

Uncomfortable territory? The relationship between gender, intoxication and rape

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Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between gender and intoxication within reported rape. Drawing upon a sample of 1,743 allegations of victim-intoxicated rape made to the London Metropolitan Police Service over two years between September 2006 and August 2008, it is established that patterns of reported rape are significantly divided significantly along gender lines. The findings show that men and women who report intoxicated rape differ in terms of age, vulnerabilities and type of intoxication. Using gender and gendered discourses as a lens to view reported rape, the paper explores the way in which rape myths, victim-blame and ambivalent attitudes towards sex and intoxication affect men and women differently, engendering differences in patterns of victimisation and reporting behaviour.

Key Words: Rape, Sexual assault, Drink-spiking, Drug-facilitated sexual assault, Police, Reporting behaviour, Intoxication, Alcohol, Drugs, Gender.

*“It wasn’t rape-rape”*¹
Whoopi Goldberg on Roman Polanski’s 1977 conviction

*“Drunken consent is still consent”*²
Judge Mr Justice Roderick Evans

1. Introduction

What is - and what isn’t rape - has become a controversial topic. It is a distinction that becomes particularly contentious and emotive when alcohol and drugs are involved. Whoopi Goldberg’s recent declaration that Roman Polanski’s conviction for unlawful sexual intercourse in which he admitted to drugging and raping a thirteen year old girl, “wasn’t rape-rape”³ has focussed media attention onto the issue. Four years earlier Judge Mr Justice Roderick Evans created much legal and public confusion when he ruled, “drunken consent is still consent”⁴. These continuing controversies reveal the deep cultural entanglement of sex with substance intoxication in contemporary Britain and the US. While the sexual victimisation of women under the influence of alcohol and drugs is not a new phenomenon, the cultural backdrop has changed over the past twenty years. In Great Britain, the increased pattern of drug and alcohol consumption among both men and

women⁵ and a turn towards the analysis of risk in victimology⁶ has focused attention on the role of intoxicants in rape. The drink-spiking panic of the 1990s and a series of high profile drug and alcohol related rapes have attracted further debate.

The *Sexual Offences Act* 2003 sought to deal with the new cultural context. The definition of sexual consent now contains a requirement for 'capacity'. However, a lack of guidance on meaning, and a series of contested legal decisions - such as "drunken consent is still consent"⁷ - have created confusion. The line between normal sexual behaviour and criminal activity has become a contested and uncomfortable territory. In this paper I will explore the ambivalent and often uncomfortable discourses about gender, intoxication and rape in one area of the criminal justice system: rapes reported to the police.

2. Researching reported rapes

Using police data as a method for investigating rape is controversial. The difficulties of working with official data have been noted and debated since the 1960s. There is an iceberg effect with data collected on crime: only a small portion is visible while the majority of offences remain below the surface; invisible and unreported. This persistent problem of the 'dark figure'⁸ is yet to be resolved. Critiques of official crime data have been traditionally divided into two broad schools: The realists, who question the reliability of official data and seek to bridge the gap between recorded and actual crime;⁹ and the social constructionists, who question the validity of crime statistics, regarding them - not as neutrally observed facts - but as revealing of the organisational processes which create them.¹⁰

Official figures on the crime of rape present further difficulties. It is widely acknowledged that most rape goes unreported but to what extent is this true, is unknown. British Crime Survey (BCS) figures report that about one in twenty women said they had been raped since age sixteen, an estimated 754,000 victims.¹¹ However, only twenty *per cent* of these incidents were reported to the police.¹² Academic studies have revealed wildly varying rates of reporting to the police depending on the population studied. Two studies from the USA demonstrate this disparity: a review of rape victims admitted to hospital found that the police were aware of seventy-five *per cent* of the cases in the study;¹³ while a study of young female victims of rape or attempted rape found that only one *per cent* informed the police and forty-two *per cent* told nobody.¹⁴

Despite limitations, police data on rape should not be dismissed. Evidence collected by the police needs to stand up to the levels of plausibility and corroboration required by the courts and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Police investigative procedures are subject to review, scrutiny and reform to enable the best possible methods and practices. Problems with

police data and procedure have been well documented and open to scrutiny in a way in which many private or academic studies have not been. All of which means there is a good level of reliability of the information collected and a good knowledge base of where the problems and gaps lie. It also offers ethical benefits, providing an excellent source of data which can be utilised without re-interviewing victims. Drug and alcohol related rape remains an under-researched area. Police files can supply useful baseline data on this crime; they can provide:

...a suitable and valuable starting point for establishing basic descriptive information about victims, the offender and offence behaviours.¹⁵

Moreover, research using only police data is helpful for police officers, the crown prosecution service and other criminal justice professionals. It is precisely this data which is needed to show which victims are reporting to the police and what they are reporting. Research using police data will specify who is using the services of the criminal justice system, helping criminal justice professionals to better understand the needs of those who come forward. It will also indicate gaps - which type of victims are not coming forward - and be useful if police forces wish start initiatives to encourage these hidden victims to come forward. In a recent publication outlining the findings from internal research conducted by the London Metropolitan Police Service, Betsy Stanko and Emma Williams stated, police officers “hold information about rape victims which could ground change in observable, verifiable information”.¹⁶

Recently in the UK, research into rape has come under further criticism. Charities and women’s action groups have been critical of the amount of research which has taken place without any associated follow-up or action. A spokesperson for Rape Crisis stated:

We are concerned that as we receive the recommendations from this review in 2010 we will be in exactly the same position - with more promises, when what we really need is change.¹⁷

This criticism could be further extended to research on rape relying solely on police victim data. The excessive focus on the behaviour of victims in studies of rape can create a space in which there is an easy conceptual slippage between identifying risk factors and identifying victim behaviours or characteristics which have produced the rape. This subtle slippage can be easily co-opted into essentialist discourses of rape and victim blame, both of which are lent more credence if no action is taken by the

criminal justice system to change the current state of affairs. However, many researchers in this area have refuted these claims arguing that:

... a risk factor is not the same as the cause of the violence since it might be correlated with something else that is associated with the underlying cause.¹⁸

Additionally, and as stated earlier, others have argued that victim-based research is important because it utilises what data is available to help prevent future rapes.¹⁹ All of these critiques are valid. In this paper I hope to bridge the gap between them; utilising police data for victim based research and engaging with the criticisms rather than disregarding them. Using gender and gendered discourses as a lens through which to view both reported rapes, I aim to unravel and dispute victim blaming myths as these are applied differently to men and women. For example, by examining men - as well as women - as victims of rape, I aim to disentangle dominant rape myths which view men only in relation to perpetration.

3. Method

Taking into account the possible limitations of police data, London and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) were selected as the research site to provide the widest possible research population. The MPS is the largest police force in England and Wales, and London was selected as the location because it is the largest city in the United Kingdom. The Metropolitan Police Service covers an area of 620 square miles and a population of 7.2 million people. The London Metropolitan Police Service was also chosen because of its special focus on investigating claims of rape. Project Sapphire teams are located in every borough and have specially trained officers dedicated to investigating allegations of rape. Additionally, the MPS has one of the most advanced and comprehensive crime recording databases in the UK; the Crime Report Information System (CRIS).

A two year sample of rape²⁰ allegations involving an intoxicated victim made to the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) was taken using the Crime Report Information System (CRIS) database. Data from CRIS is made up of victim reports based only on victim statements and drug used is not substantiated but only reported. To focus on adult victims, crimes which were being investigated by child protection were excluded. Through initial literature searches it was decided that the nature and etiology of sexual offences against children would be substantially different enough to warrant exclusion. Data was collected on: victim age; victim ethnicity; victim gender; relationship to suspect; offence location; date crime was committed; report date; and victim intoxication. The data was sanitised, duplicates were removed and the variables were recoded. Case exclusions were made on the

basis of: missing gender data; withdrawn cases; and age.²¹ The final sample contained 1,743 allegations reported between September 2006 and August 2008.

The key research question was: Is there a gendered difference in reporting rape when the victim is intoxicated? The data was explored using SPSS. A non-parametric statistical significance test - the Chi Square test - was selected as non-parametric methods require fewer assumptions about a population or probability distribution and are applicable in a wider range of situations

4. Rape, intoxication and gender

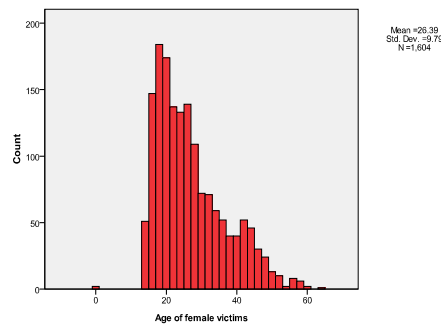
The vast majority of those who reported rape whilst intoxicated were female (ninety-two *per cent*). A small percentage of victims were male (eight *per cent*). Comparing the gender distribution of victims in this study to other studies of rape is difficult because male rape is an under-researched area. Most studies of rape focus solely on female victims. However, some general statistics on the gender distribution of reported rapes are available. The proportion of men and women reporting intoxicated rape in this study is comparable with the gender proportions revealed by other studies and in official rape statistics. In England and Wales the official crime statistics reveal that seven *per cent* of victims of any type of rape were male in 2008/2009 and eight *per cent* were male in 2007/2008.²² In an internal review of rape allegations which examined all types of rape reported in London, the London Metropolitan Police Service also found that around eight *per cent* of victims reporting rape were male.²³

The distribution of ages for female victims produced interesting findings (see *Figure 1*). As this study is examining only adult cases²⁴ of rape, the full probability distribution of victim age cannot be examined. However, even though child cases of intoxicated rape have been excluded the probability distribution still reveals a positive skew towards the younger age range (*Figure 1*). The modal age for female victims is eighteen years, the median age is twenty-four and the mean age is twenty-six (N= 1,604). This may mean that younger women are more vulnerable to drug and alcohol intoxicated rape than older women, or it may mean that older women are less likely to come forward and report their crime to police. In either case it means the majority of female victims who come into contact with the criminal justice system are of a younger age and this has specific implications for the police and CPS.

Following the Home Office report on vulnerable witnesses and victims; *Speaking Up For Justice* in 1998, some general police service guidelines were issued by the Home Office that defined victims and witnesses under the age of seventeen as “vulnerable”.²⁵ It is understood that victims and witnesses identified as vulnerable may need greater assistance

from criminal justice professionals at both the pre-trial and trial stage. For those recognised as vulnerable, special measures are put in place to ensure equal access to the justice system and adherence to the standards outlined in *The Victims' Charter* (2005).²⁶

Histogram illustrating age of female victims in a two year sample of rape allegations involving an intoxicated victim (N= 1604) (Figure 1)



In a study of the attrition of rapes reported to the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), Stanko and Williams examined vulnerability in detail.²⁷ In the context of their research they defined 'vulnerable' to mean "the context of the rape which occurs in situations where the victim is disadvantaged - in terms of social believability - as a witness".²⁸ Pertaining to the age of victims they defined victims under eighteen years as vulnerable. The study found eighty-seven *per cent* of victims had at least one or more vulnerabilities which increased the likelihood of attrition.²⁹

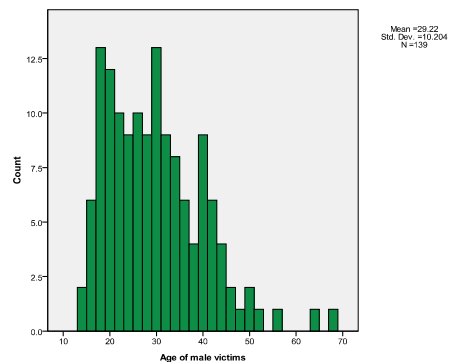
The findings from this research reveal that the majority of female adult victims³⁰ reporting intoxicated rape would not be classed as vulnerable by Home Office guidelines or the MPS research by virtue of their age. However, despite this, the findings reveal a very large number of young women reporting rape, very close to an age where they would be classified as 'vulnerable' and receive special police measures. The modal majority of the female victims is eighteen years old. In fact, in cases of rape in which the victim is intoxicated, it could be argued that eighteen year old victims may be more vulnerable. Eighteen year olds may not necessarily be more vulnerable as victims and witnesses within the criminal justice system, but may be more vulnerable to becoming the victim of an intoxicated rape. The legal drinking age in England and Wales is eighteen years old; thus, large numbers of young women (and men) are more likely to be out consuming alcohol and attending licensed establishments such as pubs and nightclubs for the first time.

Consequently, they may be more inexperienced in these locations and situations than older people would be.

The need to retain a distinction between vulnerable and non-vulnerable victims is understandable. So, while it is recognised that there will always be individuals who fall close to the cut-off point for special provisions, a line which cannot be infinitely moved, it is still worth considering the young age of most victims who report they have been raped while intoxicated. Moreover, the unique vulnerability of individuals who are eighteen years old to victim-intoxicated rape is something which criminal justice professionals may want to consider when dealing with allegations.

The histogram of the ages of the male victims reporting intoxicated rape reveals a different probability distribution.

Histogram illustrating age of male victims in a two year sample of rape allegations involving an intoxicated victim (N= 139) (Figure 2)



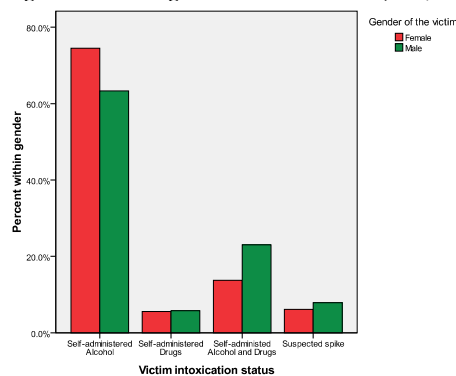
As *Figure 2* demonstrates, the distribution of male victims is bimodal with slight positive skew. There are dual modal ages for the male victims; eighteen years and twenty-nine years old; the median age is twenty-eight years and the mean age is twenty-nine years. Overall, the male victims were of an older age with fewer close to an age where they would be classed as vulnerable victims within the criminal justice system. Due to small number of male victims in the sample (N =139) it is harder to draw conclusions from these findings. The dual modal ages of eighteen and twenty-nine years may mean that there are two age-risk points for men becoming victims of an intoxicated rape or it may mean that men are more likely to forward to the police at these ages. Regarding the latter proposition, it is possible that the distribution of male ages should more closely resemble

that of the female victims with a larger number of younger victims at age eighteen but younger men are simply not coming forward.

There is some support for this in the research literature, indicating that younger men do not have the same levels of trust in the police that younger female victims do, particularly young men of ethnic minority population.³¹ Regarding the former hypothesis, it is also reasonable to theorise that there may be something about men's drinking and drug use that increases their risk of rape in their late twenties in way in which women's patterns of intoxicant use does not. It is clear that this is an area in need of greater research.

Examining the relationship between the gender of the victim and the type of intoxication they reported preceding victimisation produces some interesting results (see *Figure 3* and *Appendix 1*). If this is formulated as a research hypothesis: "there is a relationship between the gender of victims and the self-reported type of intoxication in rapes reported to the police", a Chi-square distribution test reveals that the null hypothesis can be rejected and the research hypothesis accepted at the 0.05 level of significance. So, there is a statistically significant relationship between these two variables. However, in accepting the research hypothesis it is important to note several things: that this study only includes victims who have chosen to come forward and report their rapes to police and that the level of intoxication is self-reported and not externally verified.

Bar chart illustrating intoxication status by victim gender in a two year sample of rape allegations involving an intoxicated victim (N=1,743) (*Figure 3*)



One of the most noticeable findings is the proportion of men reporting that they were under the influence of both drugs and alcohol when they were raped. This proportion is substantially higher than the proportion

of women reporting both (see *Figure 3*, third column on the X axis). The cross-tabulation (*Appendix 1*) reveals that the observed count of men reporting both drugs and alcohol is much higher than the expected count and the observed count of women reporting both is slightly lower than the expected count. This intriguing finding could be interpreted in several ways. Primarily, it may mean that men are at greater risk of rape when consuming both drugs and alcohol than is currently recognised. More research would be needed to establish this connection. However, as these studies do not compare men's rape victimisation directly with women's, more research is needed to establish this connection and its strength of association.

Alternatively though, there are two other ways of interpreting this finding: that women are under-reporting rape which occurs when they have consumed both drugs and alcohol; and/or that men are over-reporting rape which occurs when they have consumed both drugs and alcohol. Firstly, hypothetically; why might women be under-reporting rape which occurs when they have voluntarily consumed both drugs and alcohol? In this interpretation of *Figure 3* it is assumed there is data missing from the bar chart in the third column on the X axis. What has happened to this data? The consumption of either alcohol or drugs - and particularly both - is more stigmatising for women than for men. Voluntary intoxication is seen as unfeminine and more risky for women. Women may be choosing to play down any intoxicating substance they consumed, as they may fear being blamed or not believed. There is much research evidence which supports this conclusion. If a woman has voluntarily consumed alcohol or recreational drugs, they are more likely to be held as partially accountable for what happened. A survey conducted by ICM on behalf of Amnesty International in 2005 found that thirty *per cent* of respondents believed being drunk makes a woman in some way responsible for being raped.³² As Margaret Malloch surmises, for women who engage in 'risky' behaviour such as drinking or drug-taking; "the harm of sexual victimisation is denied by legal agency and society in general"³³ in a process of delegitimation. Indeed "a woman's right and indeed, her portrayed ability, to withhold consent is dependant on reputation and status, on her perceived 'respectability'".³⁴

So in this interpretation of the findings, where might the missing data from column three have gone? The women coming forward to the police to report they have been raped may be under-reporting drug use, stating that they have only drunk alcohol instead of admitting to both. Or the data may be missing because women who have consumed both kinds of intoxicants are not coming forward at all. The role of intoxicants and female victims of rape sits in an ambivalent position with the criminal justice system, and indeed criminal justice research. On the one hand, the police and criminologists are collecting increasing information about intoxication and rape to assist in crime prevention efforts; on the other hand the intensive

focus on collecting data on intoxication is involved in the process of delegitimising women's claims of rape and may – as in the case of the missing data – be preventing women from coming forward or making them feel as if they have to lie to police officers.

The second interpretation of the finding is that men may be overstating the role of intoxicants. In effect, this interpretation assumes that there is too much data in the men's bar in column three of the bar chart in *Figure 4*. So why might men be over-reporting the role of intoxicants? First, it is important to note that this is not implying that men are simply lying. Rather, it may be the case that they are emphasising the role that intoxicants took in their victimisation, in a way in which a woman might not. For instance, they may be mentioning any prescribed drugs they were taking and the way in which this increased their intoxication when combined with alcohol. Or they may be mentioning drugs which women considered irrelevant to their victimisation, such as cannabis or other recreational drugs. Moreover, men might only be coming forward to report rape, if they have consumed both drugs and alcohol. This would create an effect in the data in which the proportion of men reporting rape after they were consuming both drugs and alcohol is falsely inflated because men consuming just one type of intoxicant are not coming forward.

Contemporary discourses of hegemonic masculinity emphasise the role of self-reliance and self-protection and autonomy for attaining full adult manhood.³⁵ Becoming the victim of rape impinges deeply on personhood and the right to sexual and personal autonomy. While it would be wrong and misleading to suggest that becoming a rape victim is more damaging to the personhood of men than women, contemporary discourses of hegemonic masculinity mean that becoming the victim of rape is more destructive for men's gendered identities 'as men' than for women's identities 'as women'. Men may feel they will be perceived as less masculine if they report they have been raped. This is often one of the cited reasons for the under-reporting of male-on-male rape,³⁶ it may also partially account for the situation here. Men may want to emphasise the external factors in their victimisation i.e. the influence of intoxicants rather than factors they may see as internal or more deeply imbricated with their masculine-self i.e. being unable to defend themselves. Moreover, men are not stigmatised by drinking or drug-taking in the way in which women are so they may feel more comfortable talking about these issues.

5. Conclusions: Uncomfortable territory

Gender is essential to understanding victim-intoxicated rape. The analysis of reported rapes indicates that there are gendered differences in patterns of age and intoxication type. It is important however, not to essentialise these differences and let understandings of gendered difference

merge into gender stereotypes. As highlighted in this paper, crude gender stereotypes circulated in the media and popular discourse may affect patterns of reporting. So how can the application of gender stereotypes be avoided whilst recognising gendered difference? This is difficult question. The first step, and a good start, might be to begin to deal more openly and honestly with the uncomfortable territory of sexuality, gender and intoxication. The psychologist David Canter, working in the contested area of criminal profiling, has asserted that an offender's behaviour during the commission of an offence will mirror other aspects of their everyday life.³⁷ This assertion from criminal profiling has an uncomfortable resonance when considered in relation to victim-intoxicated rape. Rape which occurs while the victim is intoxicated sits in ambivalent space on a continuum between drinking on romantic dates and drug-facilitated sexual assaults. The normalisation of high levels of alcohol consumption by young women continues to rise,³⁸ yet police figures show young women are the most at risk for victim-intoxicated rape and women are more likely to be blamed for their own victimisation if they have consumed any intoxicant. Discourses of intoxication and rape operate differently for male victims. Men remain invisible in much legal and media discourse, and consequently may be less likely to come forward and report their rape at all, or they may feel less stigmatised by the discourses surrounding victim-blame and intoxication if they do come forward.

It is in this uncomfortable territory, in space created by the ambivalence towards gender, sex and intoxication that circumstantial and extra-legal factors gendered stereotypical assumptions and myths about rape come to influence what constitutes a real victim and who can access justice. Until these attitudes are openly addressed and debated little progress can be made. Such inconsistencies are revealing of the uncomfortable contradictions at the heart of gender relations and contemporary attitudes to intoxicants. Coherent strategies for policing cannot be drawn up for an area which in itself is fundamentally incoherent.

Notes

- ¹ Kennedy, M., 'Polanski was not guilty of 'rape-rape', says Whoopi Goldberg', in *guardian.co.uk*, The Guardian Media Group, London, 29 September 2009, viewed on 8 October 2009. < <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2009/sep/29/roman-polanski-whoopi-goldberg> >
- ² Dyer, C., 'Call for inquiry after rape case collapses over 'drunken consent'', in The Guardian, The Guardian Media Group, London, 24 November 2005, p.4.
- ³ Kennedy, op. cit.
- ⁴ Dyer, op.cit., p.4.
- ⁵ National Statistics Online, 'A summary of changes over time: Drinking', *Office for National Statistics*, last updated 20 April 2004, viewed on 25 September 2009. < <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=829> >
- ⁶ Mythen, G., 'Cultural victimology: are we all victims now?', in *Handbook of victims and victimology*, S. Walklate (ed), Willan Publishing, London, 2007, pp. 464-483.
- ⁷ Dyer, op.cit., p.4.
- ⁸ McClintock, F., 'The Dark Figure', in *Collected Studies in Criminological Research*, Volume 4, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1970, pp. 7-34.
- ⁹ c.f. Glaser, D., 'National goals and indicators for the reduction of crime and delinquency', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 371, issue 1, 1967, pp.104-126.
- ¹⁰ c.f. Biderman, A., and Reiss, A., 'On Exploring the 'Dark Figure' of Crime', in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 374, number 1, 1967, pp. 1-15. and c.f. Kitsuse, J., and Cicourel, A., 'A note on the uses of official statistics', in *Social Problems*, volume 11, 1963, pp.131-39.
- ¹¹ Myhill, A. and Allen, J., *Rape and sexual assault of women: findings from the British Crime Survey*, Development and Statistics Directorate Home Office, HMSO, London, 2002.
- ¹² *ibid.*
- ¹³ Jones, J. et al., 'Why women don't report sexual assault to the police: The influence of psychosocial variables and traumatic injury', in *Journal of Emergency Medicine*, volume 36, issue 4, May 2009, pp. 417-12.
- ¹⁴ Rickert, V. et al., 'Disclosure of Date/Acquaintance Rape: Who Reports and When', *Journal of Pediatric Adolescent Gynecology*, volume 18, issue 1, February 2005, pp.17-24.
- ¹⁵ Horvath, M., *Drug-Assisted Rape: An Investigation*, PhD thesis, University of Surrey, 2006, p. 80.
- ¹⁶ Stanko, B. and Williams, E., 'Real' rape and 'real' rape allegations: What are the vulnerabilities of the women who report to the police?', in *Rape: Challenging contemporary thinking*, J. Brown and M. Horvath (eds), Willan Publishing, London, 2009, pp.207.
- ¹⁷ Gentleman, A., 'Government rape review fails to convince women's groups', *The Guardian*, The Guardian Media Group, London, 22 September 2009, p. 14.
- ¹⁸ Walby, S. and Allen, J., *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey*, Development and Statistics Directorate Home Office, Home Office Research Study 276, Home Office, London, 2004, p.73.
- ¹⁹ Horvath, op.cit.
- ²⁰ This study uses the legal definition of rape in England and Wales. This definition determines that rape can only be perpetrated by a male but can be against either a male or a female victim. The current legal definition of rape according to Section 1(1) of the *Sexual Offences Act 2003* is as follows: (1) A person (A) commits an offence if— (a) he intentionally penetrates the vagina, anus or mouth of another person (B) with his penis, (b) B does not consent to the penetration, and (c) A does not reasonably believe that B consents.
- ²¹ Seven cases in which the victim was under thirteen years old were found by the search. Child protection cases being investigated by the police had already been excluded from the search criteria. It is therefore unknown why these cases involving young children were not being investigated and were found by the search. As they involve young children, it was decided that an age criteria should be applied to the search results and all cases with victims under the age of thirteen years were excluded. As stated above, the nature and etiology of sexual offences against children is substantially different enough to warrant exclusion. The age of thirteen years was selected as the cut off point because Sections (5-8) of the *Sexual Offences Act 2003*, which deal separately with offences against children, define a child as being under thirteen.
- ²² Walker, A. et al., *Crime in England and Wales 2008/09 - Volume 1: Findings from the British Crime Survey and police recorded crime*, Home Office Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office, London, 2009.
- ²³ Stanko and Williams, op. cit.
- ²⁴ As stated above, adult cases have been defined as those not being investigated by the Child Protection Teams or other parts of SCD5 Child Protection Command Unit.
- ²⁵ Action for Justice, *Vulnerable Victims: A Police Service Guide*, Home Office, London, 2006, p.5.
- ²⁶ Criminal Justice Service, *The Victims' Charter: A statement of service standards for victims of crime*, Home Office, London, 2005, viewed online on 6 October 2009. < <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/victims-charter?view=Binary> >
- ²⁷ Stanko and Williams, op. cit.
- ²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 210.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ As defined earlier in Section 3: Methods.

³¹ Much of the research into police legitimacy and young men of ethnic minorities is based in the USA (cf. Solis, C. et al., 'Latino Youths' Experiences with and Perceptions of Involuntary Police Encounters', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 623, number 1, 2009, pp. 39-51. and Brunson, R and Miller, J., 'Young Black Men and Urban Policing in the United States', *The British Journal of Criminology*, volume 46, issue 4, 2006, pp. 613-640.).

³² ICM, *Sexual Assault Research Summary Report*, prepared for Amnesty International, ICM Research, London, 12 October 2005.

³³ Malloch, M. 'Risky' Women, Sexual Consent and Criminal Justice', *Making Sense of Sexual Consent*, M. Cowling and P. Reynolds, P. (eds), Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 112.

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ Connell, R. and Messerschmidt, J., 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept' in *Gender & Society*, volume 19, number 6, 2005, pp. 829-859.

³⁶ Mulkey, M., 'Recreating masculinity: drama therapy with male survivors of sexual assault', in *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, volume 31, issue 1, 2004, pp.19-28.

³⁷ Canter, D., *Criminal Shadows*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 1995.

³⁸ National Statistics Online, *op. cit.*

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