



Ministry  
of Justice

# Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

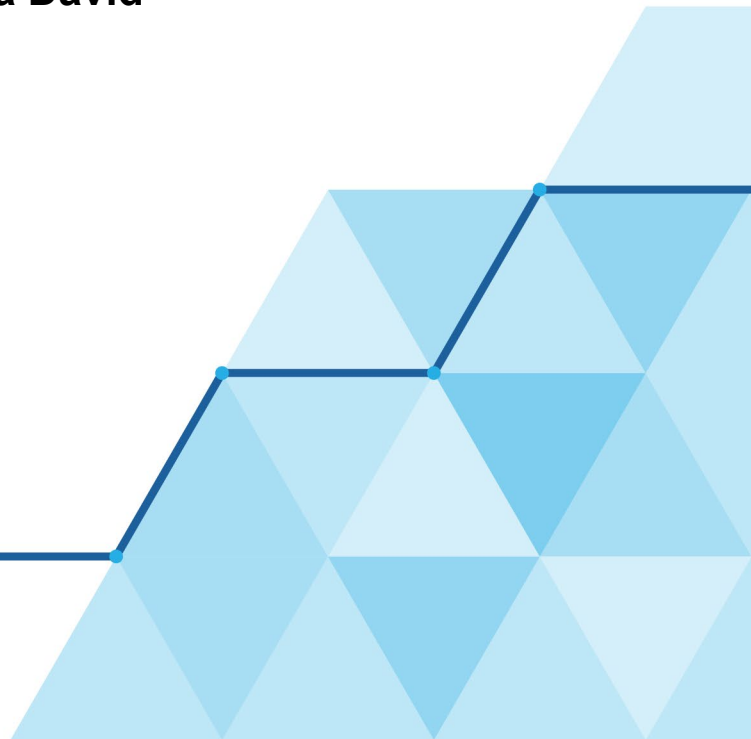
## Rapid evidence assessment

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This publication was facilitated by the Evidence and Partnerships Hub. The Hub exists to establish and strengthen links with external experts, helping to address departmental strategic evidence gaps as set out in our published [Areas of Research Interest](#).

## **Content warning**

Please note that this report synthesises evidence from studies on the topics of rape and domestic abuse, which some readers may find distressing.

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## Glossary of key terms

Term	Definition
Intimate relationship	A close personal relationship between two individuals who identify as a couple (e.g. husband, wife, boyfriend, girlfriend). The relationship can be characterised as being physically or emotionally intimate, or both. <sup>1</sup>
Consent	<p>Under English and Welsh law, the Sexual Offences Act 2003 contains a statutory definition of consent to engage in sexual activity, which specifies that consent occurs if the person “agrees by choice, and has the freedom and capacity to make that choice.”</p> <p>A person does <b>not</b> give consent if they are:<sup>2</sup></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Under the influence of alcohol or drugs</li> <li>• Asleep or unconscious</li> <li>• Pressured, manipulated, or tricked into saying yes</li> <li>• Too young or vulnerable to have the freedom and capacity to make that choice (e.g. has a health condition that limits ability to consent).</li> </ul>
Rape	<p>Under English and Welsh law as set out in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, rape is defined as:</p> <p>(1) A person (A) commits an offence if—</p> <p>(a) he intentionally penetrates the vagina, anus or mouth of another person (B) with his penis,</p> <p>(b) B does not consent to the penetration, and</p> <p>(c) A does not reasonably believe that B consents.</p>
Sexual assault	<p>Under English and Welsh law as set out in the Sexual Offences Act 2003, sexual assault is defined as:</p> <p>(1) A person (A) commits an offence if—</p> <p>(a) he intentionally touches another person (B),</p> <p>(b) the touching is sexual,</p> <p>(c) B does not consent to the touching, and</p> <p>(d) A does not reasonably believe that B consents.</p>
Sexual coercion	Sexual coercion can be defined as “an act of using pressure, alcohol or drugs, or force to have sexual contact with someone against his or her will; persistent attempts to have sexual contact with someone who has already refused.” <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Definition provided by the MoJ.

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from <https://www.nhs.uk/aboutNHSCchoices/professionals/healthandcareprofessionals/child-sexual-exploitation/Documents/Consent-information-leaflet.pdf> and <https://rapecrisis.org.uk/get-informed/about-sexual-violence/sexual-consent/>

<sup>3</sup> From <https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/sexual-coercion>

Term	Definition
Stranger rape	Rape committed by perpetrator unknown to the victim. <sup>4</sup> Can include:  Stranger 1: the victim and perpetrator are complete strangers in that they have never met before and are unknown to one another before the offence.  Stranger 2: the victim did not know the offender 24 hours prior to the offence, or the offender did not know the victim 24 hours before the offence. Knowing minimally involves having met, had a conversation with the person, and being able to recognise the other person. All three of these conditions must be met to classify knowing. <sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Throughout this report we use the term ‘victim’ rather than ‘survivor’ or ‘victim/survivor’. This is to reflect the criminal nature of the behaviours that are the focus of the review (see <https://sakitta.org/toolkit/docs/Victim-or-Survivor-Terminology-from-Investigation-Through-Prosecution.pdf>)

<sup>5</sup> Definitions provided by the MoJ.



# 1. Summary

The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) commissioned the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) to conduct a rapid evidence assessment (REA) to provide insights into the similarities and differences between perpetrators of adult stranger rape and intimate partner rape, with a particular focus on perpetrator characteristics.

The review addressed the following three research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of individuals who commit rape within the context of an adult intimate relationship (intimate partner rape)?
2. What are the characteristics of individuals who commit adult stranger rape?
3. What (if any) are the similarities or differences between individuals who commit adult intimate partner rape and those who commit adult stranger rape?

## Methodology of the review

For the present REA, literature was identified via a systematic search of academic databases and Google Scholar. Search results were screened for inclusion against pre-specified inclusion/exclusion criteria and checked for relevance against the research questions. A total of 2054 academic studies were screened; 121 studies met the inclusion criteria. The studies were then systematically prioritised based on relevance and a total of 46 studies were included in the final review.

### Methodological caveat

The rapid and streamlined nature of REAs means that certain parameters are necessary to limit the breadth and depth of the review. As such, an REA may omit relevant literature that is not identified following the search and screening processes and/or does not fit within the agreed parameters of the review.

## Methodological summary of the evidence base

### Evidence on characteristics of partner perpetrators

There was limited evidence that expressly examined intimate partner rape. Most evidence was obtained from papers on the topic of sexual coercion or sexual aggression in relationships and/or papers on intimate partner violence (IPV) that disaggregated the forms of IPV to allow for extraction of information specific to sexual IPV (often measured as sexual coercion).<sup>6</sup> Evidence on the characteristics of partner rapists was primarily obtained from research carried out in the United States of America (USA) and Canada. Studies typically collected data from opportunity/convenience samples of men or heterosexual couples recruited from the community, or samples of university/college students.

### Evidence on characteristics of stranger perpetrators

The majority of the evidence on the characteristics of stranger rapists was obtained from research that specifically studied stranger rape offences and offenders. However, some limited evidence from research with stranger perpetrators of sexual assault or sexual aggression was also included in the review and is acknowledged and caveated where relevant. Most commonly, evidence on the characteristics of stranger rape offenders came from the UK. Studies largely analysed administrative data on known stranger rape cases. A limited number of studies surveyed and/or interviewed victims or collected survey data from men in the general population.

### Evidence on the similarities and differences between partner and stranger perpetrators

Very little evidence identified for this review included a direct comparison of stranger and partner rapists. Five studies provided evidence of similarities and/or differences between the two offender groups. Three of these studies report findings of research with prison samples or analysis of police data, while one reports findings from a community sample of men, and another presents findings from research with women victims. The evidence comes from North America, the UK, and South Africa.

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<sup>6</sup> Therefore, for completeness and where relevant, we refer to partner rape and/or sexual coercion when presenting findings on the characteristics of partner perpetrators.

## Summary of perpetrator characteristics

### Demographics

The literature contained limited evidence for any statistically significant relationship between core demographic variables (such as employment status, age, and ethnicity) and intimate partner perpetrated rape and/or sexual coercion.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, the evidence on the demographic characteristics of stranger rape offenders took the form of demographic profiles. The studies included in this review reported an average stranger perpetrator age ranging from mid-20s to mid-30s. Findings also indicated that living with others and being in a relationship is not uncommon among stranger rapists. Only two studies directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on demographic characteristics, and both found an overall lack of difference in the characteristics of each perpetrator group. The exception was age: while one study found no difference in age, the other found that stranger rapists were significantly younger than partner rapists.

### Pathways and developmental factors

The evidence around developmental factors in the life histories of both partner and stranger perpetrators was limited. However, the evidence base indicates that some form of adversity in childhood may be linked to later offending in both groups. No papers included in the present review provided a direct comparison between partner and stranger perpetrators on the presence of development factors and/or the relationship between developmental factors and later partner or stranger rape perpetration.

### Offending history

The evidence base contained more detail on the offending history and versatility of stranger perpetrators than partner perpetrators. For partner perpetrators, the literature provided some evidence that ongoing non-sexual IPV (i.e. physical and/or emotional abuse) can co-occur with sexual IPV, that a history of perpetrating psychological IPV is associated with later partner rape perpetration, and that some men display a pattern of sexual coercion and/or partner rape between intimate relationships. For stranger perpetrators, the evidence base contained more information on previous offending and

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<sup>7</sup> Throughout this report, when the term 'significantly' is used in reference to research findings, we are referring to statistical significance.

offending versatility. Within the literature, reported levels of previous convictions for sexual offences varied; however, across studies, the number of stranger rape offenders with a previous conviction for a sexual offence was in the minority. The literature also included evidence of offending versatility; stranger rapists have been found to have previous convictions for a range of offence types – from acquisitive to violent offences. Only two studies included in the review compared the criminal histories and recidivism rates for stranger and partner rape perpetrators and found little difference. An exception being that partner rape perpetrators have been found to be more likely to have a history of partner violence perpetration than stranger rape perpetrators.

### **Offence behaviours**

Evidence on the offence behaviours of perpetrators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion centred on the levels of sexual coercion used (from verbal through to physical tactics) and indicated that verbal coercion is more prevalent than use of physical force. By contrast, offence behaviours were a core characteristic identified within the literature on stranger rapists. Within the evidence reviewed, the most prevalent sexual act forced by stranger perpetrators on their victims was vaginal penetration, while the use of threats and physical violence were also ubiquitous among stranger rape cases. Although some evidence pointed to the presence of weapons as a common feature of stranger rapes, other studies found that weapons were used in a minority of stranger rape cases. Two studies included in this review directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on offence behaviours (use of weapons and injury) and found that stranger perpetrators were more likely to use weapons and power tactics (i.e. force) than partner perpetrators.

### **Psychological factors**

The findings of the research included in this review point to a relationship between a range of offence supportive beliefs and perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion. These include a sense of male entitlement, hostile sexism, desire for sexual dominance, and attitudes justifying sexual coercion. Some limited evidence also indicates that primary psychopathy, attachment anxiety, and neuroticism are all individual-level characteristics associated with a tendency to perpetrate sexual coercion or rape against a partner. By contrast, there was a paucity of this form of evidence for stranger rapists, and none of the

literature included in the review provided evidence of any similarities or differences in the psychological features of stranger and partner perpetrators.

### **Motivational factors**

Where evidence was available, findings indicate that sexual desire and gratification, and anger and jealousy can be motivators of both partner and stranger perpetrators. However, only one small study provided evidence on the similarities and differences in the offence motivations of both perpetrator groups. The findings of the study suggest that stranger rapists are more likely to fall into the categories of sexually-motivated or sexually-and-violence-motivated than partner rapists, while partner rapists are slightly more likely to be categorised as violence-motivated than stranger rapists.

### **Alcohol**

Findings from some studies included in the review suggest that heavier and/or frequent alcohol use is associated with partner sexual coercion or rape. Some studies also point to consumption of alcohol as a situational facilitator of partner rape or sexual coercion. The relationship between alcohol use and stranger rape was less clear. While the literature contained data on whether alcohol was consumed by the perpetrator prior to the attack, there was considerable variation in prevalence rates reported. None of the papers in this review provided a direct comparison between stranger and partner perpetrators and their use of alcohol or drugs in relation to their offending.

### **Typologies**

A seminal typology of marital rape reported within the literature is the typology developed by Finkelhor and Yilo (1985). The typology presents three 'types' of marital rape: battering only, force only, and obsessive rape. By contrast, the literature on stranger rape perpetrators contained a number of typologies of stranger rapist offence behaviours and offender characteristics, and offence behaviours and motivations. These are presented in the main body of the report.

## Future research

Based on the synthesis of the evidence included in this review, the following areas for future research are suggested:

- Research that looks expressly at rape in intimate relationships is needed – both with respect to the offence behaviour itself and the characteristics of the perpetrators.
- There is a need for UK-based research into the characteristics of the perpetrators of partner rape and sexual coercion.
- There was a lack of evidence on developmental factors or psychological characteristics and offence motivations of stranger perpetrators. These are gaps that could be filled by future research.
- There is a need for primary research that directly examines the similarities and differences between stranger and partner perpetrators on key characteristics.

## 2. Introduction and methodology

This report presents the findings of a rapid evidence assessment (REA) on the characteristics of adult perpetrators of stranger rape and partner rape. The primary aim of the REA was to identify and synthesise evidence in relation to the characteristics of both perpetrator groups and to draw conclusions on the similarities and differences between them. A secondary aim was to identify evidence gaps and the methodological limitations that have contributed to these gaps. The intention is that findings from the review will inform future policy and operational decisions on this topic.

### 2.1 Background to the review

Combined data from the 2017 and 2020 Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW; Office for National Statistics, 2021) shows that women over the age of 16 are more likely to experience rape or assault by penetration from a partner or ex-partner (44.8%) than a stranger (14.9%).<sup>8</sup> However, the CSEW data also shows that women are more likely to tell someone about rape committed by a stranger (83.3%) compared to when committed by a partner or ex-partner (64.8%; Office for National Statistics, 2021).<sup>9</sup> As such, partner rape remains largely hidden and the characteristics of partner perpetrators poorly understood (e.g. Bergen, 2006).

As part of the former Government's focus on improving the Criminal Justice System's (CJS) response to adult rape, MoJ officials identified a need to better understand the victim-perpetrator relationship and perpetrator characteristics.

Accordingly, the MoJ commissioned the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) to conduct an REA to provide insights into the similarities and differences between perpetrators of adult stranger rape and intimate partner rape, with a particular focus on

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<sup>8</sup> Throughout this review, we report figures up to two decimal points. The exception is where this information is not contained/reported in the original source.

<sup>9</sup> This includes telling a friend or relative, someone in an official position (e.g. the police), or a support organisation or professional (e.g. a therapist or victim support organisation)

perpetrator characteristics. The intention is that findings from this work will be used by MoJ officials to inform ongoing work to improve the CJS response to adult rape.

## 2.2 Defining the scope of the review

To avoid ambiguity, key terms discussed as part of the aims and background to the review, and which inform the scope of the review, are set out in Table 1.

**Table 1: Definitions of the scope**

Term	Scope
Age	Adult perpetrators and victims For the purposes of this report, 'adult' is defined as being age 16 at the time of the offence
Characteristics	Individual level characteristics (e.g. demographics, psychological features, psychopathology, motivations, developmental factors) Offence characteristics / offending patterns
Gender and sexual orientation	Offences perpetrated by males against female victims Heterosexual relationships
Offence behaviour	Stranger rape Intimate partner rape Sexual intimate partner violence

Definitions of key terms can be found in the glossary at the front of this report.

## 2.3 Research questions

This evidence review addresses the following three research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of individuals who commit rape within the context of an adult intimate relationship (intimate partner rape)?
2. What are the characteristics of individuals who commit adult stranger rape?
3. What (if any) are the similarities or differences between individuals who commit adult intimate partner rape and those who commit adult stranger rape?



## 2.4 Methodology

An REA is a method used to systematically collate, screen, assess, and synthesise available research evidence on any given policy concept or issue as comprehensively as possible within a limited time frame (Government Social Research Unit, 2003). This section provides a summary of the methodological approach taken in this REA. The criteria and processes for the search strategy, screening, data extraction and synthesis are summarised below.

### Search strategy

This study involved a systematic search for academic literature in five databases (see Appendix A), which were chosen for their relevance to the topic of the review. These databases were searched using a complex search string (see Appendix B) developed in relation to the inclusion criteria (see Appendix C). The search string was developed in collaboration with an information retrieval specialist and then piloted and refined so that it was suitably precise.

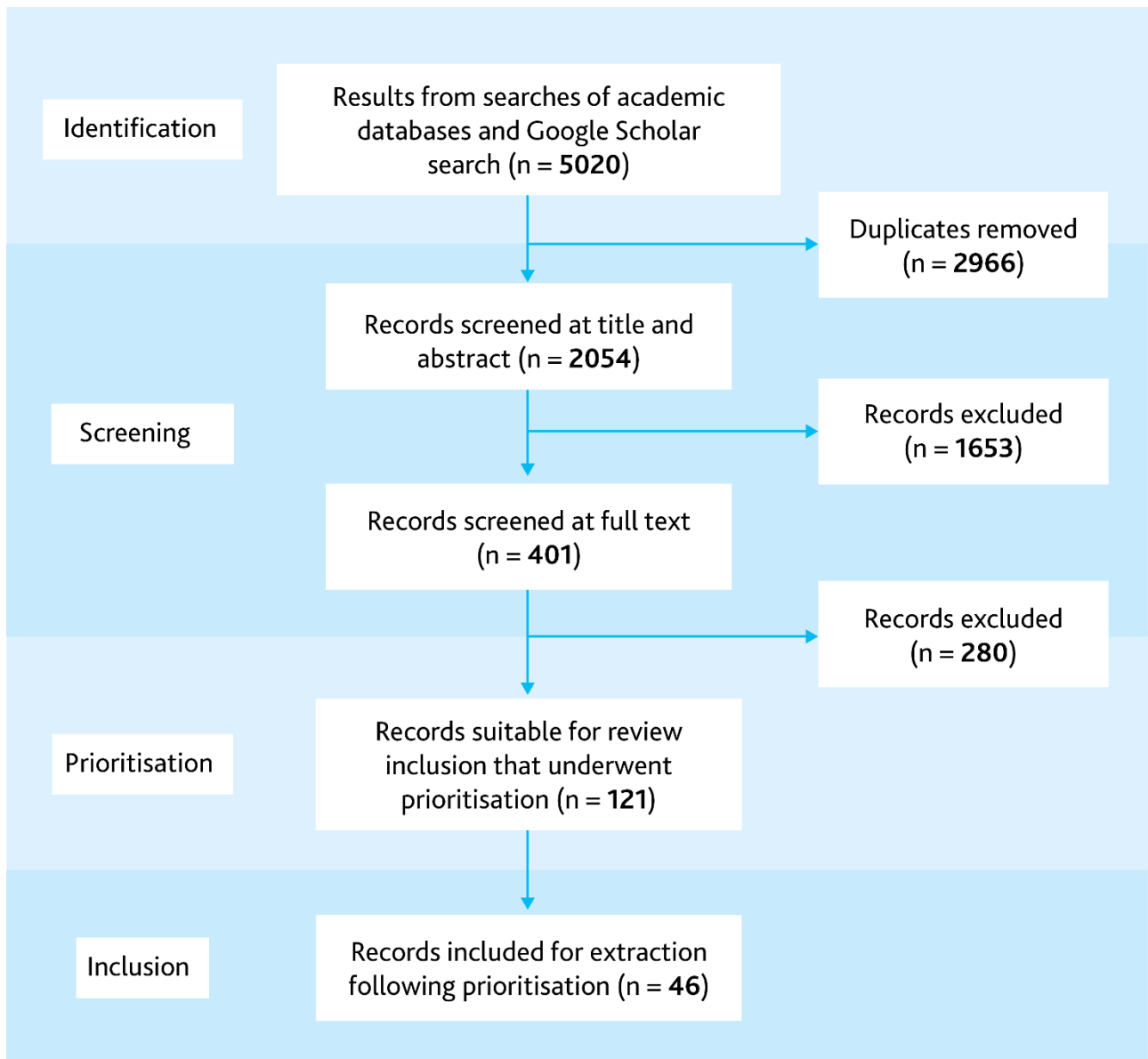
In addition to searching academic databases for published literature, Google Scholar was searched to identify relevant grey (unpublished) literature and academic literature not picked up by the database searches. For this search, a simplified version of the search string developed for the academic databases was used (see Appendix D).

### Screening

Search results were screened for inclusion at two stages: title and abstract, and full text, and involved assessing each piece of evidence against the inclusion/exclusion criteria and checked for relevance against the research questions. A total of 2054 academic studies were screened at title and abstract and 401 were then screened again at full-text.

Following full-text screening, 121 studies met the inclusion criteria, which was more evidence than could be included in the review, given time constraints. The studies were systematically prioritised based on relevance and a total of 46 studies were included in the final review (see Appendix E for prioritisation criteria). Figure 1 illustrates the search and screening process.

Figure 1: PRISMA diagram



### Data extraction and synthesis

Informed by the research questions and the scope of the review, a thematic data extraction framework was developed. Each piece of evidence retained for final inclusion was read closely and relevant information recorded in the extraction framework. The extracted information was then synthesised thematically according to the three research questions.

## Quality appraisal

The Weight of Evidence Framework set out by Gough (2007) was used to assess the quality and relevance of studies. Studies were graded on three dimensions:

- **A. Coherence and integrity of the evidence in its own terms.** This is a non-review specific judgement of quality and asks whether the study in question is of good quality.
- **B. Appropriateness of the form of evidence for answering the review question/s.** This is a review specific judgment of quality and asks whether the methods of the study in question are appropriate for answering the review question/s. Here, a study may be of good quality but not appropriate for answering the review question/s.
- **C. Relevance of the focus of the evidence for the review question/s.** This is another review specific judgment of quality; however, this criterion asks how well a study is able to answer the review question/s based on the relevance to the review.

Studies were judged against how well they align with the above criteria and assigned an overall score (low, medium, or high) based on the scores for each dimension.

The papers included in the review were generally of good quality. Of the 46 studies retained for extraction, 22 were given an overall score of 'high quality'; 17 were given a score of medium-high; 7 were given a score of low-medium quality. The scores for each paper are provided in Appendix F.

## Methodological caveats

As already noted, an REA is a form of evidence review that identifies, assesses, and synthesises available and accessible evidence on a specific topic as comprehensively as possible, but within a short timeframe (Government Social Research Unit, 2003). The rapid and streamlined nature of REAs means that certain parameters are necessary to limit the breadth and depth of the review.<sup>10</sup> This can include narrowing the scope (see Section 2.2), developing search strings that strike a reasonable balance between precision and recall

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<sup>10</sup> See further:

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20140402163359/http://www.civilservice.gov.uk/networks/gsr/resources-and-guidance/rapid-evidence-assessment/what-is>

(see Appendix B),<sup>11</sup> strict inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Appendix C), limiting the number of papers retained for extraction and use of prioritisation criteria (see Appendix E). As such, an REA may omit relevant literature that is not identified following the search and screening processes and/or does not fit within the agreed parameters of the review.

## 2.5 Report structure

Each chapter of the report presents the evidence in relation to each research question, before conclusions and areas for future research are presented. The report is structured as follows:

- **Chapter 3:** Characteristics of partner perpetrators
- **Chapter 4:** Characteristics of stranger perpetrators
- **Chapter 5:** Comparing the characteristics of partner and stranger perpetrators
- **Chapter 6:** Conclusion

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<sup>11</sup> Precision refers to the relevance of identified papers; perfect precision equates to only relevant papers being located. By contrast, recall refers to the proportion of relevant papers identified, and perfect recall equates to all relevant papers being located. Perfect precision and perfect recall are unlikely to be achieved. As such, it is typical to undertake a process of refinement whereby the aim is to achieve a reasonably high level of recall and a suitable level of precision (Salvador-Oliván et al., 2019). Search results are then manually screened for relevance.

### 3. Characteristics of intimate partner perpetrators

- The literature contained limited evidence for any statistically significant relationship between core demographic variables (such as employment status, age, and ethnicity) and intimate partner perpetrated rape and/or sexual coercion.
- The evidence indicates that witnessing, rather than experiencing (i.e. being the direct victim of), family violence is linked to later sexual violence against a partner.
- There is some limited evidence that ongoing non-sexual IPV (i.e. physical and/or emotional abuse) can co-occur with sexual IPV, that a history of perpetrating psychological IPV is associated with later partner rape perpetration, and that some men display a pattern of sexual coercion and/or partner rape between intimate relationships.
- Regarding offence behaviours, findings indicate that verbal coercion is more prevalent than use of physical force in instances of partner rape and/or sexual coercion.
- There is evidence that a sense of male entitlement, hostile sexism, a desire for sexual dominance, as well as psychopathy, insecure attachment, and narcissism are all individual-level characteristics associated with a tendency to perpetrate sexual coercion or rape against a partner.
- Findings contained within the evidence base indicate that sexual desire and gratification, and anger and jealousy can be motivators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion.
- Heavier and/or frequent alcohol use has been found to be associated with the perpetration of sexual coercion against a partner.

- A seminal typology of marital rape reported within the literature is the typology developed by Finkelhor and Yilo (1985). The typology presents three ‘types’ of marital rape: battering only, force only, and obsessive rape.

This chapter synthesises the evidence on the characteristics of partner rape offenders and answers Research Question 1 (RQ1). A methodological overview of the evidence base is provided before findings in relation to demographic characteristics, pathways and developmental factors, offending versatility and offending history, and offence behaviours are presented. Next, evidence on the psychological features, offence motivations, and alcohol use in partner perpetrators is provided before the chapter concludes with an overview of a seminal typology of partner rape.

### 3.1 Methodological overview of the evidence

#### Types of sexual offences measured

There was limited evidence that expressly examined intimate partner rape. Most evidence for RQ1 was necessarily obtained from papers on the topic of sexual coercion or sexual aggression in relationships and/or papers on intimate partner violence (IPV) that disaggregated the forms of IPV to allow for extraction of information specific to sexual IPV (often measured as sexual coercion).

Within the literature reviewed, partner sexual coercion was typically measured via the Sexual Coercion subscale of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS-2; Straus, Hamby, Bony-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996).<sup>12</sup> As such, there is relative consistency in the measurement of the offending behaviour across the studies included in the evidence base. However, it should be noted that one study also used the Sexual Experiences Scale (SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) and one study used the Multidimensional Sexual Coercion Questionnaire (MSCQ; Raghavan, Cohen, & Tamborra, 2015).

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<sup>12</sup> The Sexual Coercion subscale of the CTS-2 is comprised of seven items: 1. Made my partner have sex without a condom; 2. Insisted on sex when my partner did not want to (but did not use physical force); 3. Insisted my partner have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force); 4. Used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have oral or anal sex; 5. Used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex; 6. Used threats to make my partner have oral or anal sex; 7. Used threats to make my partner have sex (Straus et al., 1996, p. 309).

## Geography

Evidence for RQ1 was primarily obtained from research carried out in the United States of America (USA) and Canada. However, evidence was also obtained from studies from a range of countries outside North America, including Australia, Bangladesh, South Africa, Turkey, and Uganda. No research from the United Kingdom (UK) was identified for RQ1, which strongly suggests that there is a need for evidence on sexual IPV and/or partner rape from samples in the UK. While a number of the countries listed have legal systems based on English common law and therefore have comparable legal systems to England and Wales, some of these countries are considered culturally different to the UK. As such, comparison and interpretation of the results of the studies presented in this review should be undertaken with caution.

## Samples and data sources

The evidence base for addressing RQ1 lacked research with representative samples.<sup>13</sup> The studies included in this review primarily collected data from opportunity/convenience samples of men or heterosexual couples recruited from the community (e.g. from adverts), or samples of university/college students. However, evidence also came from samples of men in treatment programmes for IPV perpetrators and men convicted of rape of a partner, as well as samples of female victims. One study analysed data from a national database. Due to this lack of evidence from representative samples, the findings from the individual studies that are reported should not be considered generalisable and should be interpreted with caution.

## 3.2 Demographics

Rather than presenting a demographic profile of the perpetrators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion, the evidence base contained data on the relationship (if any) between

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<sup>13</sup> A representative sample is a sample that is representative of the population that is the focus of the research in question. For example, if the population being studied is university students in the UK you would look for a sample that is representative of this population. A representative sample is important to allow the findings of the research to be generalised to the population under study. 'Representative' means that the sample shares similar characteristics / reflects the characteristics of the broader population. The level of representativeness can vary in detail but can cover key socio-demographic features such as gender, ethnicity, and education level. See further: <https://www.statisticssolutions.com/what-is-a-representative-sample/>.

certain demographic variables and the prevalence or frequency of the sexually violent behaviour/s.

Previous reviews (Martin, Taft, & Resick, 2007; Schuster & Krahe, 2017) found limited evidence for any statistically significant relationship between core demographic variables (such as employment status, age, and ethnicity) and intimate partner perpetrated rape and/or sexual coercion. In line with this, the papers in our review that examined demographic characteristics of partner perpetrators also yielded non-significant results.

A study by Lisco, Parrott, and Tharp (2012) used survey responses from 205 heterosexual men living in a large American city to investigate the relationship between heavy episodic drinking (HED) and men's perpetration of sexual coercion against their intimate partner. No significant correlations were found between demographic variables (i.e. age, ethnicity, and years of education) and the perpetration of sexual coercion towards an intimate partner. Similarly, Gallagher, Hudepohl, and Parrott (2010) carried out a study with a community sample of 167 men recruited from a large American city to explore the relationship between mindfulness, history of alcohol consumption, and sexual coercion towards intimate partners. No significant association between the demographic variables of perpetrator age or ethnicity, and quantity/frequency of alcohol use, mindfulness, and perpetration of sexual coercion was detected. Finally, Brousseau, Hébert, and Bergeron (2012) did not find any significant relationships between a range of demographic variables (e.g. age, annual income, occupation, education, relationship status, duration of current relationship) and the perpetration of partner sexual violence in a sample of 209 heterosexual couples.

A study by Mitchell and Raghavan (2011) detected some nuance in the association between perpetrator age and the type of coercive threats used against a partner. In this study, Mitchell and Raghavan (2011) examined the relationship between coercively controlling behaviour and sexual coercion<sup>14</sup> perpetrated by heterosexual men living in the USA who had been mandated to attend a domestic violence perpetrator programme. They found that while no overall relationship between age and perpetration of coercive control and sexual coercion was detected, they did find that perpetrators' use of 'relational threats'

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<sup>14</sup> For this study sexual coercion was measured via the Multidimensional Sexual Coercion Questionnaire; (MSCQ; Raghavan et al., 2014)



(e.g. that the relationship will end or the perpetrator will find a new partner), was significantly less likely among older perpetrators.

While a clear relationship between demographic factors and partner rape and/or sexual coercion has not been identified by the quantitative research included in this review, some qualitative evidence points to the relevance of men's age in their abuse of female partners. Tarzia (2021) carried out unstructured interviews with 38 Australian women about their experiences of sexual violence perpetrated by a male intimate partner. From these interviews, the researcher found that over half of the victims described their partner-perpetrator as being much older and more 'experienced' than they were. Tarzia (2021) suggests that this allowed the perpetrator to take advantage of the victim's limited experiences of healthy relationships to normalise the abuse.

Finally, one American study found an association between age and the type of intimate partner (dating vs married). Krienert and Walsh (2018) analysed reported incidents of sexual IPV from the National [USA] Incident-Based Reporting system (NIBRS) data between 2008–2012. They found that perpetrators of marital intimate sexual violence were significantly older than perpetrators of dating intimate partner sexual violence. Krienert and Walsh (2018) suggest that this difference is likely due to the tendency for married people (on average) to be older than people in dating relationships.

### **3.3 Pathways and developmental factors**

Most of the evidence on pathways and developmental factors in the life histories of the perpetrators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion centred on the influence of experiencing or witnessing family violence in childhood on later perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion.

Previous reviews have reported a link between experiencing and/or witnessing family violence in childhood and the perpetration of partner rape in adulthood (Martin et al., 2007; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1998; Schuster & Krahe, 2017). Similarly, Islam et al. (2017) examined the role of witnessing father-to-mother violence in childhood on the perpetration of physical and sexual IPV in a sample of 3,374 Bangladeshi men. This study found that those who had witnessed father-to-mother violence as a child were significantly more likely to have perpetrated sexual IPV or sexual and physical IPV than those who had

not. More specifically, men who reported witnessing father-to-mother violence were 2.40 times more likely to commit sexual IPV only and 5.97 times more likely to perpetrate both physical and sexual IPV. Taken together, the evidence indicates that witnessing, rather than experiencing (i.e. being the direct victim of), family violence is linked to later perpetration of sexual violence against a partner.

### 3.4 Offending versatility and offending histories

Within the research examined for this review, there was a lack of material relating to the official (i.e. police recorded) offending histories or offending versatility of perpetrators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion. Rather, the evidence base contained information regarding the co-occurrence of other forms of IPV and the continuation of sexual IPV between relationships.

#### **Co-occurring sexual and non-sexual IPV**

Evidence synthesised in an earlier non-systematic review by Monson and Langhinrichsen-Rohling (1998) found that based on studies of women seeking refuge from an abusive spouse or partner, there was a tendency for ongoing non-sexual IPV (i.e. physical and/or emotional abuse) to co-occur with sexual IPV in 33% to 59% of cases. While qualitative interviews with 38 Australian women carried out by Tarzia (2021) found that almost all participants reported that, alongside sexual violence, their partners behaved in controlling ways and were psychologically abusive towards them. By contrast, in a community sample of 3,374 Bangladeshi men who had ever been married, Islam et al. (2017) found that while 59.6% of men reported ever having committed physical or sexual violence against their wife, most (50.7%) reported that they had used only physical IPV against their wife. When examining rates of sexual IPV, the authors found that 1.8% of the total sample had committed only sexual IPV and 7.1% had committed both sexual and physical IPV.

The samples used by researchers may have contributed to variations in indications of the prevalence of co-occurring physical and sexual IPV. That is, clinical samples of women who have survived abuse and/or are seeking refuge from abusive partners likely represent women who have been subjected to more extreme levels of abuse, such as both physical and sexual abuse. By contrast, community samples of men may under-report their use of abusive behaviour and/or may not perceive their behaviour to be sexual coercion or rape.

### *Predictors of physical and sexual partner violence*

The findings of one study included in this review suggest that physical and sexual IPV may have similar aetiological underpinnings, which may explain the co-occurrence of the behaviours. Snead and Babcock (2019) studied differential predictors of intimate partner sexual coercion and physical assault perpetration by men in a community sample of 159 heterosexual couples. Analysis was carried out to examine whether men's verbal aggression, controlling behaviour, dominant behaviours, cognitive jealousy, behavioural jealousy, and emotional jealousy predicted sexual coercion perpetration more than they predicted physical assault perpetration. No significant differences in the predictors of either type of abuse were found. The authors suggest that this finding may mean that sexual coercion perpetration is a form of physical assault that does not have unique predictors.

### *Previous partner violence as a predictor of future partner rape*

One study examined whether previous partner violence predicts future partner rape. Gulati, Stappenbeck, George, and Davis (2021) conducted a longitudinal study with a community sample of 430 single heterosexual men and found that men who had committed more psychological IPV (but not physical IPV) in the past, as well as men who had greater histories of coercive condom use resistance (CUR),<sup>15</sup> were significantly more likely to have raped a partner<sup>16</sup> during a three-month follow-up period than men with lower scores on these measures. Further analysis found that coercive CUR moderated the relationship between previous psychological IPV and partner rape at follow up. That is, men with high coercive CUR scores were found to have perpetrated more completed rapes during the follow-up period than men with low coercive CUR scores but the same psychological IPV scores as the high coercive CUR men.

### **A pattern of sexual IPV between and within relationships**

Two studies included in this review point to a pattern of sexual coercion between and within intimate relationships. First, using a gender-neutral version of the Sexual Experiences Scale (SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) with a university sample of 209 heterosexual couples in Canada, Brousseau et al. (2012) found that males who had used

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<sup>15</sup> Not using a condom when your partner wants to use one (Gulati et al., 2021)

<sup>16</sup> The authors do not define 'partner' when explaining how they captured the follow up 'completed rape' data.

sexual coercion in previous relationships were significantly more likely to be perpetrators of sexual coercion in their current relationships. Second, based on clinical file data, McCormick, Maric, Seto, and Barbaree (1998) found that in a Canadian sample of 65 men who had been convicted of the rape of a partner and were taking part in a sex offender treatment programme, 35% had previously sexually assaulted the victim in the case being examined.

### **Sexual offending versatility**

One study provided evidence of sexual offending versatility among the perpetrators of partner rape. In a study of 1685 South African men, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, and Dunkle (2010) found that 26.7% of the sample had committed rape, with a 'considerable overlap' between different types of rape as categorised by the victim-perpetrator relationships (p. 26). Of relevance to this review, 5.3% of the sample had raped a partner, and stranger, acquaintance or family member; 4.4% of the sample had raped a partner, and a stranger, acquaintance, or family member, and participated in gang rape; 0.5% had raped a partner and participated in gang rape.

## **3.5 Offence behaviours**

### **Coercive tactics**

Within the literature reviewed, evidence on the offence behaviours of perpetrators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion centred on the range of coercive tactics used and came from three Canadian studies.

First, Jeffrey and Barata (2017) conducted in-depth interviews with female university students from Canada to explore their experiences of sexual coercion in intimate relationships. The participants described how their partners would often use a number of approaches or tactics when attempting to coerce them to engage in sexual activity. Jeffrey and Barata (2017) grouped these tactics into several themes along a continuum of less to more forceful verbal and physical tactics. For example, at one end of the spectrum, women described partners using 'positive' verbal coercion, such as complementing their attractiveness. Moving along the continuum, some women described more forceful verbal coercion such as the male partner shouting and becoming visibly angry if they did not want to engage in sexual activity. At its most extreme, sexual coercion reported by the women

in the sample included physical tactics such as using physical pressure or force or taking advantage of the participant being intoxicated to have sex with her.

In a survey-based study of sexual IPV perpetration, Jeffrey and Barata (2021) found that among a convenience sample of 441 male university students in Canada, 70 (15.9%) had committed at least one incident of sexual IPV in their most recent heterosexual relationship. Based on responses to survey questions, the authors found that the most common tactic used to facilitate sexual violence involving vaginal penetration was verbal coercion: 30% (n = 21) of perpetrators reported having used verbal coercion, 18.6% (n = 13) perpetrators had taken advantage of their partner's intoxication, and 10.0% (n = 7) of perpetrators had used or threatened the use of physical force.

Finally, Daspe, Sabourin, Godbout, Lussier, and Hébert (2016) collected questionnaire data on sexual coercion tactics from a Canadian community sample of heterosexual couples (comprised of 294 women and 279 men). They found that when sexual coercion tactics were categorised as 'insistence', 'use of threats', and 'use of physical force', both men and women reported that insistence was the most prevalent tactic used by the men in the previous year (16.8% males reported using this tactic; 14.1% females reported that this tactic had been used by their partner), while use of physical force was the least prevalent (0.4% of males reported using this tactic; 0.3% of females reported that this tactic has been used by their partner).

### **Differences between marital and dating sexual violence**

Within the literature reviewed, one study yielded evidence of some differences between the offence behaviours employed by perpetrators of dating compared to marital sexual violence. Using data from the National [USA] Incident-Based Reporting system (NIBRS) collected between 2008–2012, Krienert and Walsh (2018) compared the offence behaviours of perpetrators of dating and marital sexual violence. The study found that incidents of rape in marital relationships were significantly more likely to involve some form of weapon than incidents in dating relationships. However, in both dating and marital relationships, use of 'personal weapons' (hands, feet, teeth) was the most common form of weapon (73.3% [n = 2,597] in marital and 64.3% [n = 9,530] in dating incidents). Perhaps reflecting the greater use of weapons, injuries were significantly more likely to occur in incidents of marital sexual IPV (39%; n = 1,402) than in dating sexual IPV (24%; n =

3,694). Krienert and Walsh (2018) suggest that dating and marital sexual IPV may represent a continuum whereby early sexual dating violence behaviour continues into the marital relationship, becoming more serious over time.

### 3.6 Psychology: Offence supportive attitudes and beliefs

Most evidence under the theme of ‘psychology’ related to a range of attitudes and beliefs that support the use of men’s use of physical or verbal sexual coercion against a female partner.

#### **Male entitlement and expectations of ‘wifely [partner] duty’**

The theme of male entitlement was the most prevalent among the literature included in this review and was illustrated in the findings from three studies. First, a sense of male entitlement was evident in the findings from interviews and focus groups with 450 Ugandan men and women reported by Cash (2011), which included reports of men forcing their wives to have sex as a way of demonstrating their manliness and ownership of their wives’ bodies. Similarly, in interviews with 38 female survivors of sexual IPV in Australia, Tarzia (2021) found that a perpetrator characteristic mentioned by over a third of participants was an entitlement to sex. Participants reported that their partners believed they were entitled to sex when and how they wanted regardless of the partner’s feelings. For example, forcing vaginal or anal penetration while the partner was asleep and had previously stated that she did not want to participate in sexual activity. Finally, from interviews carried out with 10 male Canadian university students who had self-reported the use of sexual coercion against an intimate partner, Jeffrey and Barata (2019) identified a ‘have/hold’ discourse, which they described as relating to ‘Christian ideals of monogamy and partnership’ whereby sex is expected to occur in these relationships.

#### **Hostile sexism**

One study included in the review highlighted a relationship between ‘hostile sexism’<sup>17</sup> and sexual coercion towards a partner. From a survey-based study of 205 heterosexual American men, Lisco et al. (2012) found that men who had higher scores on a measure of

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<sup>17</sup> Defined as an “antipathy toward women who are seen as sexually promiscuous or insubordinate to men” (Lisco et al., 2012, p.1265).

hostile sexism were significantly more likely to perpetrate more frequent sexual coercion against an intimate partner than men with lower hostile sexism scores.

### **Attitudes justifying sexual coercion**

Evidence from one study indicates that men are more accepting of sexual aggression towards women with whom they have an intimate relationship. That is, in a study of 350 male students at an American university, Hoyt and Yeater (2011) found evidence of a significantly stronger relationship between attitudes justifying sexual coercion and selecting a sexually aggressive response to a hypothetical scenario when the scenario depicted an intimate relationship compared to when the scenario depicted a non-intimate relationship.<sup>18</sup>

Another study found a link between CUR and attitudes justifying the use of verbal pressure to coerce a partner to have sex.<sup>19</sup> Purdie, Abbey, and Jacques-Tiura (2010) analysed survey data from 78 male students at an American University who reported that they had used a coercive strategy to force some type of sex on a female intimate partner. They found that men in the sample who had made a partner have sex without a condom were more accepting of using verbal pressure to obtain sex from an intimate partner than those who had not.

### **Desire for sexual dominance**

Smith, Parrott, Swartout, and Tharp (2015) used data collected from a sample of 208 heterosexual American men aged 21–35 to examine the effects of men's antifemininity (the view that femininity is undesirable in men), desire for sexual dominance, and gender role stress associated with subordination to women, on their sexual aggression (coercion) towards female partners. They found that while stress associated with subordination to women and antifemininity did not directly lead to increased sexual aggression, these variables were found to indirectly influence sexual aggression via sexual dominance. As such, increased antifemininity and increased subordination to women both translated into increased desire for sexual dominance, which in turn led to increased likelihood of perpetrating sexual aggression in relationships.

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<sup>18</sup> The categories of intimate and non-intimate relationship are not defined by Hoyt and Yeater (2011).

<sup>19</sup> See footnote 15 for definition of CUR.

### 3.7 Psychology: Sexual dominance, psychopathy, attachment style, and neuroticism

In addition to attitudes and beliefs that support the use of partner rape and/or sexual coercion, the literature yielded some limited evidence relating to the relationship between psychopathy, attachment style, neuroticism, and partner rape and/or sexual coercion.

#### **Psychopathy**

Brassard et al. (2022) examined the relationship between psychopathy scores and sexual violence perpetration in a sample of 226 Canadian men taking part in a community treatment programme for perpetrators of IPV. They found that that increased primary psychopathy (but not secondary psychopathy) predicted increased levels of severe sexual violence perpetration against partners.<sup>20</sup> Brassard et al. (2022) observe that their findings are in line with the characterisation of primary psychopathy: that is, a tendency to prioritise oneself over others, with little consideration of others or remorse for any harmful behaviour (e.g. Cleckley, 1988; cited in Brassard et al., 2022). They suggest that this may translate into a tendency to prioritise personal sexual needs by any means necessary, such as use of force.

#### **Attachment style**

In addition to psychopathy, Brassard et al. (2022) also examined the relationship between attachment anxiety and sexual violence perpetration in the sample.<sup>21</sup> They found that increased attachment anxiety predicted minor sexual violence. Brassard et al. (2022) suggest that men with an anxious attachment style in relationships may use minor sexual violence as a way to reduce feelings of insecurity.

#### **Neuroticism**

Using questionnaire data obtained from a Canadian community sample of heterosexual couples (comprised of 294 women and 279 men), Daspe et al. (2016) examined the

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<sup>20</sup> Primary psychopathy describes “individuals who act in malevolent and deceitful ways with a lack of empathy or remorse” while secondary psychopathy describes people who lead “an antisocial, emotionally labile and impulsive lifestyle” (Brassard et al., 2022, p. 127).

<sup>21</sup> Attachment anxiety is “a negative representation of the self that leads to doubts about one’s value, constant worries about being abandoned or rejected by others as well as an excessive need for the approval of others, especially that of the romantic partner” (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2016; cited by Brassard et al., 2022, p. 125).



relationship between the use of sexual coercion against an intimate partner and neuroticism in men.<sup>22</sup> They found that men's neuroticism was significantly and positively associated with women's self-reported experience of sexual coercion. Moreover, findings from a path analysis found evidence to support a curvilinear relationship between men's neuroticism and their use of sexual coercion in relationships. Namely, low to moderate neuroticism was found to predict lower levels of sexual coercion compared with very low or high neuroticism, which predicted higher levels of sexual coercion. Drawing on previous literature, Daspe et al. (2016) suggest that sexual coercion may be used by men with high levels of neuroticism (characterised by high levels of anger, anxiety, and irritability) as a way to cope with the negative emotional states characteristic of neuroticism. Dasper et al. (2016) conversely describe how low neuroticism has been found to be related to narcissism, with sexual narcissism being linked to sexual exploitation of a partner, sexual entitlement, and low sexual empathy (McNulty & Widman; cited by Dasper et al., 2016).

### **3.8 The intersection of individual and relationship factors**

One paper presented evidence on the intersection of individual (psychological) factors and relationship factors in predicting perpetration of sexual coercion against an intimate partner. Salwen and O'Leary (2013) collected data from 453 co-habiting heterosexual couples from New York. They found that higher marital discord, stress, psychological aggression, dominance, and a tendency to experience jealousy were positively correlated with men's sexual coercion perpetration. Moreover, they found that greater marital discord and stress, and lower social support were associated with higher psychological aggression, dominance, and jealousy, which in turn were associated with a higher frequency of sexual coercion perpetration within a relationship.

### **3.9 Offence motivations**

The literature included in this review yielded limited evidence in relation to the situational drivers or motivators of partner rape and/or sexual coercion. However, among the limited

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<sup>22</sup> Neuroticism is characterised by "negative emotionality and emotional instability" (Daspe et al., 2016, p. 1037).

evidence, the themes of sexual desire, anger and jealousy, and maladaptive relational style were identified.

### **Sexual desire**

Jeffrey and Barata (2019) conducted 10 in-depth interviews with male Canadian university students who had used sexual violence in their intimate relationship. From their analysis of the interview data, Jeffrey and Barata (2019) report how the male sex drive, the need for men to satisfy this sex drive, and men's lack of control over their sex drive once 'sexually stimulated' were discussed by the participants as the drivers of their own sexually coercive behaviour. Sex drive was also identified as a motivator of partner rape in a study of South African men carried out by Jewkes et al. (2010). The authors found that 53.6% (120/224) of the men who reported having raped their girlfriend or wife reported that they were motivated by sexual desire for their wife or girlfriend, while 60% (135/225)<sup>23</sup> 'wanted sex' more generally.

### **Anger and jealousy**

Motivations around the themes of anger and jealousy were also commonly reported by the participants in the Jewkes et al. (2010) study of South African men. Of the men who reported having raped a wife or girlfriend, 53.5% (129/241) reported that anger or the desire to punish their partner was the key motivating factor. Similarly, a man's rape of his wife as a response to being undermined or disrespected by was reported in Cash's (2011) study of 450 Ugandan men and women.

### **Maladaptive relational strategies**

In a study of 117 heterosexual couples from a range of countries, Mullins and Karantzas (2019) found evidence that both the men and women in the sample were motivated to engage in sexual coercion by a desire to avoid perceived 'punishments' in the relationship, such as their partner rejecting them. That is, they felt that having sex would avoid relationship punishments – such as their partner leaving (or threatening to leave) them if they didn't have sex (see also, 'Attachment style' in Section 3.7).

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<sup>23</sup> Note that the totals are based on the men for whom data was available, which varied.

### 3.10 Alcohol use

Evidence synthesised in earlier reviews (Martin et al., 2007; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1998; Schuster & Krahe, 2017) points to a relationship between alcohol consumption and partner rape and/or sexual coercion, suggesting that alcohol may be a facilitator of this behaviour. Similarly, the studies that form the evidence base of this REA point to the role of alcohol in the perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion.

Two studies in this review have found evidence of a relationship between men's heavy and/or frequent alcohol use and the perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion. First, Gallagher et al. (2010) studied this relationship in a community sample of 167 men recruited from an American city. They found that men who had a history of consuming large amounts of alcohol and men who had a history of more frequent alcohol consumption were significantly more likely to perpetrate more frequent partner sexual coercion than men who did not. Second, Gulati et al. (2021) conducted a longitudinal study in the USA with a community sample of 430 single heterosexual men and examined the relationship between heavy episodic drinking (HED) and future partner rape. They found that men who reported higher scores on a measure of HED were significantly more likely to have raped a partner<sup>24</sup> during a three-month follow-up period than men who had reported lower scores.

While the above findings suggest that there is a relationship between alcohol use and partner rape and/or sexual coercion, these studies do not examine whether alcohol had been consumed by the perpetrator directly before or during the rape. Two studies in this review point to consumption of alcohol as a facilitator of men perpetrating partner rape. First, Cash (2011) examined forced sex among a sample of 450 Ugandan men and women and found that 65% of the cases of reported partner rape also included reports of alcohol as a contributing factor. Cash (2011) noted that some men in the sample reported that their alcohol use can reduce their inhibitions and/or increase their tendency to express anger, which can contribute to their use of physical and sexual violence against their partner.

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<sup>24</sup> The authors do not define 'partner' when explaining how they captured the follow up 'completed rape' data.

More recently, Jeffrey and Barata (2021) analysed survey responses from 70 male students at a Canadian university who had committed at least one incident of sexual IPV in their most recent heterosexual relationship. When these men were asked about their 'most memorable' incident of perpetrating sexual IPV, 55.7% reported that they had consumed alcohol, 52.9% reported that their partner had consumed alcohol, and 50% reported that both had consumed alcohol.

### **3.11 The interaction between alcohol use and psychological factors**

Some of the papers identified as part of this review examined the intersection of alcohol use and psychological factors in predicting partner rape and/or sexual coercion.

#### **Interaction of hostile sexism and drinking**

Lisco et al. (2012) examined whether hostile sexism and benevolent sexism<sup>25</sup> moderated the relationship between HED and sexual coercion in a sample of 205 heterosexual American men. Lisco et al. (2012) found that frequency of sexual coercion was lower in men who drank heavily but had lower hostile sexism scores compared to men who had higher hostile sexism scores. By contrast, while benevolent sexism was found to also predict higher levels of sexual coercion against a partner, an interaction between benevolent sexism and heavy episodic drinking was not found.

#### **Interaction of mindfulness and drinking**

Gallagher et al., (2010) carried out a study with a community sample of 167 men to explore the relationship between mindfulness, history of alcohol consumption, and sexual coercion towards intimate partners.<sup>26</sup> They found both increased alcohol consumption (quantity and frequency) and low levels of mindfulness had a direct relationship with increased levels of sexual coercion against intimate partners. Moreover, they found that men who consumed larger quantities of alcohol but had high levels of mindfulness

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<sup>25</sup> Benevolent sexism is defined as "men's idealization and chivalry toward women who are seen as sexually pure or who exercise fidelity" (Lisco et al., 2012, p.1265). See also footnote 17 for the definition of hostile sexism.

<sup>26</sup> Gallagher et al. (2010, p. 405) explain that "...mindfulness is a state, trait, and acquirable skill that has been defined as "the awareness that emerges through paying attention on purpose, in the present moment, and nonjudgmentally to the unfolding of experience moment by moment" [Kabat-Zinn, 2003; p 145]."

perpetrated lower levels of sexual coercion than men who consumed larger quantities of alcohol but had low levels of mindfulness. However, the same interaction between mindfulness and frequency of drinking was not found.

### 3.12 Typologies

A typology is the result of the analysis of a broad phenomenon (i.e. rape) whereby the features of the phenomenon (e.g. motivations, offence characteristics, offender life histories, and so on) are organised and classified into different groups based on their commonalities.<sup>27</sup>

A seminal typology of marital rape reported within the literature is the typology developed by Finkelhor and Yilo (1985), which they based on findings from their study of 326 women (cited in Martin et al., 2007). Reviews by Martin et al. (2007) and Monson and Langhinrichsen-Rohling (1998) provide a summary of the three 'types' of marital rape:

- **Battering only.** This type of marital rape is characterised by verbal and physical abuse as well as being an extension of physical violence. Finkelhor and Yilo found that this was the most common form of marital rape in their sample.
- **Force only.** This form of marital rape is characterised by the use of force to obtain sex, but little non-sexual physical violence in the relationship more generally.
- **Obsessive rape.** Characterised by perpetrators who have a preoccupation with sex. This can manifest as excessive use of pornography and demands for sex, with sadistic behaviours emerging over time. Finkelhor and Yilo found this to be the least common form of marital rape.

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<sup>27</sup> Definition adapted from the American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology, here: <https://dictionary.apa.org/typology> (accessed 09.05.23).

## 4. Characteristics of stranger perpetrators

- The studies included in this review reported an average stranger perpetrator age ranging from mid-20s to mid-30s. Findings also indicate that living with others and being in a relationship is not uncommon among stranger rapists.
- The evidence base indicates that some form of adversity in childhood may be linked to later offending in stranger rapists.
- Across studies, the number of stranger rape offenders with a previous conviction for a sexual offence was in the minority. The literature also included evidence of offending versatility with stranger rapists having been found to have previous convictions for a range of offence types.
- Within the evidence reviewed, the most prevalent sexual act forced by stranger perpetrators on their victims was vaginal penetration, while the use of threats and physical violence were also ubiquitous among stranger rape cases.
- While some evidence points to the presence of weapons as a common feature of stranger rapes, other studies found that weapons were used in a minority of stranger rape cases.
- There was a paucity of evidence on the psychological features of stranger rapists.
- Few studies identified as part of this review provided evidence on the offence motivations of stranger rapists. However, within this limited evidence base, offence motivations centred on sexual gratification and sexual entitlement.
- While the literature contained data on whether alcohol was consumed by the perpetrator prior to the attack, there was considerable variation in prevalence rates reported.

- The literature contained a number of typologies of stranger rapist offence behaviours and offender characteristics, and offence behaviours and motivations.

This chapter synthesises evidence on the characteristics of stranger rape offenders and answers Research Question 2 (RQ2). The chapter starts with an overview of the scope and methodology of the studies included, followed by information on demographic characteristics of offenders, their childhood development and offending histories. In addition, the chapter discusses crime scene behaviours in cases of stranger rape, offender mental health, motivations, and alcohol use. The chapter ends by presenting evidence on typologies of stranger rape offenders based on perpetrator and offence characteristics.

## 4.1 Methodological overview of the evidence

### Types of sexual offences measured

The majority of the evidence presented in this chapter was obtained from research that specifically studied stranger rape offences and offenders. However, 'rape' was not always defined in the research papers included, and the terminology used may not always match legal definitions of this offence. Legal and technical definitions of rape also vary across jurisdictions and time periods. As a result, some of the rape offences discussed in this chapter might not meet the current definition of rape under English and Welsh law.<sup>28</sup>

Some limited evidence from research with stranger perpetrators of sexual assault or sexual aggression was also included in the review and is caveated where relevant.

### Geographical context

Most commonly, evidence on the characteristics of stranger rape offenders came from the UK. However, research conducted in European countries (France, Spain, Netherlands, Denmark, Finland), as well as the USA, Canada, and South Africa, was also identified and included in the review.

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<sup>28</sup> See the glossary at the front of this report for the current definition of rape under English and Welsh law.

## Samples and data sources

Methodologically, most of the studies providing evidence for RQ2 used administrative data on known stranger rape cases (i.e. recorded cases or cases where the offender had been identified/caught and/or convicted) obtained from police reports, police databases, victim statements, medico-legal assessment of victims, judicial sentence case files, hospital files, and data from prison services. A limited number of studies surveyed and/or interviewed victims or collected survey data from men in the general population. One paper was a systematic review of the literature on the association between men's sexual violence perpetuation and risky sexual behaviour.

Although a rich variety of research methods and samples are contained within the evidence base to address RQ2, there are some caveats that should be borne in mind. First, most of the evidence does not come from representative samples and therefore findings cannot be generalised to the wider populations from which they were selected.<sup>29</sup> Second, recorded police or crime data contained within administrative datasets only provides evidence on those individuals who have been identified/caught, the rape incidents that have been reported, and the crime scene behaviours that have been recorded. Variations in the ways that data has been recorded across datasets and across jurisdictions may also mean that findings are not comparable across studies.

## 4.2 Demographics

Unlike the evidence on the demographic features of partner perpetrators, the evidence on the demographic characteristics of stranger rape offenders took the form of demographic profiles rather than examination of the relationship between certain demographic variables and the prevalence or frequency of offending. While a range of demographic characteristics of stranger rapists were recorded in the literature, in this section we present the findings for the characteristics for which we identified the most substantive evidence.

### Age

The studies included in this review report an average stranger perpetrator age ranging from mid-20s to mid-30s (Almond et al., 2021; Goodwill & Alison, 2007; Greenall & West,

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<sup>29</sup> See footnote 13 for a definition of a representative sample.



2007; Hewitt, Chopin, & Beauregard, 2020; Lovell et al., 2017;<sup>30</sup> Mokros & Alison, 2002; Santtila, Junkkila, & Sandnabba, 2005). In one additional study, Janosch, Jordá, Nut, Giles, and Almond (2023) examined the judicial case files from 233 male stranger sexual aggression convictions.<sup>31</sup> As part of this, they found that the perpetrator age was known in 207 cases and averaged 31.9 years.<sup>32</sup>

### **Relationship status**

Two studies noted that more than half of stranger rape offenders in their samples were in a romantic partnership, with the remaining offenders being single. Hewitt et al. (2020) analysed 1009 solved stranger rape cases from a French police database and found that 55.8% offenders were in a relationship at the time of the offence. Mokros and Alison (2002) analysed police records and victim statements linked to 100 British male stranger rape offenders (who had committed 139 offences between them<sup>33</sup>) and reported that 56.4% of offenders were in a relationship (of 39 offenders for whom this information was available).

### **Living situation**

Studies varied in how they measured and coded stranger perpetrators' living situations. That is, some reported the proportion of perpetrators who had been cohabiting with a partner and/or children when they offended while others reported the proportion who were living alone. As a result of these variations, we have presented the findings separately.

#### *Cohabitation*

A study by ter Beek, van den Eshof, and Mali (2010) analysed data from case files of stranger rape held on a Dutch police database and found that 28% of perpetrators (out of 198 offenders for whom this information was available) cohabitated with a partner (and their children). Santtila et al. (2005) analysed cases of serial rape perpetrated by 16 serial stranger rape offenders from the Finnish police database and reported that 25% were

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<sup>30</sup> Lovell et al.'s (2017) findings are based on data on sexual assaults.

<sup>31</sup> Sexual aggression was not defined by the authors.

<sup>32</sup> The victims were women and girls aged 13 and over.

<sup>33</sup> Mokros and Alison (2002) analysed data on both serial and one-off perpetrators. For serial offenders (39/100), the study analysed their first and last recorded stranger rape. For one-off offenders (61/100), the study analysed their only recorded offence.

married or cohabiting, 43.8% had previously been married or cohabited, and 62.5% had children.

### *Living alone*

Studies indicate that a minority of stranger rape offenders live on their own, ranging from 12.5% (Santtila et al., 2005) to 26% (ter Beek et al., 2010). Hewitt's et al.'s (2020) study of 1009 solved stranger rape cases in France found that 12.9% of perpetrators lived alone at the time of the offence. To compare, Mokros and Alison's (2002) analysis of police data linked to British offenders found that 23.8% of perpetrators lived alone (based on 63 individuals for whom this information was available).

## **4.3 Pathways and developmental factors**

One study included in this review provides evidence on the prevalence of potentially traumatic and/or adverse experiences before the age of 18 in stranger rape offenders. Greenall and West (2007) analysed hospital files on 41 male patients and ex-patients at three British high security hospitals (who had committed 67 cases of stranger rape) and found that 78% of their sample (n=32) had experienced parental problems in childhood, such as parental divorce, separation, death, or parent(s) being absent or violent. For 49% of offenders (n=20), a statutory agency (such as social services) became involved in their life when they were a child. However, the study did not include a comparison group to allow for an assessment of whether these rates are particularly high compared to other offender groups or non-offenders. Likewise, Greenall and West (2007) did not aim to explore the relationship (if any) between developmental factors and the perpetration of stranger rape in adulthood.

## **4.4 Offending histories**

Based on studies that used administrative and/or clinical case file data of known stranger rape cases and/or offenders, this section summarises the evidence on the prevalence of past convictions, incarceration, and/or other forms of detention/custody among stranger perpetrators.

## General offending

Studies that reported on the prevalence of previous convictions among offenders ranged widely in their estimates. For example, in their study of 1009 stranger rape cases from a French police database, Hewitt et al. (2020) found that 19.5% of offenders had a previous conviction. In contrast, ter Beek et al. (2010) analysed 271 case files of stranger rape offenders from a Dutch police database and reported that a majority (76%) of offenders had a previous conviction.

## Offending versatility

The literature also included evidence of offending versatility, whereby stranger rapists have been found to have previous convictions for a range of offence types – from acquisitive to violent offences. Based on hospital files, Greenall and West (2007) noted that 81% (n=33) of (ex-)patients at three high security hospitals in the UK had previous convictions for acquisitive offences (e.g., burglary, robbery and theft). In addition, 59% (n=24) (ex-) patients had previous convictions for violent offences. Similarly, the analysis of a Dutch police database of 271 stranger rape offenders by ter Beek et al. (2010) found 51% of offenders had prior convictions for violent offences. Slightly lower levels of violent pre-convictions were reported by Mokros and Alison (2002). They used data from police files and victim statements connected to 100 British male stranger rapists and found that 33.3% of offenders had previous convictions for minor acts of violence, and 12.3% had convictions for major acts of violence (out of 81 offenders for whom this information was available).

## Sexual offences

Within the literature reviewed, reported levels of previous convictions for sexual offences varied; however, across studies, the number of stranger rape offenders with a previous conviction for a sexual offence was in the minority. Janosch et al. (2023)<sup>34</sup> analysed 233 Spanish judicial case files where an offender had been convicted of a sexual aggression offence. They found that the offender had a record of prior sexual offences in 5.2% of cases (n=12). To compare, Greenall and West's (2007) study of 41 (ex-)patients at UK high security hospitals reported that 39% (n=16) of stranger rape offenders in their sample

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<sup>34</sup> Sexual aggression is not defined in this study. The offences were committed against women and girls aged 13 and over.

had previous convictions for sexual offences. Mokros and Alison (2002) similarly found that of 81 offenders for whom information was available in police files, 19.8% offenders had previous convictions for indecent assault, 18.5% for rape of a female, 9.9% for indecent exposure and, 1.2% for a sex crime against a male.

### **Previous incarceration**

Varying levels of past incarceration, detention, or custody among stranger rape offenders were reported within the evidence base. Santtila et al.'s (2005) study of 43 stranger rape cases in Finland (committed by 16 serial offenders) noted that 12.5% of these offenders had previously been in prison. In contrast, administrative police data on 100 British stranger rape offenders analysed by Mokros and Alison (2002) showed that over half (57.5%) of the offenders had been imprisoned or detained in the past (out of 80 offenders for whom this information was available). Among the (ex-) patients at high security hospitals in the UK whose data was analysed by Greenall and West (2007), 71% (n=29) had been in custody in the past.

## **4.5 Offence behaviours**

Offence behaviours (crime scene behaviours) were a core characteristic identified within the literature regarding characteristics of stranger rapists. The majority of findings reported in this section are based on studies that analysed administrative data from known stranger rape cases, whereby the presence or absence of particular crime scene behaviours was coded. The section is organised thematically around five main perpetrator behaviours at the crime scene.<sup>35</sup>

### **Sexual acts**

This sub-section presents an overview of sexual acts that stranger perpetrators have been found to force upon their victims; the subsequent sub-sections present some of the tactics used by stranger perpetrators during the offences to achieve their aims.

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<sup>35</sup> Other offence behaviours reported across the studies reviewed included transporting the victim, stealing from the victim, revealing personal information, complimenting the victim, apologising to the victim, showing evidence of planning, wearing a disguise, destroying forensic evidence, and behaviour after the assault (Almond, McManus, & Curtis, 2019; 2021; Bownes, O'Gorman, & Sayers, 1991; Goodwill & Alison 2007; Greenall & West 2007; Häkkänen et al., 2004; Janosch et al., 2023; Lovell et al., 2017; Mokros & Alison, 2002).

### *Vaginal penetration*

Within the evidence reviewed, the most prevalent sexual act forced by stranger perpetrators on their victims was vaginal penetration, with a recorded frequency ranging from 76.7% in a sample of 43 rape cases (Santtila et al., 2005) to all rape cases in a sample of 67 offences committed by 41 offenders (Greenall & West, 2007). To illustrate further, Häkkänen, Lindlöf, and Santtila (2004) analysed case files on 100 stranger rape offences (committed by 93 perpetrators) from an official Finnish database. The study found that vaginal penetration was the most common offence behaviour, achieved or attempted in 89% of stranger rape cases.

Two studies included in this review indicate that it is common for offenders to force vaginal penetration more than once during the attack. A Finnish study by Santtila et al. (2005) analysed 43 stranger rape cases (committed by 16 serial offenders) and reported that half (50%) of the offenders attempted or achieved penetration more than once, with this offence behaviour being recorded in 34.9% rape cases. Greenall and West (2007) found that 51% (n=34) of the 67 rape cases committed by 41 (ex-) patients in high security hospitals involved multiple acts of penetration.

### *Forced kissing*

Based on data from a UK Serious Crime Analysis Section (SCAS) database of 651 stranger rape offences committed by men, Almond et al. (2019) found that in 50.4% of cases (n=328) the offender forced the victim to kiss him. Similarly, Mokros and Alison (2002) analysed administrative data on 100 British male stranger rape offenders (who had perpetrated 139 attacks)<sup>36</sup> and found that the offender had forced kisses in 41.7% of attacks. By contrast, in their study of case files on 100 stranger rape offences recorded in Finland (committed by 93 perpetrators), Häkkänen et al. (2004) found that in only 19% of cases the offender had kissed or attempted to kiss the victim.

### *Other sexual acts*

Other, slightly less common, forms of penetration and forced sexual acts were also reported in these studies. For example, Almond et al. (2019) found that in 42.9% of cases

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<sup>36</sup> Mokros and Alison (2002) analysed data on both serial and one-off perpetrators. For serial offenders (39/100), the study analysed their first and last recorded stranger rape. For one-off offenders (61/100), the study analysed their only recorded offence.

the offender made a request for sexual acts (42.9%), in 32.4% of cases, the rape included vaginal penetration with hands/digits, and in 19.7% of cases the attack included anal penetration. Mokros and Alison (2002) reported that forced oral sex on the victim's genitalia was recorded in 17.3% of the attacks, and anal penetration in 18.0% of the attacks.

### *Condom use*

Condom use appears to be rare, with some studies finding no condom use at all (Friis-Rødel, Leth, and Astrup, 2021), to condom use in only 7.7% of stranger rape cases (Almond et al., 2019). Davis, Neilson, Wegner, and Danube (2018) conducted a systematic review of English language literature published since 1980 on the association between men's risky sexual behaviour and perpetration of sexual violence. The review cites a study conducted by Kaye, Kakaire, and Osinde (2011), which found that among 111 men accused of gang-rape in Uganda, condoms were only used in 4% of cases – with no significant difference between rapes of strangers and rapes of acquaintances.

### **Use of threats**

The use of threats – such as verbal threats, threats to inflict violence, kill, or humiliate – appear to be a prevalent feature of stranger rape cases. To illustrate, Friis-Rødel et al. (2021) conducted a study of 124 case files from a centre for victims of sexual assault in Denmark, and found that 33% (n=9) of stranger rape victims reported being threatened by the perpetrator, compared to 12.4% (n=12) of victims of acquaintance, date, or partner rape.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, using data from 489 female rape victims identified from a larger USA higher education survey, Koss, Dinero, Seibel, and Cox (1988) compared victims' experiences in stranger and acquaintance rape cases.<sup>38</sup> They found that victims of stranger rape reported that the perpetrator used threats of bodily harm in 54.4% of the 52 stranger rape cases, compared to only 32.8% of the 416 victims of acquaintance rape.

### **Use of violence**

Studies included in this review indicate that the use of physical violence is common among stranger rape perpetrators, with reports of prevalence ranging from 52.2% (Almond et al.,

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<sup>37</sup> In this study, victims were aged 12 and over.

<sup>38</sup> This study includes rape by non-romantic acquaintances, intimate partners, casual dates, or family members under acquaintance rape.

2019) and 85.7% (Lovell et al., 2017).<sup>39</sup> More specifically, Almond et al.'s (2019) study of 651 stranger rape offences committed in the UK found that physical violence was used in 52.5% of cases, and multiple violent acts were used in 32.7% of cases. Greenall and West's (2007) research based on hospital case files for 41 (ex-) patients from three high security UK hospitals reported that 54% (n=22) of the perpetrators had used physical violence that could reasonably injure the victim (e.g. slapping, pulling hair, punching, strangulation, or using a weapon) and 17% (n=7) had used less severe violence (e.g. pushing or forcing the victim to the ground). In Mokros and Alison's (2002) study of 139 cases of stranger rape committed by 100 British male offenders, they found that the offender engaged in a single act of violence in almost half (43.2%) of cases and engaged in multiple acts of violence in a minority (13.7%) of cases. Lastly, Lovell et al. (2017) analysed case files of 433 sexual assault data collected in the USA – 30 of which were linked to serial stranger rape offenders. The study found that 85.7% (24 out of 28 offenders for whom this information was available) serial stranger rape offenders used force, such as punching, slapping, and holding down the victim.

There is also evidence indicating that use of violence is more common in stranger rape cases, compared to other types of rape. Friis-Rødel et al. (2021) conducted a study of 124 case files from a centre for victims of sexual assault based in Denmark (including 27 cases of attempted or completed stranger rape) and found that stranger rape victims were exposed to violence more often compared to victims of other types of perpetrators (77.8%, n=21; compared to 51.5%, n=50). Two studies conducted in the USA on female victims' perspectives found a similar trend. Cleveland, Koss, and Lyons (1999) analysed 618 questionnaires from women who had been victims of rape, and 257 follow up in-depth interviews about the rape incident they remembered most clearly. The study found that stranger rape victims reported the perpetrator having used significantly more power tactics – such as force, a weapon, isolation, or a demand for silence – compared to other groups of rape perpetrators, (acquaintances, dates, steady boyfriends, husbands, and other non-stranger perpetrators), except for ex-husbands. In addition, Koss and Cox's (1988) survey research of 52 stranger rape victims and 416 acquaintance rape victims noted that hitting and/or slapping was more common for victims of stranger rape (27.6%), compared

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<sup>39</sup> Lovell et al.'s (2017) findings are based on data on sexual assaults.

to victims of acquaintance rape (12.8%). However, there were no significant differences between the two groups for other violent behaviours, such as twisting, holding, choking, and beating.

### **Possession and use of weapons**

Findings from studies that present evidence in relation to the possession and use of weapons in cases of stranger rape indicate that weapons (such as knives, firearms, or blunt objects) are often present during the offence. Based on analysis of data from 433 case files of sexual assault investigations in the USA, Lovell et al. (2017) identified a sub-sample of 30 serial stranger perpetrators of sexual assault. They found that weapons were frequently used to threaten victims, with 50% (n=15) of offenders using a weapon in all assaults they perpetrated, and 40% (n=12) of offenders using a weapon inconsistently across assaults. Greenall and West's (2007) study of 67 stranger rape offences perpetrated by 41 (ex-) patients at UK high security hospitals found that a weapon was present in 75% of cases (n=50). While Mokros and Alison (2002) analysed 139 victim statements in the UK related to 100 male stranger rape offenders and reported that perpetrators were in possession of a weapon in 54.7% of the attacks.

While some evidence points to the presence of weapons as a common feature of stranger rapes, other studies provide a contrasting perspective. For example, Dawson, Goodwill, and Dixon (2014) analysed UK SCAS data related to 1,618 stranger serious sexual assault cases (1,273 rapes, 177 indecent assaults, and 168 attempted rapes) and reported that only 20% of offenders (n=316) used weapons. Similarly, Janosch et al.'s (2023) study of 233 judicial case files for offenders convicted of stranger sexual aggression in Spain, found that the offender used a weapon in 23.2% of cases (n=54). Even lower levels were reported by Koss and Cox (1988), who found that among 52 victims of stranger rape, 15.8% reported that the perpetrator displayed a weapon. However, this was higher than perpetrators of acquaintance rape: among 416 victims of acquaintance rape, only 3.4% reported that the perpetrator had displayed a weapon.

### **Approaching the victim**

The evidence indicates two common ways that stranger rapists approach victims: the surprise or blitz attack – consisting of attacking the victim with little or no warning, and the confidence approach – which involves having a verbal encounter with the victim prior to



the rape. Studies using administrative data have found the surprise/blitz attack to be the most common method used by stranger perpetrators when making initial contact with victims. To illustrate, Janosch et al. (2023) analysed 233 judicial court files of convicted male stranger sexual aggressors and reported that a surprise/blitz attack was used in 54.9% of cases (n=128). Furthermore, using sexual assault data collected from 433 cases in the USA, Lovell et al. (2017) noted that the stranger-only serial offenders most often used an immediate attack to gain access to the victim, but also frequently used other strategies – such as forcing the victim into a car, offering a ride, and offering or requesting assistance.<sup>40</sup> (See also, Canter & Heritage, 1990;<sup>41</sup> Greenall & West, 2007; Mokros & Alison, 2002).

By contrast, Almond et al. (2021) analysed 474 offences of stranger rape from the UK SCAS database that occurred between 2003–2015 and found that the confidence approach was used by perpetrators in 51.1% (n=242) of cases. Similarly, an earlier study by Almond et al. (2019), found that out of 651 stranger rape cases recorded in the UK SCAS since 2000, the confidence approach was used in almost half the cases (49.6%, n=323). (See also Häkkänen et al., 2004; Santtila et al., 2005.)

### *Online compared to 'real-life' approaches*

In light of advances in technology and an increase in victims reporting rape by a stranger met on the Internet, Almond, McManus, and Chatterton (2020) used the UK SCAS database to explore similarities and differences between cases of internet facilitated rape (IFR)<sup>42</sup> by a stranger (n=144), non-IFR stranger rape cases where the confidence approach was used (n=144), and non-IFR stranger rape where the surprise/blitz approach was used (n=144). Findings reported by Almond et al. (2020) indicate that offenders using the confidence approach online or in real life were similar in their crime scene behaviours – with these groups acting differently from offenders who used a surprise/blitz attack. Compared to IFR offenders, non-IFR offenders who used the surprise/blitz approach displayed higher rates of threatening the victim (both verbally and with a weapon),

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<sup>40</sup> Findings are based on 29 out of the 30 stranger-only serial offenders. Percentages are not reported by the authors.

<sup>41</sup> Canter and Heritage's (1990) findings are based on sexual assault data.

<sup>42</sup> The IFR cases used the confidence approach online, by arranging to meet or befriending the victim on the Internet.

displaying a weapon and wearing gloves, and lower rates of behaviour that simulates intimacy with the victim – such as self-disclosure, kissing the victim’s face or complimenting the victim.

## 4.6 Mental health

The literature reviewed provided limited evidence on the prevalence of mental illness and/or disorder in the perpetrators of stranger rape.

In 9% (n=21) of the 233 judicial sentencing case files analysed by Janosch et al. (2023), the court ruling noted that the offender suffered from or was being treated for a psychiatric problem (not defined). However, these findings may underestimate the prevalence of offenders experiencing psychiatric problems if the judge was not aware or did not note the diagnosis in the file.

Greenall and West’s (2007) study purposefully sampled stranger rape offenders detained under mental health legislation at high security hospitals in the UK.<sup>43</sup> As such, all 41 men included in the sample had been diagnosed with a mental illness, psychopathic disorder, or both. Of these categorisations mental illness was the most common diagnosis (56%, n=23), followed by psychopathic disorder (39%, n=16); only 5% (n=2) were diagnosed with both.

## 4.7 Offence motivations

Few studies identified as part of this review provided evidence on the offence motivations of stranger rapists. However, within this limited evidence base, offence motivations centred on sexual gratification and sexual entitlement.

Jewkes et al.’s (2010) survey research with 1,686 South African men found that of the 129 men who reported perpetrating non-partner rape, sexual entitlement was a key motivator in 65.1% (84/129) of non-partner rapes. In addition, anger and punishment were motivators in 43.4% (56/129) of non-partner rapes. However, this finding should be

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<sup>43</sup> 95% of patients had been detained under the Mental Health Act 1983, and 5% had been detained under the Criminal Procedures Insanity Act 1964.

interpreted with caution as the non-partner category for this study includes and aggregates strangers, acquaintances, and family members.

In their study of case file data for 41 men convicted of stranger rape who were current or ex-patients of high security hospitals in the UK, Greenall and West (2007) used the Massachusetts Treatment Centre rapist typologies (MTC:R3; Knight & Prentky, 1990; cited by Greenall & West, 2007), to identify the offence motivations of the offenders. They found that most (ex-) patients were motivated by non-sadistic sexual gratification (n=17). The other motivations, in order of prevalence, were sadistic sexual gratification (n=10), opportunism (n=9), vindictiveness (n=4), and pervasive anger (n=1).

## 4.8 Alcohol and drug use

Wider criminological evidence has established that alcohol intoxication plays a role in violent offending, including homicide, physical and sexual assault, robbery, and burglary (e.g. Felson & Staff, 2010). In line with this, the review identified a number of studies that explored the prevalence of alcohol and drug intoxication in cases of stranger rape.

Studies using administrative data from police databases reported varying prevalence levels of perpetrator intoxication at the time of the offence in stranger rape cases. For example, Santtila et al. (2005) analysed 43 stranger rape cases in Finland perpetrated by 16 serial offenders and reported that a majority of offenders (62.5%) were under the influence of alcohol. To compare, Hewitt et al. (2020) analysed 1009 solved stranger rape cases from a French police database and found that 27.10% offenders consumed alcohol and 15.50% of offenders consumed drugs in the hours before the recorded offence. The lowest levels of alcohol and/or drug use at the time of (or just prior to) the offence were reported by Janosch et al. (2023) in their analysis of 233 Spanish judicial case files of stranger sexual aggression. This study found that 12.4% of the cases (n=29) involved an offender who consumed alcohol, and in 8.6% of cases (n=20) the offender took drugs prior to the offence.

There was some limited evidence indicating that perpetrator use of alcohol at the time of the attack may be less common in stranger, as compared to acquaintance rape. Bownes et al. (1991) analysed case notes for 51 victims of rape, 30 of whom were attacked by

strangers. The study found that more victims of acquaintance rape reported that the offender smelled of alcohol (29%, n=6), compared to victims of stranger rape (0%).

## 4.9 Typologies

The last section of this chapter presents an overview of the evidence from studies that have developed or tested typologies of stranger rape perpetrators and/or crime scene behaviours.

### Typologies of offence behaviours and offender characteristics

In their study of 41 patients and ex-patients at high security hospitals (who committed 67 cases of rape), Greenall and West (2007) used multidimensional scaling (MDS)<sup>44</sup> to explore thematic similarities between perpetrators' offence behaviours.<sup>45</sup>

- **Violent attack.** Rape cases under the violent attack theme included a surprise attack, followed by aggressive assault that includes being bitten, being held by the throat, being bound and gagged, before being raped and then abandoned.
- **Sexual rape.** Offences that fell under the theme of sexual rape included initial verbal contact with the victim, perpetrator intoxication, display of a weapon, sexual acts committed with the use of threats and/or minimal violence. Sexual rape behaviours can include the rapist paying the victim compliments, spending time with the victim post-rape, and/or apologising for the rape.

Greenall and West (2007) also identified violent and sexual themes in their classification of offender characteristics:<sup>46</sup>

- **Violent criminality.** Offenders associated with the violent criminality theme tended to have a history of antisocial childhood behaviour, adult criminality, previous convictions for physical and sexual violence.
- **Sexual dysfunction.** Offenders associated with the sexual dysfunction theme tended to have childhood histories of problems at home and at school, adult

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<sup>44</sup> MDS is a method of visually representing the similarity or dissimilarity between data points that represent 'objects' (e.g. offence behaviours). Similarity is represented by shorter distances between objects; dissimilarity is represented by greater distances. See further: <https://www.statisticshowto.com/multidimensional-scaling/>

<sup>45</sup> Greenall and West (2007) report an 'acceptable' MDS solution for the offence behaviours.

<sup>46</sup> Again, Greenall and West (2007) report that the MDS solution offender characteristics was 'acceptable'.

psychiatric issues, substance abuse, antisocial/criminal behaviour (to a lesser extent than the violent criminality theme), sexual deviancy and antisocial sexual conduct.

Häkkinen et al. (2004) also used MDS to analyse the crime scene behaviours and perpetrator characteristics from 100 stranger rape cases (committed by 93 offenders) in Finland. From this, two typologies were identified. The first was a typology of offence behaviours based on perpetrators' behaviour towards the victim during the attack:

- **Hostility.** Offence behaviours included use of physical violence, threats to use violence or to kill the victim, forcing the victim to participate, and forcing other sexual acts.
- **Involvement.** Rape cases in this category included attempts by the perpetrator to simulate sexual intimacy, such as kissing the victim, complimenting the victim, trying to identify with the victim, or implying prior knowledge of the victim.
- **Theft.** Offence behaviours displayed by perpetrators under this them included stealing from the victim, but also anal penetration and using multiple acts of violence.

Second Häkkinen et al. (2004) identified a typology of offender characteristics comprised of four themes:<sup>47</sup>

- **Conventional.** Offenders associated with the conventional theme were married or cohabiting, or had previously been married; had children, were employed, had an income above €1,150 per month, and/or arrived at the crime scene by car. This was the most common theme.<sup>48</sup>
- **Criminal/Violent.** Offenders associated with the criminal/violent theme were 'foreigners', had an offending history, and/or a history of rape and/or assault.
- **Criminal/Property.** Offenders associated with this theme were students, and/or had criminal histories of theft and drunk driving.

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<sup>47</sup> Häkkinen et al. (2004) report that the while the solution for the offence behaviours solution was 'acceptable', the solution for the typology of offender characteristics was 'hardly satisfactory'.

<sup>48</sup> More than half (58%) of the 93 offenders were classified into a single theme, with the remaining offenders being classified under two or more dominant themes, or not being classified under any theme (Häkkinen et al., 2004).

- **Psychiatric/Elderly.** Offenders classified under this theme were intoxicated during the attack, were aged over 50, were retired, had a previous mental health diagnosis, and/or were on a sickness pension.

Santtila et al. (2005) similarly used MDS to analyse 43 cases of serial rape perpetrated by 16 serial stranger rape offenders recorded in the Finnish police database. This study identified two core themes of hostility and involvement, each comprised of two subthemes, which are summarised below:

- **Physically hostile offender.** Behaviours demonstrated by offenders in these cases included gagging the victim and inflicting wounds. The rape tended to take place outside, for example in a park.
- **Sexually hostile offender.** Rape cases under this theme tended to include initiating contact outside, attempting multiple sexual acts and/or more than one act of penetration.
- **Expressive involvement.** Offence behaviours classed as 'expressive involvement' included removing the victim's clothing, threatening the victim not to report, and revealing personal information.
- **Deceptive involvement.** Behaviours included using the confidence approach, conducting the attack in a location where the victim voluntarily joined the offender, and the victim being drunk.

### Typology of offence behaviours and motivation

Based on existing rapist subtypes described in the literature, Hewitt et al. (2020) applied a two-step cluster analysis to classify the motivations and offence behaviours of the offenders who committed 1009 offences recorded in a French national police database (between 1979 – 2018). Four classifications were identified and are presented below from most to least common among the sample:

- **Compensatory perpetrators** (40.83% offenders in the sample, n=412): this type of offender was generally unfamiliar with the offence location, did not target the victim, generally approached the victim in a con (non-coercive) way, never tortured the victim, was unlikely to engage in anal penetration, psychological terror, or to inflict severe physical injuries.

- **Angry/power perpetrators** (32.12%, n=324): this type of offender was generally unfamiliar with the offence location, targeted the victim, approached the victim in a blitz (coercive) way, did not torture the victim, was the least likely (of the four types) to engage in anal penetration, and very few engaged in psychological terror or inflicted severe physical injuries.
- **Opportunistic perpetrators** (20.02%, n=202): this type of offender was familiar with the crime scene, did not target the victim, mostly approached the victim in a con (non-coercive) way, did not engage in torture and only a few engaged in psychological terror or inflicted severe physical injuries.
- **Sadistic perpetrators** (7.04%, n=71): this type of offender was generally unfamiliar with the offence location, did not specifically target the victims, mostly approached the victim in a con (non-coercive) way, always used torture, was more likely to engage in anal penetration, psychological torture, and to inflict severe injuries.

## 5. Comparing the characteristics of partner and stranger perpetrators

- Very little evidence identified for this review included a direct comparison of stranger and partner rapists.
- Two studies directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on demographic characteristics, and both found an overall lack of difference in the characteristics of each perpetrator group.
- The evidence base indicates that some form of adversity in childhood may be linked to later offending in both groups. However, no papers provided a direct comparison between partner and stranger perpetrators on the presence of development factors and/or the relationship between developmental factors and later partner or stranger rape perpetration.
- Two studies compared the criminal histories and recidivism rates for stranger and partner rape perpetrators and found little difference between the offender groups.
- Two studies also directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on offence behaviours and found that stranger perpetrators are more likely to use weapons and power tactics (i.e. force) than partner perpetrators.
- None of the literature included in the review provided evidence of any similarities or differences in the psychological features of stranger and partner perpetrators.
- Findings of one small study indicate that stranger rapists are more likely to fall into the categories of sexually-motivated or sexually-and-violence-motivated than partner rapists, while partner rapists are slightly more likely to be categorised as violence-motivated than stranger rapists.



- None of the papers in this review provided a direct comparison between stranger and partner perpetrators and their use of alcohol or drugs in relation to their offending.

This chapter synthesises the evidence on the similarities and/or differences in the characteristics of partner and stranger rape perpetrators and answers Research Question 3 (RQ3).

## 5.1 Overview of the evidence

Very little evidence identified for this review included a direct comparison of the characteristics of stranger and partner rapists. Overall, five studies provided evidence of similarities and/or differences between the two offender groups. Three of these studies report findings of research with prison samples or analysis of police data, while one reports findings from a community sample of men, and another presents findings from research with women victims. The evidence comes from North America, the UK, and South Africa.

In the absence of studies that allow for direct comparisons of the characteristics of each perpetrator type, key findings from the separate evidence bases are noted, and where appropriate, some tentative observations on similarities and/or differences are made.

## 5.2 Demographics

Compared to the evidence on partner perpetrators, papers containing evidence on stranger rapists included more information on the demographic profile of perpetrators. The evidence on the demographic features of partner perpetrators came from studies in which the relationship between certain demographic variables and the prevalence or frequency of offending had been examined. This was typically part of a preliminary analysis rather than the main focus of the research in question, and often failed to identify evidence of a statistically significant relationship between demographic variables and partner rape and/or sexual coercion (see Section 3.2). By contrast, the evidence on the demographic characteristics of stranger rape offenders took the form of demographic profiles rather than examination of the relationship between demographic variables and the prevalence or frequency of offending (see Section 4.2). As such, conclusions on similarities or

differences in the demographic characteristics of stranger and partner perpetrators cannot be drawn from a comparison of the evidence bases for each offender group.

With regard to studies that provided some direct comparisons between stranger and partner perpetrators, two studies were identified in the present review. First, Jung, Faitakis, and Cheema (2021) analysed police data on 580 sexual and violent assaults<sup>49</sup> that occurred in a Canadian city between 2010 and 2014. When analysing the data by the victim-perpetrator relationship, researchers found that the ethnicity and average age of the perpetrators of partner sexual violence was not significantly different to the perpetrators of sexual violence against strangers.<sup>50</sup> By contrast, based on data gathered from a review of the clinical files of 204 rapists serving sentences in Canadian prisons, McCormick et al. (1998) found that stranger rapists were significantly younger than partner rapists; however, there were no significant differences regarding socioeconomic status or highest educational level.

### 5.3 Pathways and developmental factors

The evidence around pathways and developmental factors in the life histories of both partner and stranger perpetrators was limited (see Section 3.3 and Section 5.3, respectively). However, the evidence base for both partner and stranger rapists indicates that some forms of adversity in childhood may be distally linked to later offending. Findings from previous reviews (Martin et al., 2007; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1998; Schuster & Krahe, 2017) as well as primary research included in this review (Islam et al., 2017) indicates that witnessing, rather than experiencing (i.e. being the direct victim of), family violence is linked to later sexual violence against a partner. One study of stranger rapists (Greenall & West, 2007) found high levels of adverse and/or traumatic childhood experiences in their sample of 41 patients and ex-patients in three UK high security hospitals. However, the sample size was very small and the study did not include a comparison group to allow for an assessment of whether these rates are particularly high compared to other offender groups.

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<sup>49</sup> Not further specified in the original paper.

<sup>50</sup> Other victim-perpetrator groups were also included in the sample but are not of relevant to the present review.

No papers included in the present review provided a direct comparison between partner and stranger perpetrators on the presence of developmental factors and/or the relationship between developmental factors and later partner or stranger rape perpetration.

## 5.4 Offending histories

The evidence base contained more detail on the offending histories and versatility of stranger perpetrators than partner perpetrators (see Section 4.4 and Section 3.4. respectively). Part of this may be that the studies on partner perpetrators included in this review did not typically frame the behaviour as a criminal offence (i.e. men were not expressly asked if they had raped a partner); rather they tended to collect data on relationships and sexually coercive behaviour from community and/or university samples of men. By contrast, the studies on stranger rape perpetrators included in this review more clearly framed the behaviour as offending behaviour and tended to analyse administrative crime data or collect data from offenders who has been caught/identified or convicted. As such, the different contexts of the studies may have guided the researchers' choice and ability to include or collect criminal history data, but also limits the comparability of the separate evidence bases.

It was noted by Jung et al. (2011) that studies that have directly compared the offending histories of partner and stranger perpetrators are lacking. To this point, only three studies included in the present review have provided some direct evidence on the similarities or differences between the offender groups. First, a study by Jung et al. (2021) points to a lack of difference in the criminal histories of partner and stranger rape perpetrators. Jung et al. (2021) analysed police data on 580 sexual and violent assaults that occurred in a Canadian city during a four-year period. When analysing the data by the victim-perpetrator relationship, they found that 44.8% of partner perpetrators had a criminal history compared to 40% of stranger rapists. Regarding recidivism following the offence, both groups had a recidivism rate of 53.8%. Similarly, based on data gathered from a review of the clinical files of 204 rapists serving sentences in Canadian prisons, McCormick et al. (1998) found no significant differences between stranger and partner rapists with regard to criminal history. However, they did find that 80% of partner rapists had been physically violent in an intimate relationship previously compared to 36% of stranger rapists. Finally, the study of South African men by Jewkes et al. (2010) found evidence of sexual offending versatility

among the perpetrators, whereby the majority of men in the sample who had raped an intimate partner had also raped a stranger or acquaintance (see Section 3.4).

## 5.5 Offence behaviours

The literature included in the present review contained more detailed evidence around the offence behaviours of stranger perpetrators than partner perpetrators (see Section 4.5 and Section 3.5 respectively). The evidence on partner perpetrators concentrated more on the levels of sexual coercion used (from verbal through to physical tactics) and indicated that verbal coercion is more prevalent than use of physical force (e.g. Jeffrey & Barata, 2021; see Section 3.5). By contrast, the evidence base on stranger rapists contained more detail on the nature of violence used, the use of weapons, and the different ways perpetrators approach their victims. For example, some of the studies on stranger rape crime scene behaviours have found that the use of physical violence and threats is common and that weapons are often present during stranger rape attacks (e.g. Mokros & Alison, 2002; see further, Section 4.5). These findings from the two evidence bases indicate that physical violence is a feature of stranger rape more so than it is partner rape.

Two studies included in this review directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on use of weapons and injury. Jung et al. (2021) analysed police data on 580 sexual and violence assaults that occurred in a Canadian city between 2010 and 2014. When analysing the data by the victim-perpetrator relationship, the researchers found that while overall weapon use was rare (used in 4.3% cases in the sample), significant differences were found between offender groups. That is, significantly more sexual violence offences perpetrated by stranger offenders used weapons (9%) than sexual violence offences perpetrated by partners (2.1%). By contrast, based on data gathered from a review of the clinical files of 204 rapists serving sentences in Canadian prisons, McCormick et al. (1998), found that the relationship between the rapist (stranger, acquaintance, or partner) and the victim was not significantly associated with the use of a weapon or threatening use of a weapon during the offence. However, stranger rapists were found to have used significantly more force and caused more physical injury than partner rapists.

One study provided evidence of the different power tactics used by different types of rapists. Based on 257 interviews with women who were victims of rape in the USA,

Cleveland et al. (1999) examined the tactics used by rapists across a range of victim-perpetrator relationships (stranger, non-intimate acquaintance, date, steady lover, husband, ex-husband, other relative). The analysis found that stranger rapists used power tactics (e.g. use of force or isolation) significantly more than any of the other perpetrator groups. The authors note that as the victim-perpetrator relationship becomes closer, there appears to be a decrease in the use of power tactics. The exception seems to be for ex-husbands: while on average they had a lower score on power tactics than strangers, the difference was not statistically significant. The authors suggest that closer relationships being associated with lower levels of power tactics could be due to 'intimate access.' (p. 543). That is, without an existing relationship, stranger rapists need to use more forceful tactics than rapists who are partners or known to the victim because there isn't a pre-existing level of intimacy, trust, and isolation from others (i.e. partners tend to be in situations where they are alone, which naturally creates isolation).

## 5.6 Psychological factors and offence motivations

### Psychological factors

While the literature contained some limited evidence around attitudes and beliefs of partner perpetrators (see Section, 3.7), psychopathy, attachment style, and neuroticism (see Section 3.8), there was a paucity of this form of evidence for stranger rapists, making any comparisons impossible. Similarly, while there was some limited evidence that had examined the prevalence of mental illness in samples of stranger perpetrators (see Section 4.6), there was a lack of evidence for partner perpetrators.

### Offence motivations

The evidence bases for both partner and stranger perpetrators contain research findings that point to sexual desire and gratification, and anger and jealousy as key drivers of offending in both perpetrator groups (see Section 3.9 and Section 4.7).

One paper provided some evidence on the similarities and differences in the offence supportive beliefs and motivations of partner and stranger rapists. Based on interviews with 41 convicted rapists (25% stranger rapists and 75% known-victim rapists), Beech, Ward, and Fisher (2006) grouped offenders based on the implicit theories underling their offence supportive beliefs, feelings, and motives.

- **Group 1.** This group comprised solely of violence-motivated rapists who were significantly more likely to have raped their ex-partner: 46% of this group was comprised of those who had raped their partner or ex-partner while 38% had raped a stranger. Offenders in this group were characterised as having a general hostility towards women, an entitlement to sex, and viewing women as sex objects.
- **Group 2.** Offenders in this group were categorised as sexually-motivated rapists and were significantly more likely to have raped strangers than other victim groups: 67% of this group had raped strangers, while no offender who had raped their partner or ex-partner fitted this category. Entitlement to sex and viewing women as sex objects were key features of this group.
- **Group 3.** Offenders in this group were driven by both sexual and violence motives, with the majority (64%) of offenders in this group having raped a stranger and 18% having raped their partners or ex-partners. This offender group was characterised mainly by a hostility towards women and a combination of sexual motives, including indications of sexual sadism.

## 5.7 Alcohol and drug use

The literature on stranger rapists contained some data on prevalence of alcohol and drug use prior to the offence; however, the prevalence rates varied quite considerably making any reliable conclusion about a relationship between alcohol and drug use and stranger rape perpetration difficult (see Section 4.8). By contrast, the evidence base for partner perpetrators provided some limited research findings around consumption of drugs or alcohol prior to offending, as well as research on the relationship between history of heavy and/or frequent alcohol use and perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion (see Section 3.10 and Section 3.11). Again, the lack of comparable evidence hinders any reliable observations around the similarity or difference in the role of alcohol and/or drugs in partner and stranger rape.

None of the papers in the current review provided a direct comparison between stranger and partner perpetrators and their use of alcohol or drugs and/or the role of alcohol or drugs in their offending. However, one paper provided a comparison of men who had raped a partner and men who had raped a non-partner. The study of rape in a sample of

South African men reported by Jewkes et al. (2010) found similar levels of self-reported drinking at the time of the offence when comparing men who had raped partners with those who had raped non-partners (Jewkes et al., 2010). They found that 38.8% of 121 men who had raped a non-partner reported that they had been drinking alcohol, compared to 34.7% of 225 men who had raped a girlfriend or wife (Jewkes et al., 2010).

## 5.8 Typologies

As noted in Section 3.12, a typology classifies the features of a phenomenon into different groups based on commonalities. In line with this, typologies of offending and/or offenders typically form groups or 'types' based on factors such as offence motivation, offence characteristics/crime scene behaviours, offence supportive beliefs, and offender life histories. Based on the literature included in the present review, typologies of partner rape appear less common than for stranger rape. This may be a reflection of the lack of research dedicated specifically to the study of partner rape and partner rapists. For partner rape, the seminal typology of marital rape developed by Finkelhor and Yilo (1985) was cited in a number of reviews (Martin et al., 2007; Monson & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 1998; see Section 3.12). By contrast, a number of studies included in this review reported typologies of stranger rape, providing classifications of offender characteristics, and offence behaviours and motivations (see Section 4.9).

Only one small study of 41 convicted rapists reported by Beech et al. (2006) presents a grouping of offence motivations for a sample that includes both stranger and partner rapists. The three groups are detailed in Section 5.6 of this chapter; however, the findings indicate that stranger rapists are more likely to fall into the categories of sexually-and-violence motivated than partner rapists, while partner rapists are slightly more likely to be categorised as violence-motivated than stranger rapists. While some stranger rapists were categorised as sexually motivated, no offender in the Beech et al. (2006) study who had raped their partner or ex-partner fit within the category of sexually motivated.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter begins with an overview of the challenges faced in identifying suitable literature before providing a summary of findings and highlighting key gaps in the evidence. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research priorities. It is important to note that this report does not provide an exhaustive summary of all research on the characteristics of stranger and/or partner rape perpetrators (i.e. it is not a systematic review). As such, the gaps highlighted here may already be filled in the wider research literature.

### 6.1 Overview of the evidence base: Key challenges in identifying suitable literature

While the initial searches of academic databases and Google Scholar yielded a large volume of evidence tangentially related to the characteristics of sexual violence perpetrators, through the screening process, only a limited number of papers that could provide insight into the characteristics of perpetrators of stranger rape and partner rape were identified. Moreover, a very limited number of papers able to provide evidence of the similarities and/or differences in the characteristics of partner and stranger perpetrators were located during the search and screening process. This was, in part, due to challenges with how the offence behaviour was defined and measured in research and how victim-perpetrator relationships were defined (or not) and/or how these relationships were disaggregated (or not).

#### **Definitions**

As noted in chapter 3, there was limited evidence that expressly examined intimate partner rape (RQ1). Rather, most research that provided evidence of behaviour that could be classified as partner rape measured sexual coercion as a form of IPV, which included a range of behaviours from verbal to physical coercive tactics.

How the offence behaviour was defined and measured was less problematic for the stranger rape literature (RQ2). While the exact legal definitions can vary between jurisdictions (as well as over time), the central features of a rape offence are broadly



consistent (i.e. sexual intercourse without consent). However, some evidence for stranger perpetrators referred to sexual violence or sexual assault, without disaggregating the range of behaviours that could be included in these definitions.

### **Aggregated data**

The issue with a lack of disaggregation was also found in relation to the victim-perpetrator relationship and/or the type of rape perpetrator. For example, some papers grouped perpetrators who had offended against partners and/or acquaintances together, or partners and other family members. Similarly, other papers did not disaggregate victims or perpetrators based on gender and therefore had to be rejected, although these papers may have contained otherwise relevant data on perpetrator characteristics.

### **Geography**

For the present review, UK evidence was prioritised, which is reflected in the evidence on the characteristics of stranger rape offenders coming most commonly from the UK, although relevant research conducted in other European, North American, and African countries was also identified and included. By contrast, representation of UK-based evidence on the characteristics of partner rape perpetrators was low, with none of the prioritised studies being from the UK. Rather, most of the relevant literature was from North American countries – although evidence from Australia, Bangladesh, South Africa, Turkey, and Uganda also contributed to the findings of the review.

### **Samples and data sources**

As noted throughout the report, much of the evidence on stranger rapists (RQ2) was obtained from studies that used administrative data sets or clinical case files, whereas the evidence on partner rapists (RQ1) typically came from primary research with community and student samples. The different samples and data sources providing evidence for each perpetrator type limited the comparability of the research findings in order to draw out similarities and/or differences between stranger and partner perpetrators (RQ3).

Finally, for both evidence bases, there was a lack of research with samples that were representative of the populations under study. While research with non-representative samples can yield valuable and rich insights into the phenomenon of interest, research

findings from non-representative samples are not generalisable and should be interpreted with caution.

## 6.2 Summary of findings and evidence gaps

Studies of both stranger and partner perpetrators included data on a range of demographic variables; as such, this category of offender characteristic was reasonably well represented in the literature. However, only two studies compared stranger and partner perpetrators on some demographic characteristics and provided contrasting findings. While Jung et al. (2021) found that the ethnicity and average age of partner perpetrators was not significantly different to stranger perpetrators, McCormick et al. (1998) found that stranger rapists were significantly younger than partner rapists, but no significant differences in socioeconomic status or highest educational level were found.

Evidence on the developmental pathways to committing partner and/or stranger rape in adulthood was one of the areas with the least coverage in the literature. Few papers were identified and retained within the evidence bases for each perpetrator type, although the limited evidence that was included points to a relationship between childhood trauma and/or adversity and later offending.<sup>51</sup> No papers provided a direct comparison between partner and stranger perpetrators on the relationship between developmental factors and later partner or stranger rape perpetration.

By contrast, the evidence base contained a lot of evidence on offending history and offence behaviours – although this was concentrated on stranger rape perpetrators rather than partner perpetrators. While the prevalence of previous convictions varied between studies, the literature contained evidence of offending versatility among stranger rapists, who were found to have previous convictions for a range of offence types – from acquisitive to violent and sexual offences. However, most of these findings came from studies using official data, and as such only contain data on offences for which the individuals were identified/caught.

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<sup>51</sup> This aligns with the broader criminological literature on the relationship between adverse childhood experiences and general offending (e.g. Craig, Piquero, Farrington, & Ttofi, 2017).

The evidence base on partner perpetrators did not contain official data on criminal histories, but did provide some limited evidence that ongoing non-sexual IPV (i.e. physical and/or emotional abuse) can co-occur with sexual IPV, that a history of perpetrating psychological IPV is associated with later partner rape perpetration, and that some men display a pattern of sexual coercion and/or partner rape between intimate relationships.

Only two studies included in the review compared the criminal histories and recidivism rates for stranger and partner perpetrators and found little difference – except for partner perpetrators being more likely to have a history of partner violence perpetration than stranger perpetrators.

As with offending histories, the literature contained more detailed evidence on the offence behaviours of stranger perpetrators compared to partner perpetrators, with offence behaviours being one of the areas that yielded the most evidence for stranger rapists. The literature provided findings on the range of sexual acts that have been reported and/or recorded (e.g. forms and frequency of penetration), indicated that the use of physical violence and threats is common, and that weapons are often present during stranger rape attacks. By contrast, the evidence on partner perpetrators examined the levels of sexual coercion used (from verbal through to physical tactics), with findings indicating that verbal coercion is more prevalent than use of physical force. Only two studies included in the review directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on offence behaviour (use of weapons and injury), and found that stranger perpetrators are more likely to use weapons and power tactics (i.e. force) than partner perpetrators.

While the literature contained a lack of evidence on the psychological characteristics of stranger rapists, the research with partner perpetrators indicates that a sense of male entitlement, hostile sexism, a desire for sexual dominance, as well as psychopathy, insecure attachment, and narcissism are all individual-level characteristics associated with a tendency to perpetrate sexual coercion or rape against a partner. None of the literature included in the review provided evidence of any similarities or differences in the psychological features of stranger and partner perpetrators.

Findings contained within the evidence bases for each perpetrator type indicate that sexual desire and gratification, and anger and jealousy can be motivators of both partner

and stranger rape. However, only one small study by Beech et al. (2006) provided evidence on the similarities and differences in the offence motivations of partner and stranger rapists. The findings of the study indicate that stranger rapists are more likely to fall into the categories of sexually-motivated or sexually-and-violence-motivated than partner rapists, while partner rapists are slightly more likely to be categorised as violence-motivated than stranger rapists.

Finally, while both evidence bases contained data on alcohol and/or drug use by perpetrators, each lacked data that allowed for a comparison between partner and stranger rapists. Likewise, none of the papers in this review provided a direct comparison between stranger and partner perpetrators and their use of alcohol or drugs in relation to their offending. The literature for partner perpetrators focused more on examining the relationship between history of heavy and/or frequent alcohol use and perpetration of partner rape and/or sexual coercion. Findings from these studies indicate that heavier and/or frequent alcohol use is associated with the perpetration of sexual coercion against a partner. By contrast, the literature on stranger rapists contained data on whether alcohol was consumed by the perpetrator prior to the attack, with considerable variation in prevalence rates reported.

### 6.3 Areas for future research

Based on the synthesis of the evidence included in this review, the following areas for future research are suggested:

- Research that looks expressly at rape in intimate relationships is needed – both with respect to the offence behaviour itself and the characteristics of the perpetrators. While studying partner rape as a form of sexual coercion within the broader construct of IPV is necessary, the present review has highlighted a need for studies dedicated to the study of partner rape and partner rape perpetrators.
- There is a need for UK-based research into the characteristics of the perpetrators of partner rape and sexual coercion. Most of the evidence to address RQ1 was drawn from North America, with none of the included studies being from the UK.
- While the evidence base for stranger perpetrators contained information on the offending histories and offence behaviours of stranger rapists, there was a lack of evidence on developmental factors or psychological characteristics and offence

motivations of stranger perpetrators. These are gaps that could be filled by future research.

- The literature contained a distinct lack of research that directly compared stranger and partner perpetrators on any of the characteristics that were in scope for the present review. This, combined with the evidence bases for partner and stranger perpetrators largely coming from samples and data sources that do not allow for direct comparison, made answering RQ3 of this review challenging. As such, there is a need for primary research that directly examines the similarities and differences between stranger and partner perpetrators on key characteristics.

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## Appendix A

### Academic databases searched

**Table 2: List of databases searched**

<b>Name of database</b>
Scopus
PsycInfo (EBSCO)
Criminal Justice Abstracts (EBSCO)
Criminal Justice Database (ProQuest)
Sociological Abstracts (ProQuest)

## Appendix B

### Search strings

The search strings and results for each database are as follows:

#### Search 1

Database name: Scopus

Platform: Elsevier

Date searched: February 2, 2023

Number of results: 1586

**Table 3.1: The results from the Scopus database**

String number	String	Returns
1	TITLE-ABS-KEY(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse")	55,314
2	TITLE-ABS-KEY(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR "non-stranger*" OR nonstranger* OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating)	1,161,231
3	TITLE-ABS-KEY((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR "psycho-social" OR attribute* OR "risk factor*" OR pathway* OR pattern* OR "previous offen*" OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR "overt force" OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) W/8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*))	302,597
4	#1 AND #2 AND #3	1243
5	TITLE-ABS-KEY(predict* PRE/2 (rape OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*"))	384
6	#4 OR #5	1586

**Search 2**

Database name: PsycInfo

Platform: EBSCO

Date searched: February 2, 2023

Number of results: 1033

**Table 3.2: The results from the PsycInfo database**

String number	String	Returns
1	TI(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR AB(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR KW(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR DE("Rape" OR "Sexual Violence")	22,504
2	TI(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR "non-stranger" OR nonstranger OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR AB(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR "non-stranger" OR nonstranger OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR KW(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR "non-stranger*" OR nonstranger* OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR DE("Intimate Partner Violence" OR "Domestic Violence" OR Spouses OR Wives OR Couples)	224,566
3	TI((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR "psycho-social" OR attribute* OR "risk factor*" OR pathway* OR pattern* OR "previous offen*" OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR "overt force" OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*)) OR AB((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR "psycho-social" OR attribute* OR "risk factor*" OR pathway* OR pattern* OR "previous offen*" OR trait* OR attitude*	93,434

String number	String	Returns
	OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR "overt force" OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*) OR KW((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR "psycho-social" OR attribute* OR "risk factor*" OR pathway* OR pattern* OR "previous offen*" OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR "overt force" OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*))	
4	S1 AND S2 AND S3	969
5	TI(predict* W2 (rape OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*")) OR AB(predict* W2 (rape OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*"))	420
6	S4 OR S5	1351
7	Limit to Academic Journals	1033

### Search 3

Database name: Criminal Justice Abstracts

Platform: EBSCO

Date searched: February 2, 2023

Number of results: 577

**Table 3.3: The results from the Criminal Justice Abstract database**

String number	String	Returns
1	TI(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR AB(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression*" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR KW(rape OR rapist* OR "sexual assault*" OR	12,263



String number	String	Returns
	“sexual violence” OR “sexual coercion” OR “forced sex” OR “unwanted sex” OR “sexual aggression*” OR “non-consensual sex” OR “nonconsensual sex” OR “non-consensual intercourse” OR “nonconsensual intercourse”) OR ZU(“Rape”)	
2	TI(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR “non-stranger” OR nonstranger OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR AB(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR “non-stranger” OR nonstranger OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR KW(stranger* OR domestic OR spouse* OR spousal OR “non-stranger*” OR nonstranger* OR partner* OR IPV OR marital OR dating)	41,303
3	TI((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR “psycho-social” OR attribute* OR “risk factor*” OR pathway* OR pattern* OR “previous offen*” OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR “overt force” OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*)) OR AB((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR “psycho-social” OR attribute* OR “risk factor*” OR pathway* OR pattern* OR “previous offen*” OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR “overt force” OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*)) OR KW((characteristic* OR personalit* OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profil* OR age OR demographic* OR psychopathology OR disorder* OR motivat* OR typolog* OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR “psycho-social” OR attribute* OR “risk factor*” OR pathway* OR pattern* OR “previous offen*” OR trait* OR attitude* OR cogniti* OR belief* OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance* OR driver* OR “overt force” OR weapon* OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) N8 (man OR men OR offender* OR perpetrator*))	20,742
4	S1 AND S2 AND S3	455
5	TI(predict* W2 (rape OR “sexual assault*” OR “sexual violence” OR “sexual coercion” OR “forced sex” OR “unwanted sex” OR “sexual aggression*)) OR AB(predict* W2 (rape OR “sexual assault*” OR “sexual violence” OR “sexual coercion” OR “forced sex” OR “unwanted sex” OR “sexual aggression*))	208

String number	String	Returns
6	S4 OR S5	641
7	Limit to Academic Journals	577

#### Search 4

Database name: Criminal Justice Database

Platform: ProQuest

Date searched: February 2, 2023

Number of results: 556

**Table 3.4: The results from the Criminal Justice Database**

String number	String	Returns
1	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(rape OR rapist OR rapists OR "sexual assault" OR "sexual assaults" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression" OR "sexual aggressions" OR "non-consensual sex" OR "nonconsensual sex" OR "non-consensual intercourse" OR "nonconsensual intercourse") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT("Rape" OR "Serial Rape")	13,829
2	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(stranger OR strangers OR domestic OR spouse OR spouses OR spousal OR "non-stranger" OR "non-strangers" OR nonstranger OR nonstrangers OR partner OR partners OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT("Domestic violence")	43,849
3	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF((characteristic OR characteristics OR personality OR personalities OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profile OR profiling OR profiles OR profiled OR age OR demographic OR demographics OR psychopathology OR disorder OR disorders OR motivat* OR typology OR typologies OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR "psycho-social" OR attribute OR attributes OR "risk factor*" OR pathway OR pathways OR pattern OR patterns OR "previous offen*" OR trait OR traits OR attitude OR attitudes OR cogniti* OR belief OR beliefs OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance OR substances OR driver OR drivers OR "overt force" OR weapon OR weapons OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) NEAR/8 (man OR men OR offender OR offenders OR perpetrator OR perpetrators)) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT("Criminal psychology")	23,408
4	1 AND 2 AND 3	382

String number	String	Returns
5	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(predict* PRE/2 (rape OR “sexual assault” OR “sexual assaults” OR “sexual violence” OR “sexual coercion” OR “forced sex” OR “unwanted sex” OR “sexual aggression” OR “sexual aggressions”))	193
6	4 OR 5	556

### Search 5

Database name: Sociological Abstracts (incl. Social Services Abstracts)

Platform: ProQuest

Date searched: February 2, 2023

Number of results: 1015

**Table 3.5: The results from the Sociological Abstracts (incl. Social Services Abstracts) database**

String number	String	Returns
1	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(rape OR rapist OR rapists OR “sexual assault” OR “sexual assaults” OR “sexual violence” OR “sexual coercion” OR “forced sex” OR “unwanted sex” OR “sexual aggression” OR “sexual aggressions” OR “non-consensual sex” OR “nonconsensual sex” OR “non-consensual intercourse” OR “nonconsensual intercourse”) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT(“Rape”)	18,178
2	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(stranger OR strangers OR domestic OR spouse OR spouses OR spousal OR “non-stranger” OR “non-strangers” OR nonstranger OR nonstrangers OR partner OR partners OR IPV OR marital OR dating) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE(“Spouses”)	137,794
3	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF((characteristic OR characteristics OR personality OR personalities OR psycholog* OR recidivism OR profile OR profiling OR profiles OR profiled OR age OR demographic OR demographics OR psychopathology OR disorder OR disorders OR motivat* OR typology OR typologies OR behavior* OR behaviour* OR psychosocial OR “psycho-social” OR attribute OR attributes OR “risk factor*” OR pathway OR pathways OR pattern OR patterns OR “previous offen*” OR trait OR traits OR attitude OR attitudes OR cogniti* OR belief OR beliefs OR distort* OR schema* OR mental OR substance OR substances OR driver OR drivers OR “overt force” OR weapon OR weapons OR coercion OR manipulati* OR drug* OR alcohol OR etiolog* OR childhood OR psychopathy) NEAR/8 (man OR men OR offender OR offenders OR perpetrator OR perpetrators))	38,938

String number	String	Returns
4	1 AND 2 AND 3	729
5	TITLE,ABSTRACT,IF(predict* PRE/2 (rape OR "sexual assault" OR "sexual assaults" OR "sexual violence" OR "sexual coercion" OR "forced sex" OR "unwanted sex" OR "sexual aggression" OR "sexual aggressions"))	313
6	4 OR 5	1015

## Appendix C

### Inclusion and exclusion criteria

**Table 4: Inclusion and exclusion criteria**

Criterion	Include	Exclude
Countries of interest	Prioritise evidence from the UK and USA.	We will not exclude evidence relating to other countries where it is relevant.
Language	English language publications.	Publications in other languages.
Publication dates	No date limit. If studies need to be prioritized following full-text screening, priority will be placed on more recent papers (i.e. 2010 onwards). The exception will be seminal papers.	
Types of study	Primary or secondary research studies with methodologies that appropriately answer the research questions.	Articles that do not draw on an appropriate methodology such as opinion pieces and editorials. Due to the nature of the RQs, evaluations are unlikely to be relevant.
Types of literature	Peer-reviewed published journal articles; grey literature. PhD theses will be considered as part of the grey literature.	Books; newspaper articles, blogs and similar.
Behaviour of interest	Rape (to include forced sex; unwanted sex; victim coerced and/or manipulated to engage in sex; sex while the victim is asleep, unconscious, drunk, drugged; stealthing). This is not an exhaustive list. Stranger rape.	Online abuse. Sexual assault that is not rape or forced/coerced sex. Homicide / murder involving rape.

Criterion	Include	Exclude
	Rape within an intimate relationship.	
Population/s of interest	<p>Adult perpetrators who commit rape against adult victims.</p> <p>Adult male perpetrators of rape against (adult) female victims.</p> <p>Heterosexual relationships.</p>	<p>Perpetrator and/or victim are under the age of 16 at the time of the offence.</p> <p>Female perpetrators of rape.</p> <p>Non-heterosexual relationships.</p> <p>Characteristics of victims.</p> <p>Cases/data/evidence where the victim is male.</p> <p>Cases/data/evidence where the victim is female, and the perpetrator is female (non-male).</p>
Phenomenon related to behaviour	<p>Perpetrator characteristics.</p> <p>Offence behaviours.</p> <p>(See Table 1).</p>	<p>Victim characteristics.</p> <p>Geographical factors / features of the offence.</p> <p>Identification / selection of victims.</p>

## Appendix D

### Simplified search string for Google Scholar

rape|"sexual assault"|"sexual violence"|"forced sex"|"unwanted sex"|"sexual aggression\*"|non-consensual stranger|"intimate partner"|domestic|spouse|marital|IPV behavior|characteristics|typology|profile|trait|attitude|demographic offender|perpetrator|men

## Appendix E

### Prioritisation criteria

The nature of an REA means that parameters must be put in place to streamline the review process. One such parameter includes putting a cap on the number of studies retained for data extraction. For the present REA, up to 50 studies were included for full extraction following the full-text screening stage. The studies were selected via a process of systematic prioritisation, which ensured that the most relevant pieces of evidence were retained. Relevance was determined using the criteria below applied in descending order of relevance:

- Studies that answer more than one REA research question.
- Studies that address research questions for which there is a comparatively small evidence base.
- Measures multiple characteristics.
- Measures actual behaviour (or actual & hypothetical) rather than just hypothetical behaviour.
- Studies that draw on multiple evidence sources such as systematic or evidence reviews.
- More recent studies (published 2010 onwards).
- UK studies.

Each criterion was assigned a weighted score. The papers with the highest overall scores were retained for inclusion in the review.



## Appendix F

### Weight of evidence scores

**Table 5: Weight of evidence scores**

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Almond, L., McManus, M., & Curtis, G. (2019).	Can the offence behaviours of stranger rapists discriminate between UK and non-UK nationals	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Almond, L., McManus, M. A., & Chatterton, H. (2020).	Internet facilitated rape: A multivariate model of offense behavior	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Almond, L., McManus, M., Bal, A., O'Brien, F., Rainbow, L., & Webb, M. (2021).	Assisting the investigation of stranger rapes: predicting the criminal record of U.K. stranger rapists from their crime scene behaviors	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Beech, A. R., Ward, T., & Fisher, D. (2006).	The identification of sexual and violent motivations in men who assault women: Implication for treatment	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Bownes, I. T., O'Gorman, E. C., & Sayers, A. (1991).	Rape: A comparison of stranger and acquaintance assaults	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Med-high

Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Brassard, A., Gagnon, C., Claing, A., Dugal, C., Savard, C., & Péloquin, K. (2022).	Can romantic attachment and psychopathy concomitantly explain the forms and severity of perpetrated intimate partner violence in men seeking treatment?	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Brousseau, M. M., Hébert, M., & Bergeron, S. (2012).	Sexual coercion within mixed-sex couples: The roles of sexual motives, revictimization, and perpetration	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med
Canter, D., & Heritage, R. (1990).	A multivariate model of sexual offence behaviour: Developments in “offender profiling”.	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med
Cash, K. (2011).	What’s shame got to do with it: forced sex among married or steady partners in Uganda.	No	Yes	Yes	Low-med
Cleveland, H. H., Koss, M. P., & Lyons, J. (1999).	Rape tactics from the survivors’ perspective: Contextual dependence and within-event independence	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med
Daspe, M.-È., Sabourin, S., Godbout, N., Lussier, Y., & Hébert, M. (2016).	Neuroticism and men’s sexual coercion as reported by both partners in a community sample of couples	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Davis, K. C., Neilson, E. C., Wegner, R., & Danube, C. L. (2018).	The intersection of men’s sexual violence perpetration and sexual risk behavior: A literature review	Yes	Yes	Yes	High

Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Dawson, P., M. Goodwill, A., & Dixon, L. (2014).	Preliminary insights and analysis into weapon enabled sexual offenders	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Friis-Rødel, A. M., Leth, P. M., & Astrup, B. S. (2021).	Stranger rape: Distinctions between the typical rape type and other types of rape. A study based on data from center for victims of sexual assault	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Gallagher, K. E., Hudepohl, A. D., & Parrott, D. J. (2010).	Power of being present: The role of mindfulness on the relation between men's alcohol use and sexual aggression toward intimate partners	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Goodwill, A. M., & Alison, L. J. (2007).	When is profiling possible? Offense planning and aggression as moderators in predicting offender age from victim age in stranger rape	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Med-high
Greenall, P. V., & West, A. G. (2007).	A study of stranger rapists from the English high security hospitals	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Gulati, N. K., Stappenbeck, C. A., George, W. H., & Davis, K. C. (2021).	Predicting rape events: The influence of intimate partner violence history, condom use resistance, and heavy drinking	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Häkkinen, H., Lindlöf, P., & Santtila, P. (2004).	Crime scene actions and offender characteristics in a sample of Finnish stranger rapes	Yes	Yes	Yes	High

Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Hewitt, A. N., Chopin, J., & Beauregard, E. (2020).	Offender and victim 'journey-to-crime': Motivational differences among stranger rapists	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Hoyt, T., & Yeater, E. A. (2011).	Individual and situational influences on men's responses to dating and social situations	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Islam, Md. J., Rahman, M., Broidy, L., Haque, S. E., Saw, Y. M., Duc, N. H. C., Haque, Md. N., Rahman, Md. M., Islam, Md. R., & Mostofa, Md. G. (2017).	Assessing the link between witnessing inter-parental violence and the perpetration of intimate partner violence in Bangladesh	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Janosch, H., Jordá, C., Nut, D., Giles, S., & Almond, L. (2023).	Predicting the criminal record of spanish stranger rapists from their crime scene behaviours	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Jeffrey, N. K., & Barata, P. C. (2017).	"He didn't necessarily force himself upon me, but . . . ": Women's lived experiences of sexual coercion in intimate relationships with men.	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Jeffrey, N. K., & Barata, P. C. (2019).	"She didn't want to...and I'd obviously insist": Canadian university men's normalization of their sexual violence against intimate partners.	Yes	Yes	Yes	High

Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Jeffrey, N. K., & Barata, P. C. (2021).	Intimate partner sexual violence among Canadian university students: Incidence, context, and perpetrators' perceptions	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2010).	Why, when and how men rape.	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Jung, S., Faitakis, M., & Cheema, H. (2021).	A comparative profile of intimate partner sexual violence	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Koss, M. P., Dinero, T. E., Seibel, C. A., & Cox, S. L. (1988).	Stranger and acquaintance rape	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Krienert, J. L., & Walsh, J. A. (2018).	An examination of intimate partner sexual violence: Comparing marital and nonmarital incidents employing NIBRS data, 2008-2012	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Lisco, C. G., Parrott, D. J., & Tharp, A. T. (2012).	The role of heavy episodic drinking and hostile sexism in men's sexual aggression toward female intimate partners	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Lovell, R., Luminais, M., Flannery, D. J., Overman, L., Huang, D., Walker, T., & Clark, D. R. (2017).	Offending patterns for serial sex offenders identified via the DNA testing of previously unsubmitted sexual assault kits	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Martin, E. K., Taft, C. T., & Resick, P. A. (2007).	A review of marital rape	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Med-high

Understanding the similarities and differences between the characteristics of intimate partner and stranger rapists

Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
McCormick, J. S., Maric, A., Sseto, M. C., & Barbaree, H. E. (1998).	Relationship to victim predicts sentence length in sexual assault cases	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Med-high
Mitchell, J. E., & Raghavan, C. (2021).	The impact of coercive control on use of specific sexual coercion tactics	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med
Mokros, A., & Alison, L. J. (2002).	Is offender profiling possible? Testing the predicted homology of crime scene actions and background characteristics in a sample of rapists	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Monson, C. M., & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J. (1998).	Sexual and nonsexual marital aggression: Legal considerations, epidemiology, and an integrated typology of perpetrators	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Med-high
Mullins, E. R., & Karantzas, G. C. (2019).	The association between abuse and the perpetration of subtle sexual coercion: The role of approach and avoidance motivations	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med
Purdie, M. P., Abbey, A., & Jacques-Tiura, A. J. (2010).	Perpetrators of intimate partner sexual violence: Are there unique characteristics associated with making partners have sex without a condom?	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Low-med

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Rapid evidence assessment

Study ID	Title	Is the study of good methodological quality?	Are the methods of the study appropriate for answering the review RQs?	Does the study align well with the review RQs?	Mean WoE score
Salwen, J. K., & O'Leary, K. D. (2013).	Adjustment problems and maladaptive relational style: A mediational model of sexual coercion in intimate relationships	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Santtila, P., Junkkila, J., & Sandnabba, N. K. (2005).	Behavioural linking of stranger rapes	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
Schuster, I., & Krahé, B. (2017).	The prevalence of sexual aggression in Turkey: A systematic review	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Smith, R. M., Parrott, D. J., Swartout, K. M., & Tharp, A. T. (2015).	Deconstructing hegemonic masculinity: The roles of antifemininity, subordination to women, and sexual dominance in men's perpetration of sexual aggression	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Snead, A. L., & Babcock, J. C. (2019).	Differential predictors of intimate partner sexual coercion versus physical assault perpetration	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Med-high
Tarzia, L. (2021).	Toward an ecological understanding of intimate partner sexual violence	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
ter Beek, M., van den Eshof, P., & Mali, B. (2010)	Statistical modelling in the investigation of stranger rape	Yes	Somewhat	Yes	Med-high