0)
White/Latino	1 (8.3)	2 (9.0)	1 (3.1)		2 (3.4)	6 (3.1)
Black/White	4 (33.3)	12 (30)	7 (21.8)	13 (25.5)	16 (27.6)	52 (26.9)
Black/Latino		2 (5.0)		3 (6.0)	1 (1.7)	6 (3.1)
Black/Other				2 (3.9)	1 (1.5)	3 (1.5)
Latino/White	2 (16.6)		3 (9.4)	6 (11.7)	6 (10.3)	17 (8.8)
Latino/Black		1 (2.5)	1 (3.1)		1 (1.7)	3 (1.5)
Latino/Other					1 (1.7)	1 (0.5)
Other/White			1 (3.1)			1 (0.5)
Sub-total Interracial	7 (58.3)	18 (45.0)	13 (40.6)	25 (49.0)	28 (48.3)	91 (47.2)
Offender Race						
Unknown	1	1	1	1	4	8
Total	13	41	33	52	62	201
Total Unknown	12	40	32	51	58	193

Intra-racial; Interracial by Year; Chi-Square = 1.32; d.f. 4; $P \leq .80$

() = Percentage of Total—Unknown

TABLE 4.
Intra and Interracial Rape 1971-1975:
Single Activity

Race Offender/Victim	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White/White	11 (30.5)	14 (41.2)	15 (41.7)	12 (27.3)	42 (46.7)	94 (39.2)
Black/Black	10 (27.8)	10 (29.4)	8 (22.2)	11 (25.0)	10 (11.1)	49 (20.4)
Latino/Latino	1 (2.8)		1 (2.8)	3 (6.8)	4 (4.4)	9 (3.8)
Other Intraracial		1 (2.9)			1 (1.1)	2 (0.8)
Sub-total Intraracial	22 (61.1)	25 (73.5)	24 (66.7)	26 (59.1)	57 (63.3)	154 (64.2)
White/Black				1 (2.3)		1 (0.4)
White/Latino				1 (2.3)	2 (2.2)	3 (1.3)
Black/White	11 (30.6)	3 (8.8)	10 (27.8)	11 (25.0)	20 (22.2)	55 (22.9)
Black/Latino	1 (2.8)	1 (2.9)	1 (2.8)		1 (1.1)	4 (1.7)
Black/Other					1 (1.1)	1 (0.4)
Latino/White	2 (5.6)	2 (5.9)	1 (2.8)	5 (1.4)	7 (7.8)	17 (7.1)
Latino/Black		1 (2.9)			1 (1.1)	2 (0.8)
Other/White		1 (2.9)			1 (1.1)	2 (0.8)
Other/Latino		1 (2.9)				1 (0.4)
Sub-total Interracial	14 (38.9)	9 (26.5)	12 (33.3)	18 (40.9)	33 (36.7)	86 (35.8)
Total	36	34	36	44	90	240

Intraracial; Interracial by Year; Chi-Square = 2.06; 4 d.f.; $P \leq .80$

() = Percentage of Annual Total

stark contrast to the stability shown in the Total interactions in general and the Unknown and Single groups in particular (Cf, Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5). The Series data indicates significant proportional differences between intra- and interracial offenders across years. It was previously stated that for the total data set there are four types of intraracial rape and ten types of interracial rape. The Series racial characteristics are much more restricted; there are only two types of intraracial rape and five types of interracial rape.

Like the other offender groups, the majority of the intraracial rapes are between whites. But the majority of the interracial rapes in the Series group are not consistently between black offenders and

TABLE 5.
Intra and Interracial Rape 1971-1975:
Series Activity

Race Offender/Victim	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White/White	15 (33.3)	15 (50.0)	10 (55.6)	23 (65.7)	20 (46.5)	83 (48.0)
Black/Black	2 (4.4)	6 (20.0)		1 (2.9)		9 (5.3)
Sub-total Intraracial	17 (37.8)	21 (70.0)	10 (55.6)	24 (68.6)	20 (46.5)	92 (53.8)
White/Black				1 (2.9)		1 (0.6)
Black/White	23 (51.1)	4 (13.3)	6 (33.3)	4 (11.4)	9 (20.9)	46 (26.9)
Black/Latino	5 (11.1)					5 (2.9)
Latino/White		5 (16.7)	2 (11.1)	6 (17.1)	12 (27.9)	25 (14.6)
Other/White					2 (4.7)	2 (1.2)
Sub-total Interracial	28 (62.2)	9 (30.0)	8 (44.4)	11 (31.4)	23 (53.5)	79 (46.2)
Total	45	30	18	35	43	171

Intraracial; Interracial by Year; Chi-Square = 11.82; 4 d.f.; $P \leq .02$

() = Percentage of Annual Total

white victims (Table 5). For three of the five years, the latino offender-white victim rape is the predominant type of interracial rape.

In the previous discussions of the racial interactions for all activity groups, 1971 was described as being an anomaly because rape was primarily an interracial offense (Table 2). During 1971, there are 38 black-white assaults accounting for 40.8% of the annual total (Table 2). Four of these assaults are from the Unknown group (Table 3); another eleven assaults are from the Single group (Table 4). The twenty-three black-white series assaults during 1971 is the major contributor to the higher interracial proportion (Cf, Tables 2 and 5).

Previously, it was determined that the Single group is persistently and predominantly intraracial (Table 4). The Single group intraracial proportions range from a low of 59.1% (1973) to a high of 73.5% (1972) (Table 4). The average absolute difference between the annual proportions of intraracial rape is 6.88 percentage points. In contrast, the proportions of intraracial rape for the Unknown group are lower; ranging from 41.7% (1971) to a high of 59.4% (1973) (Table 3). The average absolute difference between the annual proportion of Unknown intraracial rape is 7.98 percentage points. The Series group exhibits greater variability than the Unknown or Single groups. The lowest intraracial proportion is 37.8% (1971) and the highest is 70% (1972) (Table 5). However, 1975 records a series intraracial percentage of 46.5. In other words, for two of the five years, Series rapes are predominantly interracial. Moreover, the average absolute difference between the annual proportions of intraracial Series rape is 17.3%, indicating greater fluctuation than the Unknown or Single groups.

Table 6 is a breakdown of the number and race of Series offenders and their victims. In total, 39 offenders are responsible for 171 rapes. This table illustrates the problems with inferring the number of offenders of a particular race from the number of incidents or victimizations. For example, during 1971, there is an equal number of white and black series offenders. The victimizations would imply 15 white offenders and 30 black offenders. Actually the number of white offenders is exaggerated by 10 and black offenders by 25. During 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1975, the number of white and black series offenders are equal, yet 1971 is the only year where the number of black series victimization exceeds the whites'. Furthermore, during 1975, there is an equal number of latino Series offenders, but their activities exceed the blacks. In the Series offenses the majority of the victims are white. While there is only one more white of-

TABLE 6.
The Series Offenders

Year Offender Race	Number of Series Offenders	Victim Race			Total Victimizations
		White	Black	Latino	
1971					
White	5	15			15
Black	5	23	2	5	<u>30</u>
					45
1972					
White	3	15			15
Black	3	4	6		10
Latino	2	5			<u>5</u>
					30
1973					
White	2	10			10
Black	2	6			6
Latino	1	2			<u>2</u>
					18
1974					
White	3	23	1		24
Black	2	4	1		5
Latino	1	6			<u>6</u>
					35
1975					
White	3	20			20
Black	3	9			9
Latino	3	12			12
Other	1	2			<u>2</u>
					43
Total					
White	16	83	1		84
Black	15	46	9	5	60
Latino	7	25			25
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>			<u>2</u>
	39	156	10	5	171

fender than black, the whites are responsible for 84 assaults while the blacks are responsible for 60 assaults.

The Single and Series activities equal 411 incidents where an offender was apprehended. Series assaults constitute 41.6% of these incidents. There are 240 Single Activity offenders and 39 Series Offenders which total 279 offenders. Therefore, the Series offenders

constitute 22.8% of the offenders, but are responsible for 41.6% of the cleared incidents. Although this finding does not exactly correspond with the findings of Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin that a minority of the delinquents commit a majority of the offenses (1972, 88; and see, Hamparian et al., 1978) it does suggest that the Series offenders complicate the racial representation of offenders.

Essentially there are two methods for assessing racial representation. The first method, the more traditional, is simply a tally of the number of incidents by race of the offender. This method assumes that the incidents are independent (Table 7). The second method controls for the activities of the Series offenders by counting only the number of offenders. Thus, in a sense, the Series offenders are counted as if they are Single offenders (Table 8). Because of their rarity the racial classification of "other" has been eliminated from the discussions of racial representation.

According to Table 7 there is a highly significant difference in the proportional changes of racial categories across years. Yet, the only valid generalization emanating from this table is the quantity of assaults attributed to different racial groups varies significantly across years. The actual number of offenders is indicated in Table 8 which controls for the assaults of the Series group. Table 8 indicates there is not a significant difference in the proportional changes across years.

TABLE 7.
Racial Representation Inferred from Incidents

Offender/Race	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White	26 (32.1)	29 (47.5)	25 (46.3)	38 (48.1)	64 (49.6)	182 (45.0)
Black	52 (64.2)	24 (39.3)	25 (46.3)	27 (34.2)	41 (31.8)	169 (41.8)
Latino	3 (3.7)	8 (13.1)	4 (17.4)	14 (17.7)	24 (18.6)	53 (13.1)
Total	81	61	54	79	129	404

Chi-Square = 29.2; 8 d.f.; $P \leq .001$

() = Percentage of Annual Total

TABLE 8.
Racial Representation After Controlling for Series Assaults

Offender/Race	Year					Total
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
White	16 (34.8)	17 (43.6)	17 (41.5)	17 (34.0)	47 (48.5)	114 (41.8)
Black	27 (58.7)	17 (43.6)	21 (51.2)	24 (48.0)	35 (36.1)	124 (45.4)
Latino	3 (6.5)	5 (12.8)	3 (7.3)	9 (18.0)	15 (15.5)	35 (12.8)
Total	46	39	41	50	97	273

Chi-Square = 1032; 8 d.f.; $P \leq .30$
 () = Percentage of Annual Total

Comparing Tables 6, 7 and 8 indicates how the racial group with the most Series incidents overestimates the representation of that particular group; the blacks are overrepresented during 1971; the whites are overrepresented during 1972 to 1975. The latinos appear to be increasing across years, but one could argue that these data are too unstable.

Assuming racial representation from incident data relays erroneous changes in the number of offenders. The change in black offenders between 1971 and 1972 is not a decrease of 28 offenders as indicated in Table 7, but a decrease of ten as conveyed in Table 8. Furthermore, the increase of black offenders between 1974 and 1975 is not 14 offenders (Table 7) but 11 offenders (Table 8). The incident data could lead one to assume that the white offenders increase by 13 between 1973 and 1974 and by 26 between 1975 and 1975 (Table 7). In reality, the number of white offenders is almost constant between 1971 and 1974. While the actual increase between 1974 and 1975 is 30 offenders (Cf, Tables 7 and 8).

During 1975, coincident with the revised rape statute, the white offenders record their highest proportion of the offender population, while the blacks record their lowest representation (Table 8). However, it is the white offenders that present a more positive association with the revised rape statute. Racial representation from incident data indicate that during 1975 the whites account for 49.6% of

the offenders (Table 7). White representation after controlling for the Series group yields a proportion of 48.5% (Table 8). The difference between the two proportions is 1.1 percentage points. Thus, indicating, for the whites during 1975, the two methods for measuring representation are almost congruent. This is because the abrupt increase of white single activity offenders (44) strongly influences the representation (Cf, Table 4, 7, and 8).

The 1975 Special Census counted 770,394 inhabitants of San Diego. The racial composition of the heads of household were 84.3% white, 6.8% black, 6.1% latino, and 2.8% other (San Diego City Planning Department, 1975:1). Comparing the Table 8 with the population data for San Diego indicates during 1975 the whites are underrepresented as offenders; the blacks are almost six times overrepresented as offenders; and the proportion of latino offenders is more than double their proportion of the resident population. Hence, the minorities are overrepresented as rape offenders, while the whites are underrepresented. Regardless, if racial representation is based on incidents (Table 7) or offenders (Table 8). These findings still are true.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Do rapes occur primarily between offenders and victims of the same race? This was the primary question guiding the research; the answer is a qualified yes. It is qualified because for four of the five years rape was predominantly intraracial. However, Amir's (1971) initial finding cannot be supported by these data since a majority of the intraracial rapes are between whites rather than minorities. This finding combined with the fact that during 1971 rape was primarily interracial between black offenders and white victims coincides with the criteria utilized in the conceptualization of the West Phenomenon by Curtis (1975).

The fact that rape was primarily interracial during 1971 and intraracial for the remaining years alludes to the tenuousness of generalizations formed by observing the racial interactions for only one year. Disaggregating the data and classifying the rapes according to the extent of an offender's activity partially explains why 1971 was an interracial anomaly. Basically the activities of 5 black offenders who assaulted 23 white and 5 latino victims inflated the interracial proportion for that year.

On the whole, the offender activity classification did not simplify the relationship between race and rape, but complicated it. While instability is a property of the data set there are indications that each offender activity group has its individual racial character. The Unknown group is primarily intraracial, but very close to the median; the Single group has almost consistently higher intraracial proportions than the Unknown group; the Series group exhibits radical fluctuations between being predominantly inter- and intraracial. In all three groups, intraracial rape is primarily between whites. In the Unknown and Single groups interracial rape is primarily between black offenders and white victims. While for three of the five years, the predominant type of interracial assault in the Series group is latino offender-white victim.

The racial characteristics of the offender activity groups suggests that interracial rape is not a unitary concept. In light of LaFree's (1982) findings, perhaps we should return to the joint recognition of the social interaction and politicalization models as suggested earlier by Curtis (1975). Perhaps the repeated assaults of white victims by the same minority offender is indicative of the rage and revenge implied by the politicalization or conflict model. The Single group, because by definition, the offender commits one reported rape and then is apprehended by the police suggests the victim is able to relay very tangible information about her assailant to the police (Skogan and Atunes, 1979). This tangible information may be the product of social interaction. Hence one should examine some of the situational variables considered by LaFree (1982) such as victim-offender relationship and the setting of the assault. The hypothesized linkage between social interaction-Single offender rape is very appropriate for Single activity white intraracial rape.

During 1975, with the new rape statute in effect there is a prominent increase in Single activity rapes (Table 1). Moreover, the increase of white intraracial Single activity rapes is the most conspicuous (Table 4). This observation runs counter to Hindelang's assertion that rapes involving black offenders are more likely to be reported than those involving white offenders (1978, 103). Hindelang's statement was not made in reference to social interaction, tangible information, revised statutes, and increased reporting of assaults. Hence, a new path of inquiry would be if revised rape statutes induce the reporting of particular racial interactions. The magnitude of the increase of white Single activity rapes during 1975 suggests a positive relationship with the revised rape statute.

It was demonstrated how inferring racial group representation from incident data can distort the representation of the racial group with the most Series assaults and provide false indicators of trends. Moreover, the Unknown offenses were eliminated from the assessment of representation because of the alleged confusion in properly identifying the races of offenders and the inability to determine the extent of the Unknown offenders' activities. These two limitations serve to complicate the relationship between race and rape.

Rape has been and continues to be one of the most highly emotional and controversial issues facing society. However, the emotion and controversy are accelerated by interracial rape or in the word of Brownmiller:

no single event ticks off America's political schizophrenia with greater certainty than the case of a black man accused of raping a white woman. Facts are irrelevant to the public imagination. Objectivity is thrown out the window. (1975, 210)

The difference between the assumed and the actual number of offenders may not be significant in an orthodox statistical sense. But given the subjectivity associated with rape, every researcher has the professional responsibility to qualify their measurements of interracial rape—even at the risk of being labeled a quantitative heretic.

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