

G. Presentation of Results

I. Sex of Declared Victims and of the Accused

Of the 8,058 persons in Lower Saxony who became known as sexual victims between 1969 and 1972, 7,181 (= 89.1%) were female. [F522] Out of all of the cases, only 17 of the suspected perpetrators were female. [F523] Allowing for those cases in which the suspected perpetrator's gender was not indicated, this means that in 99.8% of the cases, the suspected perpetrator was either an adolescent or adult male. [F524]

The gender distribution of the particular sub-groups in this study remained similar to their overall distribution in Study 1. No sex-specific selection had occurred.

This distribution resembles -- as was expected -- the gender distribution in the official criminal statistics. [F525] In 1972, 88.8% of registered sexual victims were female. Admittedly, the Lower Saxony WKP had only concerned itself with female victims up to twenty years old and male victims up to fourteen years old; thus, only these age and gender groups are included in Study 1. The proportion of female victims in the official statistics is 87.3%; the difference between this and the overall statistic (88.8%) is insignificant.

When one compares the proportion of girls and women in the overall number of declared victims (from Study 1) with the proportion of girls and women in corresponding age groups in all of Lower Saxony for the years 1969-1972 [F526], then one of course sees that there is clearly an arithmetically significant difference between the two distributions. [F527] This means that Null Hypothesis_{1,2} must be rejected, just as Hypothesis_{1,2} [F528] is confirmed.

Likewise, Hypothesis_{1,1} (sex of the accused), which concerned the numerical comparison between the sex-distribution of the suspected perpetrators and

and this distribution in the population of Lower Saxony as a whole for 1969-1972, was also addressed. [F529] As had been expected, Hypothesis_{1,1} was confirmed. [F530]

It thereby becomes clear that the risk of sexual victimization is far higher for girls, while the suspected perpetrators are, almost without exception, men.

Obviously, then, most of the reported sexual contacts are heterosexual acts. One interesting question is whether the few punishable (male) homosexual contacts [F531] that were among the reported cases constitute an under-representation, when compared with 'dark number' inquiries into sexual behavior. Because there are no equivalent studies for Lower Saxony, and even for the country as a whole there are no representative inquiries into the extent of punishable homosexual contacts, we are obliged to call on the Kinsey studies [F532] for assistance in determining the distributions. It is generally assumed that (punishable) sexual acts in West Germany are distributed in a similar way as to that found by the Kinsey study for the United States. [F533] According to these results, approximately 20% of males have homosexual experiences prior to the age of eighteen. Expressed in terms of what would be theoretically expected to be the proportion of male victims in Lower Saxony [F534], this would translate into homosexual acts constituting 37% of all reported contacts. And yet, in Study 1 they were only 10.9% [F535], and in Study 2 they were only insignificantly greater (12.5%). [F536] The difference between the expected (according to Kinsey) and the observed distributions is a significant one. [F537] This means that the largest share of reported sexual contacts is mixed-gender; that is, involving a man as the suspected perpetrator and a girl or woman as the victim. Moreover, homosexual contacts are more rarely represented among reported acts, as compared to the expected proportion of this sexual behavior in the overall population. [F538]

If one compares the gender distributions for victims found here -- and thereby simultaneously the distributions of heterosexual relative to homosexual acts -- with the gender distributions found by various other studies, then one indeed sometimes sees even greater discrepancies; however, for the most part, the distributions are 75-90% female and 10-25% male:

Table 18:

Gender Distribution of Declared Sexual Victims
from Various Comparable Studies (in %) [F539]

| Author | Study Year | Gender of Declared Victims | |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|------|
| | | female | male |
| Stern | 1926 | 80 | 20 |
| Hess | 1934 | 88.8 | 11.2 |
| Wessel | 1939 | 78.9 | 21.9 |
| Häbel | 1952 | 80 | 20 |
| Geisler | 1959 | 87 | 13 |
| Matthes | 1961 | 74 | 26 |
| Weiß | 1962 | 90.1 | 9.9 |
| Schönfelder | 1965 | 100 | - |
| Fischer | 1965 | 58.8 | 41.2 |
| Gerbener | 1966 | 81.7 | 18.3 |
| Wyss | 1967 | 72.5 | 22.5 |
| Study 3 | 1969 | 91.6 | 8.4 |
| Study 1 | 1969-1972 | 81.1 | 10.9 |
| Lower Saxony Criminal Statistics | 1972 | 88.8 | 11.2 |
| Kröniger | 1973 | 85.5 | 14.5 |
| Diesing | (1957-1965) follow-up study: 1958 | 100 | - |

Looking at Tab. 18, it becomes clear that some studies contain no male victims at all. [F540] This must be borne in mind, whenever such works are cited as evidence for general statements about all sexual victims,

because punishable homosexual contacts are obviously different from punishable heterosexual ones.

II. Criminal Law Classifications of Reported Sexual Contacts

Here we are obliged to describe, from a victimological perspective, the types and numbers of sexual contacts that the victims were reportedly involved in. Only with considerable caveats can such a list be compared with case-oriented police criminal statistics.

The WKP in Lower Saxony only kept victim statistics in the areas of what were still called "indecent offenses" or "crimes against morality" up until 1971. The corresponding lists were published in the yearly reports up to that same year. [F541] There is a summarized version for the years 1963-1967. [F542] An additional problem vis a vis comparability -- for example with today's criminal statistics -- consists of the fact that, between 1969 and 1974, several criminal law reforms took place, not only generally but also in this particular portion of the penal code. [F543] Because the cases studied herein were reported between 1969 and 1972, whereas the first criminal ~~the first~~ ~~criminal~~ law reform had impacted the criminal statistics gathered here [F544], they had not yet been effected by the substantial changes embodied in the fourth criminal law reform.

Carefully comparing the Police Criminal Statistics figures from 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1974 with one another, Schroeder attempted to ascertain whether the fourth criminal law reform had had an overall descriminalizing effect. [F545] His "detailed analysis shows that the number of sexual coercions and rapes increased significantly [F546], while on the other hand cases involving taking advantage of dependency relationships, homosexual acts, the distribution of pornography, and the

promotion of prostitution clearly decreased. [F547] The increase in the overall number is attributed to a considerable proportion of newly-criminalized prostitution offenses. Thus, the upshot casts considerable doubt as to whether an overall decriminalization has, in fact, taken place." [F548] No substantial numerical changes were seen in the largest share of criminal acts against the right to shared sexual decision-making (the sexual abuse of children, exhibitionistic acts, rape, and sexual coercion); thus, the overall study likely has phenomenological evidentiary value concerning the impact of the fourth criminal law reform.

A subdivision according to the Laws and Statutes of West Germany is admittedly not very suitable to a phenomenological analysis of punishable sexual contacts, because criminal law classifications are scarcely arranged according to criminological or even victimological criteria. Würtenberger describes this shortcoming vis à vis the analysis of criminal statistics: "The Police Criminal Statistics are based on offense types itemized in the Laws and Statutes of West Germany which, it is certainly well-known, are not designed according to a criminological point of view." [F549] In this sense, merely for the sake of completeness, we are obliged to list the numerical distribution of the declared victims from this study according to the discrete categories laid out in both the criminal law as well as criminal statistics. But unfortunately, the in part very heterogeneous offense types -- ^{such} as for example §176 (sexual abuse of children) -- are again and again described in crudely generalized ways. The following is typical of the misleadingly simplified manner in which these things are perceived: The (relatively) high number of reported criminal acts under §§ 176 and 183 are cited as evidence of the overall sexual criminality which is committed against children. [F550] Such materials are illustrated with selective cases of (sexual) violence, which of course are unrepresentative of either kind of offense group. Many authors wish to make particularly clear just how serious sexual abuse is for the child, even backing up these assertions with case descriptions from the offense areas of "rape" and "child abuse." [F551]

1. Registered Criminal Acts in the
Overall Total for Lower Saxony (N = 8,058)

Unfortunately, the SST questionnaire from Study 1 [F552] provided only four options by which the officer could classify the reported criminal act: under §§ 173, 174, 176:I:3, or 177 of the Laws and Statutes of West Germany (o.v.). [F553] However, with a more precise analysis of the data, it becomes clear that besides "§176:I:3," other options should have also been available: "Incitement of a Sexual Offense -- §183 o.v.," "Sexual Coercion -- §176:I:1 o.v.," and probably also "Interference with the Ability to Resist -- §176:I:2 o.v." Likewise, the

Table 19:

Subdivision of Declared Sexual Victims
(N = 8,058, Lower Saxony, 1969-1972),
According to the Criminal Act by
Which the Case Was Registered [F554]

| Registered Criminal Act 1969-1972 (o.v.) | Corresponds Approx. to Today's (n.v.) | % |
|---|--|------|
| §177 - Rape also including: §176:I:1 - Sexual Coercion | §177 - Rape §178 - Sexual Coercion | 14.7 |
| §176:I:3 - Lewdness with Children also including: §176:I:1 - Sexual Coercion §177 - Rape §183 - Incitement of a Sexual Offense | §176 - Sexual Abuse of Children §178 - Sexual Coercion §177 - Rape §183 - Exhibitionistic Acts §183a- Disorderly Conduct | 76.9 |
| §174 - Lewdness with Dependents | §174 - Sexual Abuse of Dependents §174a- Sexual Abuse of Prisoners, Officially Protected Persons, and Patients in Institutions | 5.1 |
| §173 - Incest | §173 - Sexual Inter. Between Relatives | 3.4 |

category "§177" often encompassed multiple "Sexual Coercion[s] -- §176:I:1 (o.v.)." [F555]

Tab. 19 shows the percentage of declared victims in each offense group.

And yet, registered sexual criminality in Lower Saxony between 1969 and 1972 still remains unclear in Tab. 19. Nevertheless, we can be reasonably certain a smaller share of reported sexual contacts consisted of rape and sexual coercion, whereas a larger share consisted of quite different sexual acts on and against children.

2. All Sexual Victims Registered by the Female Criminal Police Bureau Between 1969 and 1972 (N = 11,996) [F556]

In addition to the data from the SST questionnaire (Study 1), up until 1971, a separate statistic concerning sexual victims was gathered -- alongside and separate from the case statistics -- which was also published in the official Police Criminal Statistics [F557] of that era.

In 1971, the victim statistic that was gathered in Lower Saxony in parallel with the simultaneously-collected "internal WKP statistic" was, admittedly, of a much lower numerical value, owing to the fact that the conversion was being made from an input- to an outcome-based statistic. It shows the following victim numbers for all registered indecent offenses for the year 1971:

| | 1971 | 1972 |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| WKP Statistic | 3,852 | - |
| Outcome Statistic | 3,139 | 2,790 |

Even apart from the decrease caused by the conversion of the criminal statistics (1970/71), a considerable, further decrease in 1972 is also observable.

From Tab. 20, moreover, it becomes clear that boys are seldom registered as sexual victims, that they are very rarely the victims of violent sexual acts, and that, indeed, even female children rarely become rape victims. All in all, however, children do comprise the largest group of declared sexual victims.



Table 20:

Subdivision of Declared Sexual Victims
(N = 11,996, Lower Saxony, 1969-1971),
According to Criminal Act by Which
the Case was Registered [F558]

| Registered Act (o.v.) | 1969 | | 1970 | | 1971 | |
|---|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| | f | m | f | m | f | m |
| Lewdness Against or with Children | (1,938) | (322) | (1,738) | (339) | (1,736) | (281) |
| Lewdness with Dependents | 205 (95) | 10 | 174 (85) | 17 | 192 (74) | 11 |
| Incest | 108 (35) | | 119 (38) | | 114 (44) | |
| Rape | 392 (18) | | 419 (29) | | 406 (17) | |
| Solicitation | 73 (5) | | 74 (4) | | 71 (6) | |
| Other Indecent Offenses (§§ 176:I:1,2; 182; 183) | 1,149 (262) | 35 | 957 (211) | 30 | 1,006 (269) | 35 |
| Overall | 3,965 (2,353) | 367 (322) | 3,526 (2,150) | 386 (339) | 3,525 (2,146) | 327 (281) |
| | 4,232 | | 3,912 | | 3,852 | |

In order to more readily compare these figures with those from Tab. 19, the values from Tab. 20 (1969-1971 combined) were converted into percentages:

Table 21:

Percentage Subdivision of Declared Sexual Victims
(N = 11,996, Lower Saxony, 1969-1971),
According to Criminal Act by which Case was Registered

| Registered Criminal Act (o.v.) | Percentage of Victims, 1969-1971 |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Lewdness Against and With Children | 53.3 |
| Lewdness with Dependents | 5.1 |
| Incest | 2.8 |
| Rape | 10.2 |
| Solicitation | 1.8 |
| Other Indecent Offenses | 26.8 |
| | 100.0 |

Comparing Tab. 21 with Tab. 19, it is apparent -- despite the differing SST questionnaire results (especially with regard to §§ 177 and 176:I:3) -- that the percentages of the individual offense groups are similar to one another.

3. Offense Types of Criminal Acts Against the Right to Sexual Self-Determination, According to Police Criminal Statistics (Outcome Statistics)

Up until 1971, through the efforts of the WKP [F559], relatively valuable victimological statistics for Lower Saxony were gathered on what, at the time, were still known as "crimes and offenses against morality." There was no such detailed victim data in the Police Criminal Statistics.

Consequently, it is not possible to compare the victimological data in the separate WKP statistics with the official criminal statistics. If one wishes to compare the actual victim data with the offense group data from the official criminal statistics, then one runs into the problem that, for the 1969-1972 time period, one must choose between using either the old input statistics (1969 or 1970) or the new, complete outcome statistics (1972). [F560] Because they are in line with current practice, and because of their higher quality, we are obliged to use the newer 1972 outcome statistics. The figures in Tab. 22 were, in addition, converted into percentages, so as to facilitate comparison with the WKP numbers.

Comparing Tab. 22 with Tab. 21, it becomes apparent that in 1972, boys and men in Lower Saxony rarely became victims of punishable, violent sexual contacts; also, girls between 6 and 13 relatively frequently became victims of "lewd acts," and women between 14 and 20 were in jeopardy of becoming rape victims. [F561]

For comparison purposes, current case statistics for "criminal acts against the right to sexual self-determination" for the country as a whole will still be used. As the time-span comparison shows, there are considerable differences only for the "sexual coercion" offense group; namely, greatly increased numbers. The proportions of other sexual offenses have scarcely varied at all over the years.

Table 23:

Case Statistics for Reported Sexual Contacts
in West Germany, 1980 (N = 43,380) [F563]

| Act Key No. | Registered Criminal Act (n.v.) | No. | % | |
|-------------------|---|--------|-------|--------|
| 1110. | § 177 - Rape | 6,904 | 15.9 | } 26.5 |
| 1120. | § 178 - Sexual Coercion | 3,565 | 8.2 | |
| | other sexual offenses involv. the use of violence or taking advantage of dependency rels. | 1,026 | 2.4 | |
| 1200. | § 175 - Homosexual Acts | 1,266 | 2.9 | 2.9 |
| 1310. | § 176 - Sexual Abuse of Children | 13,165 | 30.3 | } 60.1 |
| 1320. | § 183 - Exhibitionistic Acts § 183a- Disorderly Conduct | 11,351 | 26.1 | |
| | other sexual abuse | 1,606 | 3.7 | |
| 1410. | § 180 - Soliciting a Minor for a Sexual Act | 946 | 2.2 | } 10.6 |
| | § 180a- Solicitation of Prostitution | | | |
| | § 181a- Promotion of Prostitution | 781 | 1.8 | |
| 1439. | § 184 - Distribution of Pornography | 783 | 1.8 | |
| 1440. | § 181 - White Slavery | 147 | 0.3 | |
| | other sexual offenses involv. sexual tendencies | 1,940 | 4.5 | |
| 1000. | Criminal Acts Against the Right to Sexual Self-Determination (overall) | 43,480 | 100.1 | |

Therefore, the various statistics pertaining to criminal law registration of reported sexual criminality are -- especially for the years 1969-1972 -- largely comparable. In the SST

questionnaire pertaining to Study 1, there was an error in the category "crimino-legal classification," which led to different offense types being overlapped. Because of this, the proportion of sexually violent offenses according to these classifications are not strictly distinguishable from the share of acts characterized as "lewdness with children," which, in turn, are themselves not completely distinguishable from exhibitionistic acts.

As was already explained in Section D [F564], the results from Study 1 are based on interviews conducted by the WKP in their regular course of work. Consequently, due to this organization's mandate, only those cases involving female victims up to age twenty and male victims up to age fourteen were included. When Tab. 22 is used to compare the overall number of cases from 1972 with those which comprise Study 1, it becomes clear that Study 1 encompasses approximately 75% of all sexual victims registered in the Police Criminal Statistics for Lower Saxony. If one subtracts female victims over twenty and male victims over fourteen from the Police Criminal Statistics, then the victims who completed the SST questionnaire would constitute approximately 85% of all victims registered in Lower Saxony. [F565]

Cases involving victims over twenty (or fourteen) are primarily "sexual offenses relating to the exploitation of sexual tendencies," as well as the rape and sexual coercion of women aged twenty-one and older. Therefore the relative proportions of these offense groups may require the figures from Study 1 to be upwardly adjusted; if necessary, this could be done using criminal statistics.

Following numerous attempts at classification based on criminological criteria, it became clear that this was simply not suitable for a criminological or even a victimological analysis. For example, the cases which are covered by §176:I:3 (o.v.) or §176 (n.v.) are quite heterogeneous. This leads, unfortunately, to tendentious interpretations (in one direction or another) being made as to the phenomenology of §176 (n.v.) cases. When a numerically large and narrowly age-delimited victim group is involved, a victimological analysis of this group is especially crucial. Among them, one would expect rape and sexual coercion cases to be quite similar to one another. However, one would simultaneously expect that many exhibitionistic acts or very superficial erotic or sexual contacts are also subsumed under §176 (n.v.).

Tab. 9 (pg. 117 ff), which compares the various studies, also indicates which criminal acts were examined in each. For some of the studies, this could no longer be reconstructed. Many concern themselves only with a limited cross-section of overall sexual criminality. This fact needs to be considered when evaluating their results.

In recent years, there have been large increases in the rate of declared cases of sexual coercion. There were no substantial changes in any of the other sexual offenses over the same time period. [F566]

From Appendix 4b, it is evident that the two sub-groups of declared victims who were questioned in Study 2 ("statement concerning the case" and "no statement concerning the case") were not significantly different from one another, and that the cross-section from the follow-up study was also, to a great extent, representative of the overall total.

III. Age and Educational Levels of Declared Victims

1. Age

When looking at the age distribution of (declared) sexual victims, it must be considered that this is influenced by the age limits set down by the sexual criminal law itself. [F567] Because it was already made clear in the second part of the results presentation section (pg. 215 ff) that approximately 30-40% of all criminal sexual acts consist of violations of §176:I:3 (o.v.) or §176 (n.v.) [F568], sexual offenses involving the under 14-year-old age group must be disproportionately over-represented. It is also clear from Tab. 22 that a further 20% of declared sexual victims experienced exhibitionistic encounters in childhood. Consequently, children were particularly likely to be represented in the cross-sections. This is, of course, in line with the aim of the sexual criminal law, which is particularly designed to protect children's "right to sexual self-determination" as well as their "undisturbed sexual development." The two other age limits (16 and 18) likely play a similar role. This is so not because, for example, people in this age range are less likely to have experienced sexuality or to have become involved in punishable sexual contacts, but rather because formal (via the criminal law) and informal (via general attitudes) forms of social control diminish with increasing age. Moreover, child sexuality appears to be subject to stronger taboos than is violent sexuality. Social availability is yet another factor influencing victim susceptibility. Children experience more social contacts when they venture outside the protective realm of the close familial circle. As a rule this begins with the entry into kindergarten or school. Children are then more likely -- for example, on the way to school -- to encounter an exhibitionist than had previously been the case. The time periods during which potential sexual victims typically circulate in potential perpetrators' circles are probably also the time periods during which most victims become victimized. Here we refer to Section VI, in which the time of day of the victimization is discussed. [F569] The time of day in which the potential victim is most likely to be in a victimogenic situation is thus also dependent upon the potential victim's age.

Tab. 24 (pg. 228) shows the age distribution of declared victims in Study 1:

Table 24: [F570]

Age Distribution of Declared Sexual Victims
 (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, female victims up to 20 years of age,
 male victims up to 14 years of age, N = 8,051)

| Age | No. of Victims | % | Cum. % |
|-----|-------------------|----|--------|
| 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | 70 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 183 | 2 | 3 |
| 5 | 288 | 4 | 7 |
| 6 | 442 | 5 | 12 |
| 7 | 610 | 8 | 20 |
| 8 | 654 | 8 | 28 |
| 9 | 747 | 9 | 37 |
| 10 | 806 | 10 | 47 |
| 11 | 887 | 11 | 58 |
| 12 | 820 | 10 | 69 |
| 13 | 931 | 12 | 80 |
| 14 | 243 | 3 | 83 |
| 15 | 320 | 4 | 87 |
| 16 | 310 | 4 | 91 |
| 17 | 313 | 4 | 95 |
| 18 | 204 | 3 | 97 |
| 19 | 129 | 2 | 99 |
| 20 | 83 | 1 | 100 |

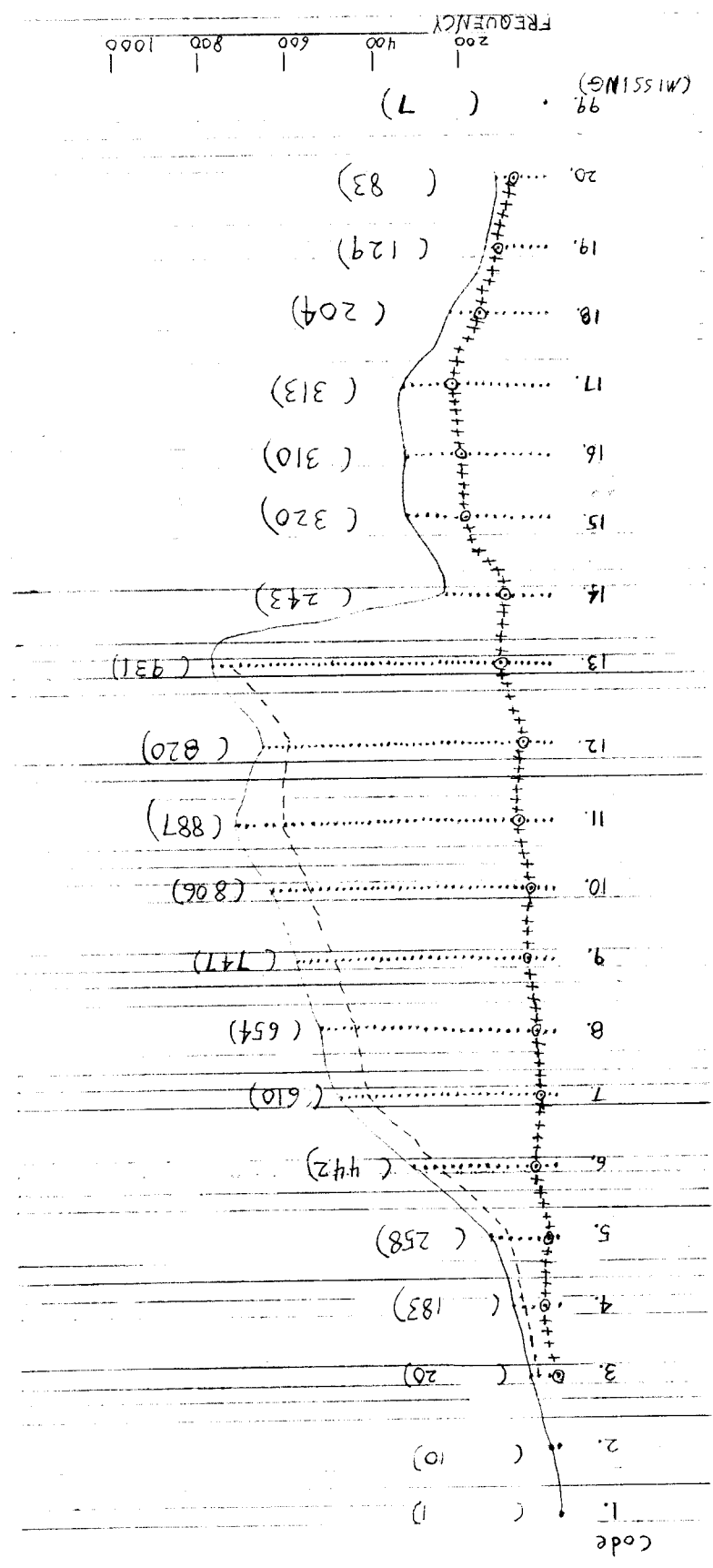
mean = 10.844 yrs = 10 yrs. 10 mos.

The median age of declared sexual victims was 10 years and 10 months. [F571] Most of the declared victims are found in the 13-year-old age group (mode). Fig. 7 shows the distribution curve of the ages of all declared victims from Study 1. [F572]

In Fig. 7, the distribution curve for female victims up to and including thirteen-year-olds has also been drawn. Consequently, the distance between this and the overall victim curve (for those under fourteen) represents the male victims.

Fig. 7:

Age of Declared Sexual Victims
 (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 8,051 Declared Sexual Victims)



— all victims
 - - - female victims
 + + + victims who experienced threats/violence

Most of the declared victims (approximately 50%) were between 10 and 13 years old. Almost 70% were between 7 and 13; 80% were under fourteen. Thus, the largest share -- as the distribution curve indicates -- appear to have been victimized ~~by~~ between the age of school entry and age fourteen, which is the age cutoff of §176 (n.v.). Certainly, one should not simply assume that the actual risk to the particular age groups is based on these frequencies; it may well be that declared victims from particular age groups more often felt that they were harmed, independent of the total number of victims for each age level. This question will be further addressed below.

It is indeed already quite striking, looking at the distribution of victims by age and experienced criminal act, that only a few sexual victims under thirteen years old -- in both relative and absolute terms -- described the presence of violent or threatening behavior on the part of the suspected perpetrator. In Fig. 7, the number of violent cases per age level is drawn as a cross-curve. Thus from age thirteen on, declared sexual victims experienced increased violence and/or threats. Further along this curve, the majority of victims report having experienced violent or threatening behavior on the part of the suspected perpetrator; this remains true up through the age of nineteen. At age twelve, 86 girls (10.5% of all declared victims of this age) report threatening or violent perpetrator behavior. In comparison, at age seventeen, 227, or 72.8% of this age group experienced such behavior; at age nineteen, 79 out of 129 (= 75.2%) experienced it! This means that, up to this age, young women increasingly report aggressive sexual attacks upon their bodies.

Hypothesis_{3.3}, which posited that young women from puberty on up to the average age of marriage were more likely to become known as victims of reported, violent sexual contacts, can already, by inspection, be rejected. Indeed, in both absolute and proportional terms, the numbers increase from puberty up to age seventeen, but then appear to drop back. Hypothesis_{3.3} went on the assumption that young, unmarried women had been raised to accept an aggressive male sexual ideology which was also shared by a certain percentage of men; who would in turn, therefore, sexually assault them. It was further supposed that, to a certain extent, participating victims would deem such encounters rape. Married women -- it was presumed -- are raped to the same extent, but do not declare or deem themselves to have been raped in the crimino-legal meaning of the word, perhaps in part because they consider this to be their "lot" in life. According to this assumption, rape figures must decrease with women's average age of marriage, because they would then remain hidden. Moreover, the declared victims in this study were a maximum of only twenty years old (and consequently were below the average marital age); presumably, this effect continues with increasing age. As soon as young women get into steady

relationships (not involving marriage), many tolerate being raped by the men with whom they are (still) not married, and do not ^{deny} declare either the rape itself or the rapist. The perpetrator or male aspect of such situations would be that a certain percentage of men believe they have a right to rape women with whom they have a relationship, because women are obliged to be at men's disposal whenever the latter wish to have sex.

Table 25:

Age of Declared Victims (vertical) and Behavior of Suspected Perpetrators (horizontal) in Reported Sexual Contacts (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, cases involving N = 8,051 declared sexual victims)

| Age of Declared Victims | Behavior of Suspected Perpetrators | Threats/Violence | | Other Behavior | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1 | | | 0.0 | 1 | 0.02 |
| 2 | | | 0.0 | 10 | 0.2 |
| 3 | | 2 | 0.1 | 68 | 1.1 |
| 4 | | 11 | 0.7 | 172 | 2.7 |
| 5 | | 22 | 1.3 | 266 | 4.2 |
| 6 | | 37 | 2.2 | 405 | 6.3 |
| 7 | | 48 | 2.9 | 562 | 8.8 |
| 8 | | 49 | 3.0 | 605 | 9.5 |
| 9 | | 65 | 3.9 | 682 | 10.7 |
| 10 | | 60 | 3.6 | 746 | 11.7 |
| 11 | | 82 | 5.0 | 805 | 12.6 |
| 12 | | 86 | 5.2 | 734 | 11.5 |
| 13 | | 135 | 8.2 | 796 | 12.4 |
| 14 | | 120 | 7.3 | 123 | 1.9 |
| 15 | | 191 | 11.6 | 129 | 2.0 |
| 16 | | 209 | 12.7 | 101 | 1.6 |
| 17 | | 227 | 13.8 | 86 | 1.3 |
| 18 | | 148 | 9.0 | 56 | 0.9 |
| 19 | | 97 | 5.9 | 32 | 0.5 |
| 20 | | 60 | 3.6 | 23 | 0.4 |
| | | 1,649 | 100.0 | 6,402 | 100.0 |

As to the representativeness of the follow-up study group as per age distribution, we can indeed say that the age distribution of declared victims who were prepared to participate in Study 2 (N = 112) is representative of the age distribution of the overall total of 8,058 victims. [F573] The sexual victims who were ready to actually talk about their victimization in Study 2 were, however, significantly older than those who no longer could or would [F574] talk about the experience (< 1% significance level). [F575]

Now, such age distributions would still mean very little, without comparing them with the overall distribution in the corresponding population groups; of course, we are particularly interested in whether the age distribution of victims is different from that in the overall population. The age-levels in the population

of Lower Saxony for the corresponding years [F576] are by no means symmetrically

distributed. Nevertheless, the age distributions of both female [F577] and male [F578] declared victims differ significantly from the expected distribution for Lower Saxony at the time. Among the female victims, there were more 8-13 year-olds -- especially 11-13 year-olds -- than there were in the expected distribution. [F579] Among the male victims, there were relatively few 7-11 year-olds -- particularly 9-11 year-olds.

In the age distribution curve [F580], it can be seen that the greatest increase (curve slope) is between the ages of five and seven, which encompasses the age when children begin school. As a whole, those just beginning school differ significantly from the other age groups. [F581] Thus, in these ages, more children become known as sexual victims than would be expected based on their share of the overall population. This is also related to the fact that at this age, children leave the strongly-protective parental sphere, and in any event experience more social contacts. With them, the risk of unwelcome social or sexual contacts obviously also increases.

Hypothesis_{3,2} posited that pubertal young people frequently become known as sexual victims. Because pubertal onset is easier to determine in girls [F582], and moreover because they constitute a larger victim group, 11-14 year-old girls were compared with the other female victims. At the same time, it turned out that pubertal girls were almost twice as likely to become known as sexual victims than their distribution in the overall population of Lower Saxony would have predicted. [F583] Hypothesis_{3,2} was thereby also proved correct.

2. Educational Level

In many German victimological studies, it has been pointed out again and again that declared sexual victims are poorly-educated, have a low intelligence, or generally come from poor milieus. Indeed, Study 1 did comprise more schoolchildren (grade and primary) and relatively few children with higher educational levels, relative to the overall population. [F584] However, when one compares this result

Table 26:

Educational Level of Declared Sexual Victims --
 Comparison Between a) Educational Level at Time of Report --
 SST questionnaire (vertical), 1969-1972, and
 b) Educational Level at Time of Follow-Up Interview --
 RDSV questionnaire (horizontal), 1979-1980
 [left- and right-most columns are labeled in English]

| COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT [F585] | Special, Grade, Boarding School | High School Graduate, Average Maturity | Vocational School, Jun. Coll., University | ROW TOTAL |
|---|--|---|--|--------------|
| Special, Primary, and Grade School | 30 41.7 93.8 30.9 | 24 33.3 70.6 24.7 | 18 25.0 58.1 18.6 | 72 74.2 |
| Secondary School | 2 14.3 6.3 2.1 | 9 64.3 26.5 9.3 | 3 21.4 9.7 3.1 | 14 14.4 |
| High School | 0 0 0 0 | 1 9.1 2.9 1.0 | 10 90.9 32.3 10.3 | 11 11.3 |
| COLUMN TOTAL | 32 33.0 | 34 35.1 | 31 32.0 | 97 100.0 |

with the overall population, it becomes clear that this is in part an artifact of the numerically large group of 7-10 year-old victims [F585a] who have simply not yet received further schooling, as well as the fact that the fourteen and older age groups are "thinly dispersed" because other criminal law provisions apply to them. Many authors (who do not compare their observations with the corresponding overall population) then draw the hasty conclusion that uneducated children are more likely to become sexual victims. In order to be able to compare victimization rates of different groups of people with various educational levels, one must first of all contrast the figures for comparable criminal acts; i.e., "rape" and "sexual coercion," not, "rape" and "child sexual abuse." It was also shown in (follow-up) Study 2 that, in the meantime (6-10 years later), declared victims' educational levels had changed considerably:

In the follow-up study conducted some years later, a higher proportion of previously-declared victims had achieved higher, age-conditioned educational levels. Moreover, we have already considered the fact that persons with higher educational levels would be more inclined to participate

in the follow-up study. [F586] In Tab. 26, a comparison is made between the educational levels of the same declared sexual victims at two different points in time: a) when the original report was made (SST questionnaire from Study 1 -- vertical), and b) during the follow-up study (RDSV questionnaire from Study 2 -- horizontal). Diagonal squares show the degree of conformity. The bottom three squares indicate those who had attained a lower educational level; the top three show those who had achieved a higher one. This means that, in the interim, $24.7\% + 18.6\% + 3.1\% = 46.4\%$ of the sexual victims had attained a higher educational level than they had had at the time of the original interview!

If there were a real difference between the declared sexual victims and the corresponding age groups in the overall population (see above) as to the characteristic "educational level," then this would, of course, constitute a significant difference. But it would be wrong to assume that the educational levels of this partly age-conditioned group are transferable to other groups of sexual victims.

IV. Age of the Accused

In Study 1, the age of the suspected perpetrator was entered by the WKP on the SST questionnaire [F587], provided the suspected perpetrator was able to be ascertained, or the person victimized knew who it was. [F588] As expected, many of the estimates were expressed in "round" numbers (i.e., 25, 30, and 40 years old). The average age of ascertained suspected perpetrators was 32 years and 6 months. The corresponding average for the estimated ages was 30 years. All in all (N = 7,337), this amounted to an average age for suspected perpetrators of 31 years and 6 months. [F589] (The summarized, combined age distribution is presented in Tab. 27.) About half of all suspected perpetrators were 30 years of age or younger. Almost three-fourths were under 41; only a relative few were over 45. The idea of the "dirty old man" does not appear to be on point, and is probably more likely the result of selective perception.

The curve for this is presented graphically in Fig. 8 (pg. 236). Because the "rounded off" estimates (see above) created 'spikes' in the 20's and 30's, a second 'smoothed out' distribution was drawn in areas that were significantly different from the original curve.

Table 27:

Ascertained and Estimated Ages of Suspected Perpetrators of Reported Sexual Contacts (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 7,337 suspected perpetrators)

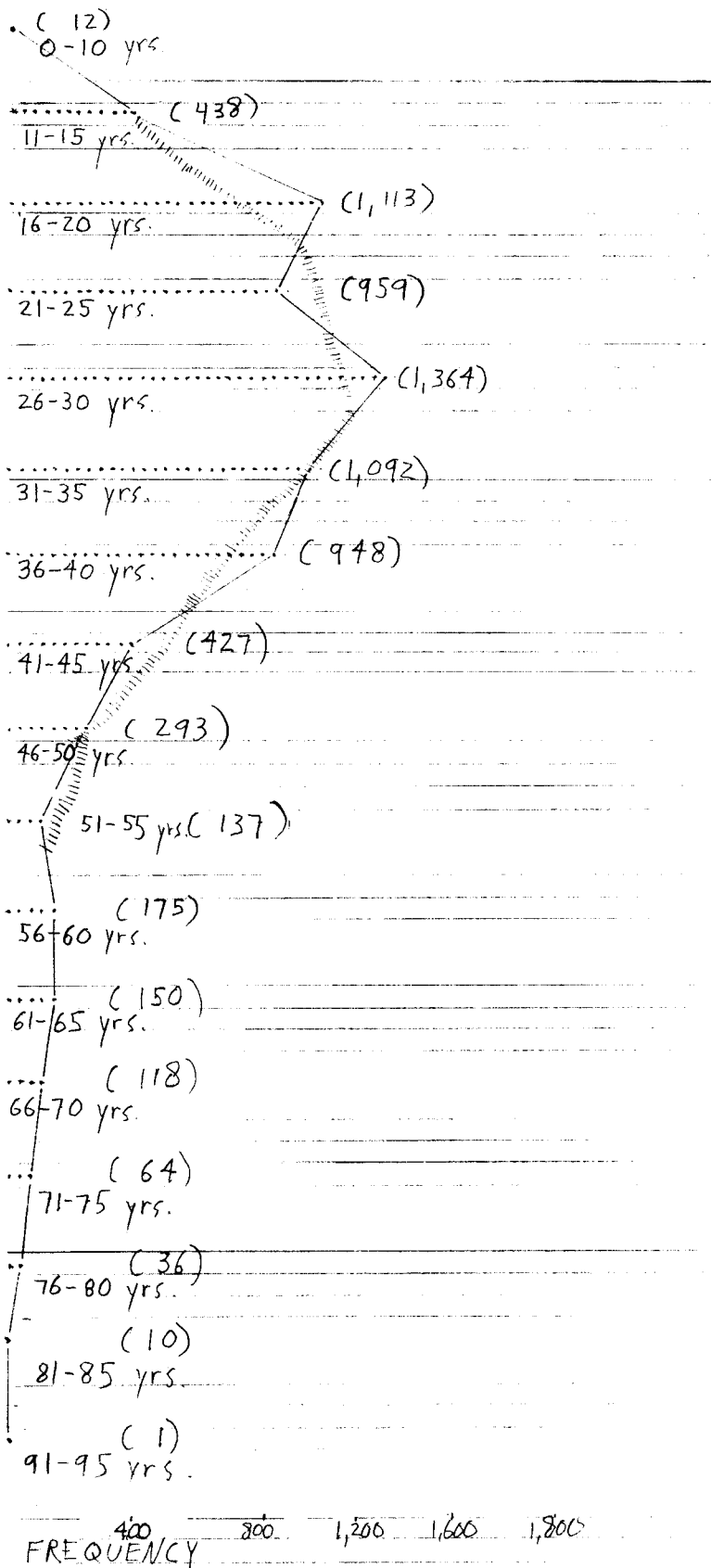
| Age | No. of Suspected Perpetrators | % | Age | No. of Suspected Perpetrators | % |
|-------|-------------------------------|------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| 0-10 | 12 | 0.1 | 51-55 | 137 | 1.7 |
| 11-15 | 438 | 5.4 | 56-60 | 175 | 2.2 |
| 16-20 | 1,113 | 13.8 | 61-65 | 150 | 1.9 |
| 21-25 | 959 | 11.9 | 66-70 | 118 | 1.5 |
| 26-30 | 1,364 | 16.9 | 71-75 | 64 | 0.8 |
| 31-35 | 1,092 | 13.6 | 76-80 | 36 | 0.4 |
| 36-40 | 948 | 11.8 | 81-85 | 10 | 0.1 |
| 41-45 | 427 | 5.3 | 91-95 | 1 | 0.0 |
| 46-50 | 293 | 3.6 | unknown | 721 | 8.9 |
| | | | 8,058 100 | | |

Fig. 8 graphically shows that from 41 on, the suspected perpetrator curve drops sharply, and then, from 51 on, begins to peter out. In Hypothesis₄, as well as in (the now-substantiated) Hypothesis_{1.1} [F590], it was posited that suspected perpetrators would predominantly be men between the ages of 18 and 35. In both a direct comparison with the number in the remaining age groups (ca. 3,400-4,000) and in comparison with the age distribution of the male population in Lower Saxony [F591], the 18-35 age group is dominant among suspected perpetrators. This difference is significant; therefore, Hypothesis₄ is also confirmed. [F592]

Admittedly, in a sense this hypothesis was not completely correct, in that there was still a large number of suspected perpetrators between the ages of 14-17 [F593], as well as an even larger group with an estimated age of 45. [F494] Accordingly, it is certain that suspected perpetrators were predominantly between the ages of 14 and 40-45 (approx. 70%). As was done for victims, Fig. 8 also shows the number of suspected perpetrators who

Fig. 8:

Ascertained and Estimated Ages of Suspected Perpetrators of Reported Sexual Contacts
 (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 5,632 cases)



Age Distribution of Suspected Perpetrators
 (Smoothed-Out Curve)

who had themselves exhibited violent or threatening behavior. In both relative and absolute terms, the highest values on this cross-curve are between the ages of 11 and 25; and after the age of 50, the values are practically zero. *

[* In fact, the 'cross curve' that was drawn for victims (see pg. 229) was not drawn for perpetrators here. This appears to have been an oversight that occurred in the preparation of Fig. 8 for publication.]

Consequently, young women between the ages of 14 and 20 appear to be the most common victims of acts of sexual violence, which are predominantly committed by young men between the ages of 11 and 25. Though not as often, young men between the ages of 26 and 40-45 are also likely to be the declared perpetrators of violence. Men over 50 appear to rarely exhibit sexually violent or coercive behavior.

V. Age Difference Between Declared Victims and Accused

Admittedly, considering the ages of victim and perpetrator in isolation tells us little about the age constellations involved in such offenses. In our sexual morality, age difference appears to assume great importance. [F595] For this reason, in Study 2, the age difference for each individual victim-suspected perpetrator pair was calculated:

Table 28a:

Age Difference Between Declared Victim and Suspected Perpetrator in Reported Sexual Contacts (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 112)

| Age Difference | No. | % | cum. % |
|----------------|-----|------|--------|
| < 10 years | 16 | 15.3 | 15.3 |
| 10-14 years | 14 | 12.5 | 27.8 |
| 15-19 years | 9 | 8.0 | 35.8 |
| > 19 years | 73 | 65.2 | 100.0 |

112 100

In any event, Tab. 28 shows that in more than a quarter of the cases, the age difference only amounted to fourteen years or less. [F596] Given the results in Tab. 28, it should certainly be borne in mind that, based on the age distribution in the overall population, the chances are that this already large age difference should have been even greater. Thus, for ten-year-old victims as a group, there would be more potential

perpetrators among men in the 30-90 age bracket than there would in the 20-30 group. In order to enable a comparison to be made with the overall population, the theoretically expected age distributions for victims and perpetrators in Lower Saxony was calculated and then compared with the age combinations actually encountered in Study 2. A significant difference was, moreover, demonstrated.

[F597] In the cross-section examined, smaller age differences (under 10 years and 10-14 years) were more prevalent than would have been expected based on the population as a whole. Age differences of twenty or more years were rarely seen. Therefore, Hypothesis_{5.1} [F598] is also confirmed.

When it was established that cases involving smaller age differences (<10 years) between suspected perpetrator and declared victim occurred significantly more frequently than would have been expected based on the population as a whole, the question was then raised as to whether these relatively frequent cases also demonstrated particular offense characteristics. This situation maybe expressed in the following, simplified manner: It was already made clear above that the "dirty old man" is actually rather rare among perpetrators [F599a]; in fact, it is male perpetrators "in the prime of life" who relatively frequently victimize girls and women who are only a little younger than they are themselves. Those deemed to be dirty old men because they "force" themselves on small children are thus -- relative to all of the possible age-combinations -- quite rare. This now, however, poses the additional question as to whether these allegedly perverse older perpetrators are especially dangerous to victims, or are rather harmless.

Table 28b:

Age Difference Between Suspected Perpetrator and Declared Victim (vertical) and the Behavior of the Suspected Perpetrator (horizontal) (Lower Saxony, 1979/1980 Follow-Up Study, cases involving N = 94 declared sexual victims)

| Age Diff. \ Behavior of Suspected Perpetrator | Friendly; Promises; Gifts | Just stood/sat there; other behavior | was drunk, coercive, threatening, or violent | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|----|
| < 10 years | 0 | 5 | 11 | 16 |
| 10-19 years | 5 | 13 | 3 | 21 |
| > 19 years | 14 | 26 | 17 | 57 |
| | 19 | 44 | 31 | 94 |

Hypothesis_{5,2} [F599b] asserted that sexual contacts involving more "typical" age differences (<10 years) would be more likely to entail violent or threatening perpetrator behavior.

Because the data as presented in Tab. 28b does not meet the methodological preconditions for performing a chi-square calculation of the difference between the observed distributions and those which were theoretically expected, it was necessary to combine these groups in a meaningful way, which appears in Appendices 38a and 38b; even in this summarized form, the differences were still significant ($p < .01$). [F599c] This holds true both when only two age-differential groups are used in the calculation (<10 years; >10 years) [F599d] as well as when three groups are used (<10 years, 10-19 years, >19 years). [F599e]

The calculation in Appendix 38a confirms Hypothesis_{5,2} [F599f]: Those suspected perpetrators who were no more than nine years older than the victim were about twice as likely to exhibit threatening or violent behavior. The differences remain significant when the above group is compared with suspected perpetrators who were more than nine years older than "their" victims (10-19 years, >19 years). [F599g] One should not be fooled, by the high absolute numbers, into thinking that the suspected perpetrators who were more than nineteen years older than the declared victim were relatively more dangerous. Because this group includes a greater age span, ~~it would therefore be expected to encompass a greater share.~~ This means that suspected perpetrators with an (average) age of between 11 and 22 are, relative to other men, a greater danger to declared sexual victims of an average age of approximately 10-13 years. And this furthermore means that an 18-year-old women must, above all, fear sexual attacks from men between 18 and 27 years of age. NEW
7/1

As far as the "dirty old man" is concerned [F599h], it needs to be said that he is neither especially prevalent nor particularly dangerous. Money and Ehrhardt firmly established that in some societies, the age difference between the partners is considered a criterium for assessing the quality of a sexual contact. [F599i]

Constellations involving much older participants are considered abnormal, and in more general ways it is frequently then further assumed that "perverse sexual perpetrators" must also be violent. However, in this study, violent or threatening behavior was found to occur most often when the perpetrator was of an age similar to the victim's.

If one wishes to describe the situation in terms of sexual norms and the age differences of sexual contact participants, it has to be said that "normal" sexual contacts pose the greatest dangers. From a preventive perspective, this result means that potential victims should above all be distrustful of men who are the same age as -- or only a little older than -- they are themselves.

VI. Time of Reported Sexual Contacts

When it comes to the point in time in which sexual offenses occur, most authors merely describe the distribution in terms of different months. It is typically then stated that more sexual offenses occur in the warmer times of the year. Looking at sexual offenses in toto, this statement certainly is correct. Admittedly, it is unlikely that the frequency of declared sexual offenses is directly dependent on outdoor temperatures. Rather, it is to be presumed that it is favorable weather conditions persisting over "longer periods of time" that lead to them, and that children themselves (as the largest group of potential victims) are more likely to be out of doors. There are activities in the summer months (i.e., swimming in outdoor pools) that indeed are temperature-dependent, in which a child may be more likely to become a victim, not because it is so hot out, but because this increases the danger (since more opportunities exist) that he or she will become victimized. It is also likely that school vacations play a role. By contrast, in times of the year which have "shorter days," children are mainly in school, or at home under the supervision of their parents. It is less likely, for example, that a child will encounter an exhibitionist at such times.

Although "hot days" indeed do favor an opportunity for the act to be committed, it is likely, however, that they are not directly responsible for either the extent of sexual stimulation which occurs or the type of sexual behavior engaged in by the perpetrator. [F600]

These statements, however, only apply to sexual offenses overall. Different offense types vary quite a bit here, which will be further demonstrated when the time of day the sexual victimizations took place is examined.

1. Day of the Week in Which the Sexual Victimization Occurred

When one looks at the frequency with which acts take place on particular days of

the week, it turns out that they occur relatively rarely on Sundays (11.6%) and relatively frequently on Mondays (16.8%):

Table 29a:

Day of the Week in Which the Reported Sexual Act Had Taken Place
(Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 6,240)

| Day of Week | No. of Declared Victims | % |
|-------------|-------------------------------|-------|
| Monday | 1,047 | 16.8 |
| Tuesday | 852 | 13.7 |
| Wednesday | 887 | 14.2 |
| Thursday | 888 | 14.2 |
| Friday | 906 | 14.5 |
| Saturday | 962 | 15.4 |
| Sunday | 698 | 11.2 |
| unknown | 1,818 | -- |
| Total | 8,058 | 100.0 |

One is perhaps inclined to initially interpret these figures as simply incorrect. [F601]

Therefore, in (follow-up) Study 2, declared sexual victims were asked if they could remember on which day of the week the reported sexual contact had taken place. [F602] Although only 53 of the questioned persons could more or less precisely recall the day of the week, the trend was still the same: few cases on Sundays (4 of 53) and more cases on Mondays (14 of 53). Though this group is too small to be able to draw a reliable conclusion from, it nevertheless may be that this large group of potential child victims is under more intense parental supervision on weekends, and is therefore seldom around potential perpetrators and acts encompassed by §§ 176 and 183 (n.v.). The conjecture that different kinds of sexual offense phenomenology occur on weekends can be verified by comparing the registered criminal acts that occur on weekdays (Monday through Friday) with those that take place on weekends (Saturday and Sunday).

It should be understood that the values in this table in parentheses ([>E] PER DAY [<E]) do not mean that 191.5 rapes occur every Saturday, but rather that, of all rapes which do take place, 191.5 occurred on a Saturday. Thus, in the following as well, this is to be understood in terms of "per each day."

Table 29b:

Day of the Week on Which the Reported Sexual Contact Took Place (vertical) and Type of Registered Criminal Act (horizontal) (Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 6,223 declared sexual victims) [left- and right-most columns are labeled in English]

| COUNT (PER DAY) ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT | §§ 176:I:3, (183) (o.v.) | §§ 177, (176:I:3) (o.v.) | §§ 173, 174 (o.v.) | ROW TOTAL |
|---|--|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Monday- Friday | 3,735 (747.0) 81.8 75.7 60.0 | 719 (143.8) 15.7 65.3 11.6 | 113 (22.6) 2.5 60.1 1.8 | 4,567 (913.4) 73.4 |
| Saturday- Sunday | 1,198 (599.0) 72.3 24.3 19.3 | 383 (191.5) 23.1 34.7 1.2 | 75 (37.5) 4.5 39.9 6.2 | 1,656 (828.0) 26.6 |
| COLUMN TOTAL | 4,933 (704.7) 79.3 | 1,102 (157.4) 17.7 | 188 (26.8) 3.0 | 6,223 (889.0) 100.0 |

$$x^2 = 68.412063; df = 2; p < .01$$

In Tab. 29b, the number of reported, punishable sexual contacts which occurred between Monday and Friday (4,567 in all) is expressed in terms of those which took place on each weekday (913.4). For weekends, the corresponding values total 1,656 criminal sexual acts, with 828 each allotted to Saturdays and Sundays. This means first and foremost that fewer punishable sexual contacts took place on weekends.

However when one looks at the distribution in Tab. 29b more closely, one realizes that this numerical drop on weekends only applies to the offenses covered by §§ 176:I:3 and 183 (o.v.) (from 747 to 599 cases per day). Cases of incest and the sexual abuse of dependents (22.6 per weekday) rose to 37.5 cases per day on weekends. A similar increase in rape and sexual coercion was cataloged. Of these cases, 143.8 occurred each weekday, and 191.5 occurred each Saturday and Sunday.

Relatively more rapes which had occurred on weekends were registered, whereas punishable sexual acts on and against children, in both *absolute*

and relative terms, dropped. [F603] These results thus allow for the interpretation that on weekdays there are various opportunities for persons to become victimized by particular sexual offenses. Those perpetrators who employ sexual violence or take advantage of dependency relationships obviously find, during work-free weekends, greater opportunities for sexually victimizing girls and women.

This situation should certainly not, however, lead to the offering of such over-simplified prevention admonitions as "girls and women should not be in dangerous company." Such advice demonstrates how little understanding there is of the potential victim's situation. It is by no means clear -- and from a psychological standpoint it's actually risky -- that we should confine the life-areas of our fellow citizens in such a way or facilitate such restrictions. In addition to this, there is an essential aspect of criminal prevention to be considered: If such advice were to become generally known and accepted, then those women who nevertheless still -- for various reasons -- find themselves in such victimogenic situations (i.e., going out on weekends, nightly strolls) would then be placed in even greater danger. Many potential rapists might then think: "If, despite all the warnings, this woman has still exposed herself to such a situation, then she is probably no 'respectable' woman. Perhaps, to a certain extent, she even wants it." That is, such advice runs the risk of facilitating structural victimization (see pg. 39 ff supra). Thus, in the East English city of Ipswich, a judge went so far as to tell a raped woman that she was an accessory to the crime, because she had been out walking alone. The 32-year-old perpetrator only received a 2,000 pound fine. Though it is true that extensive and heavy public criticism took great exception to this view [F604], it is nevertheless probably still the case that this opinion is shared by a certain section of the overall population. With such attitudes, only the victim is held responsible, which means that: Criminal structures are obscured, while potential victims are told by those around them that they must avoid certain times of the day, locations, or behaviors.

Reacting to such views, and because of emergency calls that had come in from women who had been raped, some of this judge's peers appeared on a television broadcast, urging that a curfew of 10:00pm should be imposed for men. This would have the added benefit -- so went their biting critique of such short-sighted advice -- that there would then no longer be any rapes occurring after 10:00pm.

Genuine progress in prevention will only be made, however, when the attitudes concerning rape and sexual coercion are changed.

2. Time of Day When the Sexual Victimization Occurred

Most of the reported sexual contacts had occurred between 2:00pm and 7:00pm. No less than 50% of declared sexual contacts took place within this time frame. By contrast, only a very few criminal sexual acts happened between midnight and 7:00am. [F605] Tab. 30 provides an overview of the distribution of reported sexual criminal acts by time of day:

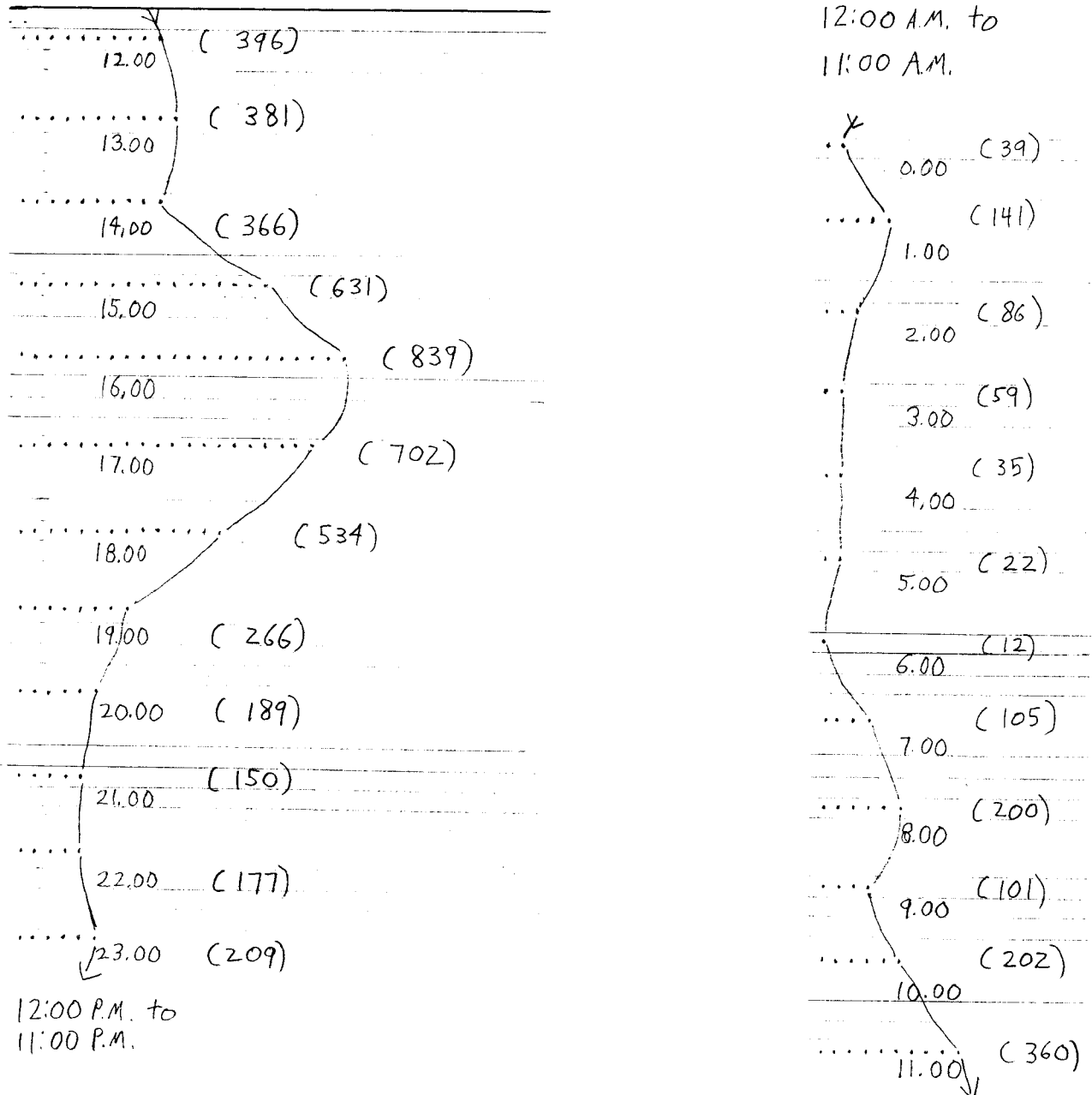
Table 30:

Time of Day When the Reported Sexual Contact Took Place
(Lower Saxony, 6,202 declared sexual victims)

| Time of Day | No. | % | cum. % |
|-------------|-----|----|--------|
| 0.00- | 39 | 1 | 1 |
| 1.00- | 141 | 2 | 3 |
| 2.00- | 86 | 1 | 4 |
| 3.00- | 59 | 1 | 5 |
| 4.00- | 35 | 1 | 6 |
| 5.00- | 22 | 0 | 6 |
| 6.00- | 12 | 0 | 6 |
| 7.00- | 105 | 2 | 8 |
| 8.00- | 200 | 3 | 11 |
| 9.00- | 101 | 2 | 13 |
| 10.00- | 202 | 3 | 16 |
| 11.00- | 360 | 6 | 22 |
| 12.00- | 396 | 6 | 28 |
| 13.00- | 381 | 6 | 34 |
| 14.00- | 366 | 6 | 40 |
| 15.00- | 631 | 10 | 51 |
| 16.00- | 839 | 14 | 64 |
| 17.00- | 702 | 11 | 75 |
| 18.00- | 534 | 8 | 84 |
| 19.00- | 266 | 4 | 88 |
| 20.00- | 189 | 3 | 91 |
| 21.00- | 150 | 2 | 94 |
| 22.00- | 177 | 3 | 97 |
| 23.00- | 209 | 3 | 100 |

Fig. 9:

Time of Day in Which the Reported Sexual Contact Took Place
(Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 6,202 declared victims)



The chronological distribution differed significantly from a (theoretically-expected) homogeneous distribution, according to which 258 punishable sexual contacts would have taken place during each block of time (hour). [F606] Indeed, the expected distribution also contradicts the idea of especially high rates of sexual offense victimization during the evening and night-time hours. This is illustrated by Fig. 9.

Fig. 9 shows that the time distribution of declared cases involving child victims is quite heterogeneous. Around 7:00am (on the way to school) the number of punishable sexual contacts increases, and then oscillates between 300-400 cases per hour during late morning (when schools take their lunch breaks at varying times). From 3:00pm on, the number rises strikingly (in the afternoon hours when schools generally let out) to about double what it had been before that, and then, until about 7:00pm, drops back down again. As far as this time is concerned, many children -- especially during the winter -- either have to, or simply wish to, stay home and watch television and/or eat their evening meal. [F607] After this time, the curve remains at a relatively constant, low level. Presumably, after 8:00pm, it is predominantly older girls and young women who become victims of (violent) sexual contacts. Only a few cases occur after midnight or 1:00am. [F608] In order to be able to better examine the question as to whether the different sexual offense groups produce different time-of-day distribution curves, a cross-table based on these criteria was constructed. This is presented graphically in Fig. 10.

Fig. 10 shows the figures and times in terms of relative risk, which is also divided according to the different criminal acts. The number of reported criminal sexual acts is expressed in terms of "victims per hour." These risk-times were numerically combined in a meaningful way, and a rank-order (circled number) was then established. This meant that cases involving the sexual abuse of children occurring between 11:00am and 6:00pm ranked first. [F609] In every hour during this time period, an average of 616.8 children had experienced an event of sexual abuse which would later become known by means of a report. The 7:00-8:00pm time period, also relating to the sexual abuse of children, is the second highest. The 7:00-10:00am time period, again in this same offense area, ranked third. Thus, these shaded areas constitute the times of greatest risk to children.

Fig. 10: Different Types of Reported Sexual Offenses, by Frequency Committed and Time of Day

Time of Act, as Indicated by the Declared Victim

| Time of Day | Sexual Abuse of Dependents, Incest | Rape, Sexual Coercion | Sexual Abuse of Children |
|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1100 | | | ① 616.8 |
| 1200 | | | |
| 1300 | | | |
| 1400 | ⑧ 32.6 | ⑦ 34.2 | ② 184.5 |
| 1500 | | | |
| 1600 | | | |
| 1700 | | | ③ 172.5 |
| 1800 | | | |
| 1900 | ⑥ 46.8 | ⑤ 74.3 | ④ 93.6 |
| 2000 | | | |
| 2100 | | | |
| 2200 | | | ⑨ 26.4 |
| 2300 | | | |
| 0000 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 0100 | | | |
| 0200 | | | ⑪ 15.2 |
| 0300 | | | |
| 0400 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 0500 | | | |
| 0600 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 0700 | | | |
| 0800 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 0900 | | | |
| 1000 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 1100 | | | |
| 1200 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |
| 1300 | | | |
| 1400 | | | ⑩ 13.2 |

It is interesting to observe that rapes occur considerably less often and thus have smaller risk numbers, and that the risk times with regard to cases involving the sexual abuse of children are so clearly bifurcated. This means that the sexual abuse of children occurs, for the most part, at times quite different from when most rapes and acts of sexual coercion take place. At the time during which women most frequently become victims of sexual violence, only a few children are victimized (9th place). [F610]

On the one hand, this could mean that between 9:00pm and 6:00pm, supervision and prevention function as a way of "insulating" the potential child victim (see pg. 243 ff supra). However, on the other hand, it could also mean that we are dealing with entirely different types of offenses during this time period. Perhaps these two effects actually overlap.

Many readers might ask why this problem could not simply be solved by having women just stop leaving their homes after 9:00pm without a male escort. Not to mention the fact that many -- from the victim's perspective -- up to now trusted "male companions" turn out to be rapists [F611], such advice and attitudes are, when carried to their logical conclusion, inextricably associated with the following implications:

- Chronological shifts might occur. The rapist could -- as for example in the case of marital rape -- simply choose other times and places.
- Women are told that they have the privilege and opportunity of personally deciding what they want to do ("sexual self-determination").
- The already widespread intimidation of girls and women would

- Women who try to move about freely within their life area are often considered by men to be fair game. Rape is then made light of as a gentlemanly offense.

VII. Degree of Acquaintance Between Declared Victim and Accused (Perpetrator-Victim Relationship)

When one compares the degree of acquaintance between sexual victim and perpetrator [F613] across various studies, it becomes clear that there are both large subjective as well as considerable numerical differences. Terms like "stranger," "known," and "related" are also used quite casually, even though they describe entirely different dimensions of social closeness. The degree of acquaintance between victim and perpetrator as it had already existed prior to the offense involving the two persons -- as opposed to the "implementational relationship" (Hess) [F614] -- appears in some offense areas to have a very substantial effect on the course of the criminal act. The psychodynamics of the criminal act play an especially large role in so-called relationship offenses. Many authors who look at sex offenses also attempt, among other things, to assess the degree of acquaintance between victim and perpetrator. This is generally done using court records, or in the course of a psychological expert opinion examination. Consequently these studies are based on qualitatively very different outcome materials. A further source of error in determining degree of acquaintance consists of the fact that different researchers have used various undefined terms to describe it. At first, the concept of the "stranger" would appear to be the least problematic one. However, even when one reads the corresponding passages from these sexual-criminological works carefully, it still remains unclear as to whether "on speaking terms" ("I had only spoken to the man once") or "rarely saw" ("I have seen him in our house once or twice") would still be counted as belonging to the "known" group. It can only be presumed that most researchers would have put degrees of acquaintance such as these in the "stranger" group. These different definitions used in the various outcome materials are probably responsible for the widely-varying proportions of "stranger perpetrators" found in the various publications.

increase even more, further diminishing girls' and women's ability to learn to defend themselves.

- Girls' and women's already very high level of anxiety regarding rape would then increase even further. Taking care of this structural victimization is also a good preventive strategy. [F612]
- It raises the question as to which interests are being served by obliging women to remain in victimogenic roles.
- As Kurt Weis rightly emphasizes, such attitudes also serve the function of excusing the behavior of (potential) rapists. Hidden rape urges appear to be very widespread among men, and manifest themselves in rationalizations of many forms.

Table 31:

Proportion of Cases (in %) in Which the Perpetrator Had Been Unknown to the Victim Prior to the Sexual Offense (comparison among twenty different studies [F615])

| Author | Proportion of Stranger Perpetrators (in %) | No. of Cases, Perpetrators, or Victims Studied |
|----------------|--|--|
| Wessel | 27.7 | 683 |
| Stern | 46.0 | ? |
| Hess | 19.2 | 564 |
| Lang | 33.7 | ca. 360 |
| Habel | 20.0 | |
| Irning | 28.7 | |
| Wegner | 31.7 | 202 |
| Simson | 34.5 | |
| Matthes | 31.4 | 886 |
| Lange | 12.4 | 309 |
| Gerbener | 24.5 | 916 |
| Weiss | 49.9 | 385 |
| Nau | 35.1 | 1,646 |
| Wyss | 14.4 | 160 |
| Schonfelder | 18.0 | 547 |
| Kroninger | 24.0 | 110 |
| Korner | 20.0 | 880 |
| Diesing | 28.7 | 157 |
| Study 3 | 16.2 | 131 |
| Study 1 [F616] | 66.3 | 7,635 |

As is shown in Tab. 31, Lange's study found the lowest proportion of stranger perpetrators (12.4%), whereas Weiss found the highest (49.9%). The still higher 66.3% proportion of stranger suspected perpetrators in Study 1 can certainly be accounted for on the one hand by the undefined and crude categories contained in the SST questionnaire [F617], but also, on the other hand, by the different structure of the cross-section itself. Among criminal acts which had merely been reported -- which, for various reasons, were never adjudicated -- there are certainly many perpetrators who had previously been unknown to the declared victims. When the suspected perpetrator is a stranger to the sexual victim, then the case often cannot be investigated any further, namely because victims are usually the only witness to the sexual offense. Within this group of "stranger suspected perpetrators," there are probably an especially large number of men who had exhibited themselves in front of the declared victims.

Table 32:

Degree of Acquaintance Between Declared Sexual Victim and Suspected Perpetrator (vertical), Relative to Type of Reported Sexual Contact (horizontal);
(Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 7,112 declared sexual victims)

| Degree of Acquaint. \ Type of Reported Sexual Contact | Genital Exhibition | Genital Contact, Mutual Masturbation | Interc.-like Act, Att. Int., Interc. | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Father, Adoptive Father, Stepfather, Mother | 23 | 237 | 341 | 601 |
| Other Relative | 11 | 91 | 116 | 218 |
| Roommate, Lodger | 20 | 105 | 46 | 171 |
| Educator, Teacher | -- | 36 | 23 | 59 |
| Other Familiar Person | 151 | 654 | 602 | 1,407 |
| Stranger | 2,711 | 1,091 | 854 | 4,656 |
| | 2,915 | 2,215 | 1,982 | 7,112 |

Table 32 also shows that close relatives and other familiar persons were more frequently accused of having had more intensive sexual contact with the declared victim, whereas strangers were, above all, alleged to have committed exhibitionistic acts (N = 2,711!). Even if exhibitionistic encounters were excluded [F618], the suspected perpetrators of 46.3% of all reported sexual encounters would still be strangers. [F619]

In Study 3, perpetrators were only classified as "strangers" if they had actually been completely unknown to the victim prior to the act. As has already been repeatedly stated, Study 3 only utilized convicted cases. Because the same persons were evaluated in both Study 1 and Study 3, a relatively good evaluation was able to be carried out concerning the relative proportions of stranger perpetrators/suspects in convicted versus

merely reported sexual contacts. Looking exclusively at adjudicated cases, only about 15-20% of suspected perpetrators were strangers (in reported cases: 66.3%).

A number of comparison studies have shown clearly that the concept of "stranger" had quite obviously been used very broadly. Thus Kröniger, Körner, and Hess [F620] deem persons living in the same neighborhood to occupy the first level of familiarity, and Nau [F621] considers the first degree of familiarity to be those residing in the same dwelling or home. On the other hand, Weiss, Gerbener, Matthes, and Häbel [F622], for example, rated even those who were only "distantly or superficially known" as being "known" -- although this term also seems to be quite diffuse.

When one attempts to critically evaluate the statements concerning degree of acquaintance from various studies, one concludes that an average estimate would be as follows: In sexual contacts involving legally adjudicated offenders, only about 20% had previously been unknown to the victim. In approximately 80% of the cases, the victim had already previously been acquainted with the victim, either superficially or more intimately, or was even related to him. In the course of criminal proceedings there certainly do seem to be one-sided cases; namely, those which on the one hand are less serious, and on the other hand involve suspected perpetrators who -- until then -- had been unknown to the declared victim, and therefore were not able to be ascertained.

1. Questioning for the Purpose of Establishing a Degree of Acquaintance Hierarchy

It was just suggested that, up until now, no one had ever made an effort to establish an empirically-based degree of acquaintance hierarchy. This poses a question as to whether the degree of acquaintance "common family membership" is greater than that of "persons living in the same house." Because there are certainly varying opinions on this question, one can only establish such an ordinal scale [F623] by first describing all

of the conceivable relationship constellations, and then asking a group of people to compare two such constellations at a time, and decide which (according to their own subjective evaluations) constituted the socially closer relationship. This so-called pair-comparison must be done for all possible constellations [F624], and the results are then arranged in a series (ordinal scale) to produce a scale of social relationship intensity. One then obtains a rank-location for each degree of acquaintance. [F625] Therefore, for example, a higher rank-location indicates a greater degree of social closeness. In order to rank a series somewhat more objectively than could be done by a single person, one could calculate the mean assessment performed by several persons as to rank-location, and thus obtain a quasi-objective degree of acquaintance scale. It is astonishing that this problem still has not been solved, despite the fact that the applicable methods are both known and simple. Some statistical calculations [F626] require the establishment of an ordinal scale.

For the present three studies, a total of eighty randomly-selected test subjects were asked to provide a subjective degree of acquaintance rank-order (hierarchy). Therefore, various degrees were described -- namely, the most common constellations involving a "child/youth" and "another person." Following a prior attempt with different test subjects, they were shown 24 descriptions of various understandable and, to some extent, dichotomous acquaintance levels. These 24 degrees of acquaintance were presented to the 80 test subjects along with a short explanatory note. [F627] Moreover the test subjects were obliged to provide not only a degree of acquaintance rank-order based on the criterium "social closeness," but also a non-ordinal scale of assessed social closeness. [F628] This additional scale was used on the one hand as a control, and on the other hand as a an additional indicator of rank-order.

Tab. 33 shows a rank-order list based on average rank-locations obtained through questioning, using the questionnaire that appears in Appendix 42. The final rank-location is listed at the beginning of each entry; behind

Table 33:

Ascertained Degree of Acquaintance Rank-Order
(assessments by N = 80 test subjects),
Based on Ratings in Five Plausible Subdivided Groups

| Final Rank-Order | Degree of Acquaintance | Average Rank-Order (R _L) <i>Location</i> | Average Relationship Closeness (Int.) [F629] |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| 1 | Child/Youth and Person are Completely Unknown to One Another | 1.0 | 0.0 |
| 2 | Child/Youth and Person Have Seen One Another on Rare Occasions | 2.0 | 0.4 |
| 3 | Child/Youth and Person are Acquainted with Each Other by Sight (vis. recog.) | 3.9 | 1.2 |
| 4 | Child/Youth and Person Have Spoken with Each Other | 5.1 | 1.6 |
| 5 | Child/Youth and Person Live in Same Neighborhood | 5.2 | 1.7 |
| 6 | Child/Youth and Person Have Customer-Proprietor Relationship | 7.0 | 2.0 |
| 7 | Child/Youth and Person Know Each Other by Sight, and Person Holds Quasi-Educational Position; i.e., Schoolmaster, Nurse, Landlord | 7.8 | 2.8 |
| 8 | Child/Youth and Person Belong to the Same Organization | 7.9 | 2.7 |
| 9 | Child/Youth and Person Live in the Same House | 9.4 | 3.6 |
| 10 | Child/Youth is Friends with a Member of the Person's Family | 9.7 | 3.4 |
| 11 | Child/Youth Calls Person Uncle/Aunt; i.e., where Uncle Sometimes Acts as Surrogate Father | 12.1 | 4.3 |
| 12 | Child/Youth and Person Have Trainee-Trainer Relationship; i.e., an Employee-Employer Relationship | 12.3 | 4.8 |
| 13 | Child/Youth Knows the Person as a Friend of the Family | 12.4 | 4.7 |

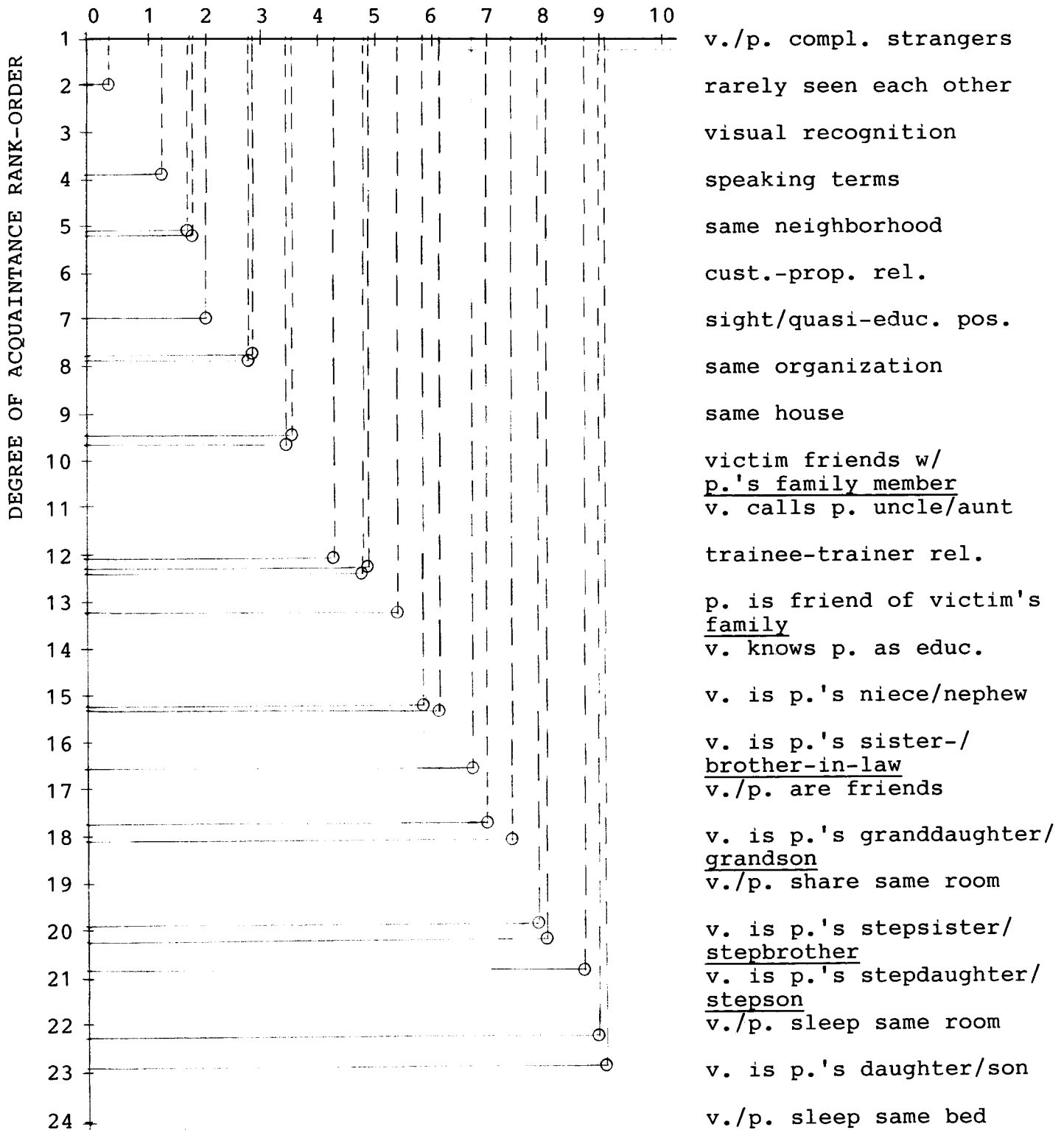
| | | | |
|----|--|------|-----|
| 14 | Child/Youth Knows Person as Educator (i.e., Teacher or Home Tutor) | 13.3 | 5.4 |
| 15 | Child/Youth is Person's Niece/Nephew | 15.3 | 5.8 |
| 16 | Child/Youth is Person's Sister-/Brother-in-Law | 15.4 | 6.1 |
| 17 | Child/Youth is Friends with Person | 16.6 | 6.7 |
| 18 | Child/Youth is Person's Granddaughter/Grandson (or, Person is Called "Grandpa," Even Though He is Not a Biological Grandfather) | 17.7 | 7.0 |
| 19 | Child/Youth and Person Share the Same Room | 18.1 | 7.4 |
| 20 | Child/Youth is Person's Stepsister/Stepbrother | 19.9 | 7.9 |
| 21 | Child/Youth is Person's Stepdaughter/Stepson | 20.2 | 8.1 |
| 22 | Child/Youth and Person Sleep in the Same Room | 20.8 | 8.7 |
| 23 | Child/Youth is Person's Daughter/Son | 22.4 | 9.0 |
| 24 | Child/Youth and Person Sleep in the Same Bed | 22.9 | 9.1 |

it are the calculated averages for rank-location and average assessment of social closeness.

The scaling of social closeness from 0-10 [F629] showed that the rank-orders assigned by the individual test subjects were quite stable; even most of the millimeter intervals were registered similarly, and there was scarcely any divergence between rank-locations and intensity (relationship closeness). [F630] Moreover it became clear that as the intensity increased, the corresponding rank-location also rose proportionately. Furthermore, widely varying differences were found among individual degrees of acquaintance: whereas some were really quite similar (little separation), others were clearly distinct from one another (greater separation). The difference in degrees

Fig. 11:

Relationship Intensity Scale



of separation between rank-locations 4 and 5 is an example of a small degree of separation (mean rank-locations 5.1 and 5.2; mean intensities 1.6 and 1.7). This obviously means that there is essentially no difference between the average intensity of the relationship types "speaking terms" and "same neighborhood." There is probably no need to differentiate these in future research efforts. The same holds true for the following degrees of acquaintance:

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| "Schoolmaster/Nurse, Landlord" (RL=9.4; Int.=3.6) | and | "Same Organization" (RL=7.9; Int.=2.7); |
| "Live in Same House" (RL=9.4; Int.=3.6) | and | "Child is Friends w/ Member of Perpetrator's Family" (RL=9.7; Int.=3.4); |
| "Trainee-Trainer" (RL=12.3; Int.=4.8) | and | "Child Knows Perpetrator as Friend of Family" (RL=12.4; Int.=4.7); |
| "Uncle/Aunt" (RL=15.3; Int.=5.8) | and | "Brother/Sister-in-Law" (RL=15.4; Int.=6.1); |
| "Stepsister" (RL=19.9; Int.=7.9) | and | "Stepparent" (RL=20.2; Int.=8.1). |

Fig. 11 shows the different closeness intensities ascribed to the various degree of acquaintance descriptions. The five groupings from Tab. 33 are distinctly and graphically recognizable.

Fig. 11 further demonstrates that, in terms of linear regression, there is actually a zero-point in the relationship between rank-location "social closeness." The stranger is deemed to constitute the extreme of social distance. By contrast, however, because not all of the test subjects could agree that either the "father-daughter relationship" or the "bed-sharing arrangement" constituted the pinnacle of social closeness, the "10" value for relationship intensity remained unassigned. A similar issue arose relating to the seriousness ascribed to different types of sexual contact. This rating and its results are described in Section XI. [F631] In order to verify Hypothesis_{7.1}, we will need to rely on both rating scales.

2. Degree of Acquaintance in Reported and Convicted Sexual Contacts

a. General Results

First of all, we are obliged to present the general results from the present three studies concerning degree of acquaintance. As was already mentioned in the discussion

relating to Tab. 31 [F632], studies of reported cases differ quite substantially, along these variables, from those which have utilized convicted cases. This can be ascribed to the differing proportions of stranger accused (66.3% versus 16.2%). Comparisons among different degrees of acquaintance are frequently hampered by wrongly-sequenced [F633] hierarchical descriptions of social closeness. Furthermore, the various authors use quite different scales, rendering them no longer -- or, only with very great effort -- comparable. A comparison is generally only successful if one makes use of the imprecise (!) classifications "relative/known person/stranger." In reality, this tripartite classification, from a criminological perspective, collapses to a diadic "relative" and "known person/stranger" [F634] classification, and provides little information relating to the offense. Given these caveats, a comparison was performed between the frequencies of the various degrees of acquaintance assessed in the present three studies.

As expected, there were more stranger suspected perpetrators among the reported sexual contacts, and more perpetrators in the convicted cases who belonged to all four of the degree of acquaintance groups that reflect a high degree of social closeness. Furthermore, as was already explained in the discussion on the representativeness of the cross-section [F635], the declared victims who had not previously known the suspected perpetrators were more likely to provide statements about the case in the follow-up study (see second and third number columns in Tab. 34).

It furthermore became clear that a fine subdivision [F636] of family members and relatives provided few insights for a better understanding of reported sexual contacts. However, degree of acquaintance subdivisions 2-17 were meaningful (see Fig. 11).

Table 34:

Degree of Acquaintance Between Declared Sexual Victims and (Suspected) Perpetrators in the Three Studies (in %)
 (Study 1: Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 7,635 declared sexual victims;
 Study 2: Lower Saxony, 1979/1980 Follow-Up Study, N = 74 declared sexual victims who provided statements about their cases;
 Study 3: Pfalz, 1965-1969, N = 130 sexual victims in convicted cases)

| | Study 3 | Study 2 | Study 1 |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| 24 Bed-Sharing | 0.8 | 0.0 | } 8.3 |
| 23 Parent | 10.0 | 1.4 | |
| 22 Sleep Same Room | 0.0 | 1.4 | |
| 21 Step/Adoptive Parent | 6.9 | 0.0 | |
| | 25.4 | 2.7 | |
| 20 Step-Sibling | 0.8 | 0.0 | } 3.0 |
| 19 Share Same Room | 6.9 | 0.0 | |
| 18 Grandparent/"Grandpa" | 1.5 | 1.4 | } 4.1 |
| 17 Friend | 3.8 | 0.0 | |
| 16 Brother-/Sister-in-Law | 1.5 | 0.0 | |
| 15 Uncle/Aunt | 4.6 | 2.7 | |
| | 11.4 | 4.1 | |
| 14 Educator/Teacher | 6.2 | 2.7 | } 0.9 |
| 13 Family Friend | 4.6 | 1.4 | |
| 12 Employer | 3.9 | 0.0 | |
| 11 "Uncle"/"Aunt" | 3.1 | 1.4 | |
| | 17.8 | 5.4 | |
| 10 Family Member of Friend | 0.8 | 0.0 | } 22.6 |
| 9 Same House | 8.5 | 1.4 | |
| 8 Same Organization | 0.8 | 1.4 | |
| 7 Landlord etc. | 0.0 | 0.0 | |
| 6 Proprietor | 6.2 | 1.4 | |
| | 16.3 | 4.1 | 2.4 |
| 5 Neighbor | 13.1 | 2.7 | } 66.3 |
| 4 Speaking Terms | 1.5 | 8.1 | |
| 3 Visual Recognition | 6.2 | 1.4 | |
| 2 Seen Rarely | 2.3 | 5.4 | |
| 1 Complete Stranger | 6.2 | 66.2 | |
| | 29.3 | 83.8 | |

b. Teacher and Educator as Suspected Perpetrator

Interestingly, in the SST questionnaire, besides the general category of "Known Person," the more specific categories of "Housemate/Lodger" and "Educator/Teacher" are also specifically listed. In 2.4% of cases, the suspected perpetrator had been previously known to the declared victim as a housemate or lodger. [F637] On the other hand, there were only

65 cases (0.9%) in which the suspected perpetrator had been known by the declared victim, prior to the reported sexual contact, as a teacher or educator. [F638] Nevertheless, because it is also well-known that teachers/educators who become involved in punishable sexual contacts have generally victimized several children or youth, it may be that many of these individual reported cases actually comprise several declared victims. If one deducts the incorrect entries in this category (such as "Employer/Teacher"), then 28 suspected perpetrators involving 57 declared sexual victims remain. [F639] All in all, the total number involving teachers here is surprisingly small. When one speaks with teachers about "the sexual abuse of children etc.," then one frequently finds that they estimate the problem to be one of far greater dimensions. Also, as part of their formal and informal training, teachers again and again get the message that they are expected to guard against any erotic or sexual contact with students. [F640] It would appear that these social ~~control~~ controls, which are designed to stop erotic and sexual contacts in school from taking place, are violated only very rarely. [F641] This is why pedagogues are astonished over and over again, when such an event does occur. Therefore, one sees the following:

- When, in spite of the strong social controls, these exceptional, punishable sexual acts between teachers and female students do occur [F642], then such cases become so blown out of proportion that the public gets a false overall picture of the situation.
- It would appear that the degree of social control exercised in the schools, by for example schoolmates, colleagues, and parents, is relatively total. The school normally offers little opportunity for teacher-pupil emotional or intimate interaction. [F643]
- The risk of being caught and the consequent primary and secondary sanctions for the accused teacher are serious.

- This is obviously an area in which it would be virtually impossible for the criminality figures to be any lower. Because cases involving teachers abusing their position of authority by sexually abusing female pupils are so rare, the numbers would not be likely to diminish further through either specific or general preventive measures.
- Speaking, for example, of the structural conditions that might contribute to the occurrence of sexual violence, one can state confidently: The structural conditions in the schools are so asexual, that they rarely facilitate the expression of sexual behavior. [F644] Admittedly, these conditions do seem to encourage so-called "vandalism" in the schools, which is a form of violent behavior exhibited by students. Conversion reactions, like those described in psychoanalytic theory, cannot be ruled out. Such conversion reactions could manifest themselves, for example, in male pupils sexually attacking girls, because they deem this to be an "effective" way to demonstrate their own power.
- Victimologically-speaking, in the crimino-legal sense, teachers hardly play a large role in sexual victimizations. Consequently, the still relatively frequent warnings about teachers making advances have no real basis at present.

In summary, concerning the small group of teacher perpetrators, it may be said that: The social controls for the prevention of (punishable) sexual contacts in schools are working. The image of the teacher as potential perpetrators that is sometimes drawn is astonishing. It would thus appear, however, that the thankfully rare sexual victimizations that do occur in this sphere nevertheless have the simultaneous effect [F645] of bringing about another unfortunate state of affairs (a chilled learning atmosphere). However, this problem is not able to be discussed further here. The thankfully (!) low level of sexual criminality in schools is better-suited to a criminological analysis of the social costs and benefits [F646] of lower criminality numbers.

c. Degree of Acquaintance and the Intensity
of the Declared Sexual Contact [F647]

In Hypothesis_{7,1}, it was posited that in reported sexual contacts, the sexual acts are more intensive when the participants had already previously known one another. [F648]

Tab. 32 had already pointed to such a connection, although only observed figures were listed in this table. [F649] Thus, out of all of the suspected perpetrators, 2,711 (= 38.1%) were exhibitionists, who were also strangers to the declared victims.

However, in 92% of the cases in which the suspected perpetrator was related or known to the declared victim, a more serious sexual contact was reported. On the other hand, only 42% of cases in which the suspected perpetrator was a stranger involved the more serious acts.

Table 35:

Relationship Between Degree of Acquaintance (vertical),
and Type of Reported Sexual Contact (horizontal)
(Lower Saxony, 1969-1972, N = 7,112 declared sexual victims) [F650]

| Degree of Acquaintance \ Type of Reported Sexual Contact | Genital Display | Sexual Touches and Int.-Like Acts | Att. Int. & Inter. | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------|
| Stranger | $\frac{2,711}{1,909}$ | $\frac{1,157}{1,635}$ | $\frac{788}{1,112}$ | 4,656 |
| Known Person | $\frac{171}{671}$ | $\frac{898}{575}$ | $\frac{568}{391}$ | 1,637 |
| Relative | $\frac{34}{336}$ | $\frac{442}{288}$ | $\frac{343}{196}$ | 819 |
| | 2,916 | 2,497 | 1,699 | 7,112 |

chi-square = 1669.2637; df = 4; $p < .01$; CC = .44; $CC_{max} = .82$; $CC_{cor.} = .53$

The contingency schedule (Tab. 35) makes it clear that the observed frequencies along the diagonal section (stranger/exhibitionism - 2,711; known person/indecent touching - 898; known person/intercourse - 568; relative/indecent touching -

442; relative/intercourse - 343) were especially high, relative to the theoretically-expected frequencies. All of the other observed values lie

those that had been expected. The chi-square calculation shows that the difference between the observed and theoretically-expected values is very significant ($p < .01$). Additionally, as to the approximate determination of the relationship between particular classes of "degree of acquaintance" variables and "type of sexual contact," a Pearson contingency coefficient (CC) calculation was performed which, like the correlation coefficient [F651], yields a value between 0 and 1. [F652] Admittedly, this CC-value only expresses -- to an extent similar to a correlation coefficient -- the degree to which the observed fields differ from those that had been expected. Undoubtedly, variable characteristics could be hierarchically-arranged in a pilot-study, that is, in ordinal scales which approximate the quality attained by interval scales [F653]; however, this scale alignment (for example, from "no social closeness" up to "highest social closeness") does not allow one to conclude from the CC-value that the two variables are dependent upon one another. Such an interpretation can, however, be drawn using a graphic representation analysis; in Tab. 35, for example, it is apparent that the unexpectedly numerically-high fields closely resemble a linear regression. The significantly higher values in these fields indicate that with increased social closeness between declared sexual victim and suspected perpetrator, the intensity of reported sexual contacts also increases. The corrected CC-value, which expresses the extent of the difference between the observed and theoretically-expected distributions of the two variables in the cross-table, must also be stated: $CC_{cor} = .53$. [F654] This result supports Hypothesis_{7.1} [F655]^{cor}, which is also repeatedly confirmed when one looks at how the two variables interrelate in the convicted cases (from Study 3).

Table 36:

Relationship Between Degree of Acquaintance (vertical) and
 Type of Sexual Contact (horizontal)
 (Pfalz, 1965-1969, N = 131 sexual victims from convicted cases) [F656]

| Degree of Acquaintance / Type of Sexual Contact | Aural, Visual, and Very Superficial Sexual Contacts (1-7) | Manual Sexual Acts ([E>] "petting" [<E]) (8-11) | Inter.- Like Acts (12-15) | Anal, Oral Coital Practices; Inter. (16-23) | |
|---|---|---|---------------------------|---|-----|
| Stranger up to Superficially-Known (1-5) | 11 / 9.5 | 12 / 11.9 | 3 / 4.5 | 13 / 13.1 | 39 |
| Well-Known (6-10) | 13 / 5.4 | 4 / 6.7 | 2 / 2.5 | 2 / 7.4 | 22 |
| Very Well-Known (11-14) | 2 / 4.4 | 11 / 6.7 | 2 / 2.5 | 7 / 7.4 | 22 |
| Friend up to Relative (15-24) | 6 / 12.7 | 13 / 14.7 | 8 / 5.5 | 21 / 16.1 | 48 |
| | 32 | 40 | 15 | 44 | 131 |

chi-square = 25.788338; df = 9; p < .01; CC = .41; CC_{max} = .87; CC_{cor.} = .47

In Tab. 36, the degrees of acquaintance and sexual contact types are arranged in subjective, plausible groups, based on pilot study interviews (see pg. 252 ff supra). A chi-square calculation indicated that the observed distribution in the convicted cases also differed significantly from that which had been theoretically-expected. The corrected CC-value ($CC_{cor} = .47$) for these is virtually as high as that for reported cases ($CC_{cor} = .51$). Through an analysis of Table 36, it also becomes clear that cases involving a closer social relationship between victim and perpetrator and, at the same time, in which a more intensive sexual contact had taken place (anal, oral, and coital practices, as well as sexual intercourse), are over-represented. This result likewise confirms Hypothesis_{7,1} [F657]; indeed, this applies to the convicted cases as well.

To summarize, it can be said of these two calculations that: Independent of whether one is speaking of all reported sexual contacts or merely those resulting in conviction, an observable relationship exists between degree of acquaintance and sexual contact type; namely, that (suspected) stranger sexual perpetrators are more likely to commit less harmful sexual contacts, whereas heightened degrees of acquaintance are more likely to involve more serious sexual contacts. The so-called "number of individual acts" is an even better measure of criminal sexual act intensity. [F658] When one considers the number of individual acts in addition to sexual act intensity, then one simultaneously gets both a qualitative and a quantitative perspective on criminal acts. Admittedly, it is only possible to perform an evaluation based on the number of individual acts if the outcome materials provide this information. The data from Study 1 did not meet this criterion. For Study 3, on the other hand, there was very reliable data concerning this.

All of the individual sexual acts committed against the 131 sexual victims in Study 3 (N = 1,213) are listed in Tab. 37 by the degree of acquaintance which had existed between victim and perpetrator prior to the offense.

Furthermore, the observed frequencies differed significantly from those that would have been theoretically expected. The corrected contingency coefficient even surpasses .5 ($CC_{cor} = .51$). Tab. 37 shows further that these significant differences occur in a certain direction; that is, that with increasing degree of acquaintance the sexual acts are not only of a more serious type -- there are also more of them.

In evaluating individual acts, it should be considered that cases involving more serious sexual contacts (i.e., sexual intercourse) "incidentally" include less harmful acts also taking place between victim and perpetrator. These acts are also touched on in expert credibility opinions and court records. Thus, for example, in Tab. 37, 189 more superficial sexual contacts by friends and