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The Relationship Between Physical Attractiveness and the Risk of Sexual Victimization: A Test of Competing Hypotheses

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS AND THE RISK OF

SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION: A TEST OF COMPETING HYPOTHESES

By

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AUGUST 2024

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Feminist scholarship has traditionally led the discourse on sexual violence within criminology. In the early 21st century, Richard Felson provided the first significant opposition to hardline Feminist theory's approach to studying all kinds of violence perpetration, including sexual violence. While the Feminists believed that the desire for males to maintain the hegemony of patriarchy led to sexual violence, Felson argued that the perpetration of sexual violence was fueled by sexual desire, not sexism. This study provides a thorough historical overview of the study of sexual violence perpetration with emphasis on the Feminist and Felsonian perspectives while identifying the evidence and gaps for each. One of Felson's hypotheses was that the physical attractiveness of a target would lead to a consistent increased victimization risk, an assumption which Feminist scholars have rejected. I analyzed Wave IV of the public use dataset National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) to directly test Felson's hypothesis implicating attractiveness as a causal factor in sexual violence while indirectly testing the Feminist contention that sexual violence exclusively results from societally ingrained

patriarchal notions of misogyny, without consideration of biological or psychosocial effects of sexuality. Specifically, I employed the Add Health's interviewer-rated physical attractiveness item as the core variable predicting participant experiences with sexual assault. The primary outcome measures evaluated were self-reported experience with Physical Forced Sex (PFS) victimization and Coerced Sex (CS) victimization. After conducting a series of logistic regression analyses through a model-building process, it was found that being rated as physically "Very unattractive" significantly lowered a female's risk of experiencing PFS victimization when compared to those rated as "About average." Additionally, I found no effect of physical attractiveness for those rated as "Unattractive" or above, indicating that being physically "Very unattractive" was (statistically speaking) a protective factor, creating a kind of threshold effect for the impact of physical attractiveness on PFS victimization. Moreover, there was no effect of physical attractiveness on CS victimization. The results were then discussed alongside theoretical considerations and the framing of a potential new expanded decision-making model for understanding the motivation to perpetrate sexual violence.

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BY

JAMES MICHAEL O'BERRY II

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ACCEPTANCE

       This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Committee. It has been approved and accepted by all members of that committee, and it has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Criminal Justice & Criminology in the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies of Georgia State University.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Richard Felson. Despite how critical of his work I may be in this dissertation, I have the utmost respect and admiration for him. He has quite literally been the inspiration for my work.

Rich, I criticized your book.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Few topics in the modern discourse around crime and violence seem as prevalent as that of sexual violence and sexually violative behaviors. The heinousness of sexual violence often (understandably) engenders a fierce and passionate response, as well as calls for social, political, scientific, and criminal justice systemic change. Scholars have attempted to rise to this challenge for decades, with criminologists having eventually joined the fray. Few would debate that our knowledge of sexual violence has improved alongside the rising seriousness with which Western Culture treats it, particularly in the realm of victimology. The aspect of sexual violence that has received comparatively less attention is that of perpetration, though there have been some landmark exceptions (see, for example, Scully and Marolla [1984, 1985]).

Within the scholarly realm, studying the causes of sexual violence is particularly important, given that identifying motivation and cause is the first step in developing, researching, and confirming effective prevention and intervention measures. The Feminist movement of the latter half of the twentieth century attempted a significant foray into the challenge of understanding the causes of sexual violence. The movement sought to dispel the ill-founded notion that sexual violence was predicated on psychopathological defects within the sexual predator. Instead, they argued that sexual violence was directly caused by the overbearing influence of a patriarchal society and the ensuing concomitant permissiveness and encouragement of misogyny (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Scully & Marolla, 1984, 1985). This conclusion stood in stark opposition to any arguments that a desire for sex and sexual gratification might be the primary cause of sexual violence. Though some Feminist scholars like Scully and Marolla (1985) acknowledged the potential for multiple causal factors in sexual violence, the Feminist perspective still generally held that sexism, and not sexual desire, was the dominant cause of sexual violence.

Though arguments against a primarily misogynistic causal explanation were not wholly absent, the most significant opposition to the Feminist explanation for sexual violence was arguably presented by Richard Felson in his book *Violence & Gender Reexamined* (Felson, 2002). In it, Felson argued that violence against women was rooted in causes he labeled as more instrumental than sexist[1]. Felson further developed this argument through the discussion of crimes such as intimate partner and sexual violence, among other examinations of violence and gender discrimination within criminology and associated criminal justice processes (Feld & Felson, 2008; Felson, 2002, 2006, 2009; Felson & Cares, 2005; Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson & Feld, 2009; Felson & Lane, 2009, 2010; Felson & Lantz, 2016; Felson & Massoglia, 2012; Felson & Outlaw, 2007; Felson & Palmore, 2021; Felson & Paré, 2005, 2007, 2008; Felson et al., 2003; Felson et al., 2012; Rogers et al., 2019; Silver et al., 2008; Tedeschi & Felson, 1994). In short, Felson argued that sexual violence is caused by sexual desire on the part of perpetrators. Those who commit acts of sexual violence do so because they seek to obtain sexual pleasure or gratification (Felson, 2002; Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012) rooted in concepts of psychobiology (see *Post-Feminist Explanations for Sexual Violence: Biological and Opportunism/Vulnerability Explanations* below).

Sexual violence stands as a unique kind of criminal act in that it is exemplified by concepts like predation, gendered violence, and sexuality. This uniqueness is arguably part of the reason that achieving a significant understanding of the perpetration of sexual violence has made such little headway. Much of this can be understood by providing a more in-depth reflection on the aforementioned history of the study of sexual violence.

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[1] See Palmer (1988) for an in-depth critique of the argument that rape is not sexually motivated.

Historical Overview

19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ Century Conceptualizations of Sexual Violence

For much of human history (generally speaking), sexual violence has not been considered a serious offense, if it was even seen as an offense at all (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971). When violations like rape were condemned, the victim was often made the scapegoat. In this misogynistic zeitgeist, women were seen as "temptresses" or "seductresses" who invited their own victimization (Herman, 1984). When the modern era of social science dawned in the late 19ᵗʰ and early 20ᵗʰ centuries, explanations for rape shifted to the psychopathological. This perspective held that rapists and other sexual predators were mentally ill individuals who could not control their sexual impulses (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Scully & Marolla, 1985). As with the historical perspective on sexual violence, responsibility was taken away from the perpetrators, and blame was placed elsewhere. Though not as explicitly as the historical perspective, the psychopathological view also indicates that there are things victims might do that lead to their victimization. Though sexual predators may have psychological conditions that make them prone to violative behavior, how women dress or present themselves remained an argument as to why a woman may draw the attention of a predator (Scully, 1994). For example, Amir (1971) states that women invite sexual victimization "…when her outside appearance arouses the offender's advances which are not staved off" (Amir, 1971, p. 155; as cited in Scully, 1994).

20ᵗʰ Century Empiricism: Feminist Explanations for Sexual Violence

Following the Sexual Revolution and the rise of the modern Feminist Movement in the mid-20th century, sexual violence and rape were reevaluated within scholarly study. The Feminist approach to examining sexual violence referenced historical views and argued that

these perspectives were rooted in sexist notions derived from the overarching patriarchal social structure of much of society around the world (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984). Crimes like rape happen, according to the Feminist perspective, because men have the power in society and therefore have control over women. Brownmiller (2013) goes so far as to argue that rape and domination of women were a necessary step in solidifying the patriarchy, stating,

> It seems eminently sensible to hypothesize that man's violent capture and rape of the female led first to the establishment of a rudimentary mate-protectorate and then sometime later to the full-blown male solidification of power, the patriarchy… Concepts of hierarchy, slavery and private property flowed from, and could only be predicated upon, the initial subjugation of woman (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 26).

Through this lens, rape is seen as a means for men to exercise dominion over women at a visceral level that (typically) stops just short of actually killing them (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984; MacKinnon, 1982). The Feminist perspective has led the discourse on sexual violence for roughly the last half-century. More recent decades have seen research from biology, psychology, and criminology that suggests alternative or additional explanations for sexual violence.

Biological Understanding of Sexual Violence

The biological and psychological research on rape can be seen as an intertwining of concepts related to sexual attraction and biological reproductive drives. Psychobiological research on perceptions of attractiveness tends to identify standards of attractiveness that are consistent, if not nearly universal. These standards are only slightly modified by culture and personal preferences (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Cunningham et al., 1995; Fan et al., 2004;

Mathes et al., 1985; Miller, 1970; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005). Biological research has observed acts that can be classified as rape in non-human species (including primates) and has tied these observations to basic reproductive urges (Palmer, 1989; Estep & Bruce, 1981; Shields & Shields, 1983; Thornhill, 1999). These two perspectives were highly congruent, with much of the attractiveness literature finding that desirability was typically tied to physiological features characteristic of reproductive utility (Fan et al., 2004; Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012; Mathes et al., 1985; Miller, 1970; Palmer, 1989; Thornhill, 1999; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005).

Felson pioneered the most prominent position following this era. Inspired by the psychobiological orientation, Felson proposed an altered criminological approach to understanding sexual violence beginning in the early 2000s. In his book, he argued that sexual violence was motivated primarily by the desire for sex, contrary to the Feminist notion that it was fueled by a desire for power. Further, he argued that this went beyond the reproductive utility proposed by the biological perspective and was instead rooted in pleasure pursuits. As he stated,

> I suggest that sexual coercion is based, in large part, on differences in sexuality between men and women and the conflict that results from those differences. Because women tend to be more selective in their sexual activity than men, many situations arise where men want to engage in sexual activity and women do not. Sometimes men use coercion and other means to influence women to comply. (Felson, 2002, p. 121)

Felson has since continued to develop this perspective on sexual violence, supporting his argument with evidence from studies of youth sexual victimization and prison rape (Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012). Across these, he argues that sexual/physical attractiveness

explains why youth are targeted more for sexual violence across different settings. As Felson et al. (2012) state regarding prison rape,

> Our finding that sexual assault offenders have an overwhelming preference for young victims is consistent with research outside of prisons. The evidence consistently shows that age-related sexual attractiveness is a key variable in predicting victimization for men and women. Although we do not have a measure of sexual attractiveness, it is difficult to imagine other interpretations of the age effect on the relative risk of sexual versus physical assault. It seems unlikely that offenders sexually assault the young to express dominance, for example. One would have to explain why offenders of all ages are more likely to target the young when they engage in sexual assault than when they engage in physical assault. (Felson et al., 2012, p. 901)

That said, Felson's arguments would seem as rigid as those of Feminists, whose views he strongly critiqued. He has typically argued that his explanations account for the majority of (if not the whole of) the variance associated with the perpetration of sexual violence.

Current Challenges in Understanding and Predicting Sexual Violence

Despite a glut of scholarly work on sexual violence, our ability to effectively predict, prevent, and explain it remains sorely lacking. To wit, the vast majority of efforts presented over the decades to reduce or eliminate sexual violence have produced little evidence of effectiveness (DeGue et al., 2014; see below). With the majority of these programs predicated on Feminist interpretations of male motivation for sexual violence, the lack of efficacy for these programs indicates that the causal mechanisms are not fully understood. Additionally, while it is arguable that Felson's perspective offers an alternative explanation for sexual violence, its precepts are absent from the current slew of intervention efforts. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that we

must significantly improve our understanding of sexual violence if we are to counteract it, and this may mean accounting for the potential impact of variables in Felson's perspective.

Consequently, we must be open to abandoning rigid notions of how and when to apply theories and perspectives that may be incapable of explaining all the variance associated with the motivation to engage in sexual violence. Therefore, the goal of this study was to assess the extent to which the theoretical underpinnings of the Feminist and Felsonian perspectives differentially explain the perpetration of sexual violence. In the following pages, I will present a more thorough historical overview of the study of sexual violence, starting with pre-Feminist explanations and then moving into the Feminist era, followed by research from biological and opportunism perspectives, and ending with a focus on the Felsonian view. Following this, I report the results of the empirical study designed to assess the validity of both Felson and Feminism simultaneously.

Definitions

Before moving forward, it is essential to provide working definitions for some of the terms that will be used most often herein. These definitions are based on my review of the literature on sex crimes with a particular focus on definitions for those established by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, 2019) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics' (BJS) National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (BJS, n.d.). All of these terms will not necessarily be used within this writing, but their definitions can help provide context for understanding the terms that *will* be employed. My definitions for these necessary terms are as follows:

- *Consent*: Clear affirmation of a desire and willingness to engage in sexual or sexualized contact, which applies to both mutual sexual activity (i.e., all individuals involved committing sexual acts) as well as passive sexual activity (i.e., permitting others to touch

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one sexually). Consent can be limited to specific acts in a sexual encounter and does not act as blanket permission to engage in all forms of sexual interaction (i.e., one might consent to oral sex but not vaginal or to touching of the breasts but not the genital area). Lack of refusal does not automatically imply consent.

- *Nonconsensual Sexual Contact*: When an individual does not express consent or expresses that they do not wish to or are unwilling to engage in any form of sexual or sexualized contact. In the same way that a lack of refusal does not imply consent, an absence of clear affirmation does not automatically imply nonconsent (though it is doubtlessly a gray area).

- *Sexual Touching*: Physical contact of any kind with another person with the intent of stimulating a kind of sexual arousal in the person being touched or the toucher. Does not necessarily require the touching of primary or secondary sex-characteristic body parts.

- *Sexual Assault*: The nonconsensual physical touching of another person's primary or secondary sex-characteristic body parts or buttocks, as well as the nonconsensual sexual touching of a person in general. This touching includes but is not limited to nonconsensual groping, fondling, sexual humping, touching one's genitals to the flesh of another, and other forms of sexualized physical touch.

- *Rape*: The nonconsensual penetration of another person's vagina or anus using any means (penile, digital, oral, object-based, etc.) or the nonconsensual oral penetration of another person with one's genitalia. Includes the nonconsensual forcing of another person to perform an act of penetration of the vagina or anus using any means (penile, digital, oral, object-based, etc.) or forcing a person to penetrate another's mouth with their genitalia (essentially nonconsensual receiving of oral sex).

- *Sexual Violence*: An umbrella term which encompasses both Sexual Assault and Rape (as defined herein). Due to the lack of consistency in definitions outside of this writing regarding many of these terms, it is often most accurate to refer to these offenses as merely "sexual violence" in order to include all forms of nonconsensual physical sexual interaction.

Note that these definitions do *not* include other nonconsensual sexual behaviors, such as sexual harassment, voyeurism, and exhibitionism. Though some might argue that these non-physical behaviors constitute sexual violence, my reading of both the literature on sexual violence and violence in general leads me to conclude that there are fundamental differences (both in terms of perpetration and victimization) between physical acts of aggression, which are most typically associated with violence, and non-physical aggressive behaviors (such as threats, indecent exposure, etc.), though the two can often mix (Copes et al., 2012; Wright & Decker, 1997). That being said, it would be disingenuous and counterproductive to equate these non-physical forms of nonconsensual, sexually aggressive behavior with acts like sexual assault and rape by including them under the umbrella of sexual violence. A more appropriate, all-encompassing term that might satisfy the desire to categorize these acts together might be something like sexually violative behavior. The present endeavor, however, focuses on sexual violence as previously defined.

CHAPTER II: EXPLANATIONS FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Pre-Feminist Explanations for Sexual Violence

Before more modern explanations, the narrative and discourse surrounding sexual violence were dominated by a heavily patriarchal perspective, which downplayed the issue's importance. This perspective viewed women as a commodity whose sexual purity was their primary value (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Scully, 1994; Scully & Marolla, 1984, 1985). In this cultural milieu, sexual violation, such as rape, was arguably only condemned and punished by society because it devalued the organic product that women were treated as (Brownmiller, 2013). In this context, "organic product" refers to how the bodies and sexuality of women in this period were commodified for use and exchange at the hands of men. Dowries and political marriages serve as prime examples of this usage. This orientation carried with it implications that women were wholly responsible for their victimization, whether through dressing provocatively, leading men on, or promoting their sexuality.

This perspective ultimately gave way to a more psychopathological view that emerged with the advent of the modern scientific study of human behavior in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The psychopathological perspective held that rapists and other sexual predators were mentally "sick" individuals who lacked the component of their psyche that would allow them to control their sexual urges (Scully & Marolla, 1985). For example, Groth and Birnbaum (1979) stated, "Rape is always a symptom of some psychological dysfunction, either temporary and transient or chronic and repetitive" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p. 5; as cited by Scully & Marolla, 1985). However, as Scully and Marolla (1985) note, Groth and Birnbaum (1979) also acknowledge elements of power and control when discussing motivation, though this did not affect the conclusions they reached. The psychopathological perspective hews closely to the

classical patriarchal explanations for sexual violence in that it also removes responsibility for sexual violence from its perpetrators. The difference is that instead of providing social justifications for sexual violence, it offers internal, psychological ones.

Both pre-Feminist explanations discussed herein present the female victim as a seductress in varying capacities, equating women to the archetypal Delilah or Jezebel. Essentially, these perspectives took the concept of victim precipitation and manipulated it to take responsibility away from the male perpetrators of sexual violence and to place all blame squarely on the female victims. The psychopathological perspective continued this trend and dominated the discourse on sexual violence for much of the twentieth century until the advent of a new Feminist movement, both social and scholarly, in the '60s and '70s.

These explanations essentially boil down to an argument that sex was the primary motivating factor in rape (and sexual violence in general). The perspective that sex crimes were motivated by sexual desire or pleasure persisted across time and into the early 1970s (Amir, 1971; Gebhard et al., 1965; LeVine, 1959; all as cited by Malamuth et al., 1997), with some continuing beyond the "end" of this era (Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Kanin, 1984; as cited by Malamuth et al., 1997). It was this underlying explanation for the motivations behind sexual violence that would be challenged in the latter half of the 1900s.

Feminist Explanation for Sexual Violence

The Feminist movement of the latter half of the twentieth century latched onto several issues, one of which was violence against women, especially the sexual victimization of women. One notable scholar of this era, Griffin (1971), referred to rape as "The All-American Crime" (Griffin, 1971, p. 26), arguing that the patriarchal culture of the United States promoted widespread practices of sexual violence against women. Sexual violence was seen by the

Feminist scholars of the time as an issue of female violation at the hands of males. This approach often discounted and sometimes wholly dismissed the notion of both male victims and female perpetrators. Griffin (1971) went so far as to state, "men are not raped" (Griffin, 1971, p. 27). Brownmiller (2013), a contemporary of Griffin, further emphasized the power differences between men and women and how they historically and consistently produced widespread and culturally accepted violence against women. The Feminist perspective further argues that the classical and psychopathological views are indicative of the sexist culture produced by Patriarchy and that this orientation itself is the reason why sexual violence occurs. The Feminist view sees the cultural mindset that produced these aforementioned theories and perspectives as the cause of sexual violence (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971).

Feminists also maintain that sexual violence occurs because society forces a second-class citizen status on women, giving men dominion over all concerning them, including their sexed bodies. As Brownmiller (2013) states,

They reduced her status to that of chattel. The historic price of a woman's protection by man against man was the imposition of chastity and monogamy. A crime committed against her body became a crime against the male estate (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 25).

This perspective differs from the classical only in that Feminists hold that these gendered power dynamics are not based on anything legitimate and that men and women *should* be equal whether or not they actually are. Furthermore, the Feminist perspective holds that two key elements are central to sexual violence: power and control, a perspective which I will simply refer to as "dominion" or "male dominion" from here on (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984; MacKinnon, 1982). Scholarly Feminism further asserts that because men have the power in society, they wield this power to control women and keep them in check, often

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through violence (Brownmiller, 2013; Feld & Felson, 2008; Felson, 2002, 2006, 2008; Felson & Feld, 2009; Felson & Lane, 2010; Felson & Outlaw, 2007; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984; MacKinnon, 1982).

This perspective's use as a contextual explanation goes beyond the present focus on sexual violence and can flexibly be applied to various other behaviors. However, the concept of dominion is often argued to be the primary or sole motivating factor in *all* violence against women. Women tend to make up the minority of victims of general violence. Still, it is because of this rare status that Feminists argue that there must be something different about violence towards women (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984), else they would be victims of violence as often as men. Ultimately, this conclusion leads to the explanation that violence against women has a different motivation and purpose than violence against men. This purpose, they conclude, is to maintain the authoritarian power of the patriarchy by using violence to "correct" women and control their behavior when they "step out of line."

These basic assumptions are at the core of how Feminist scholars view sexual violence. The Feminist perspective holds that, essentially, sexism – not sexual desire – is the inherent motivation behind all acts of sexual violence (Brownmiller, 2013; Griffin, 1971; Herman, 1984). While this is the most general way to summarize the Feminist perspective on sexual violence, this is not to say that there are not those within Feminist circles who present a more nuanced and less rigid version of this core explanation. For example, the controversial Feminist scholar Camille Paglia (1990ab) argues that sex and power are inseparable concepts. Still, she does so to argue *against* the Feminist notion that patriarchal society is permissive or encouraging of rape. As she states, "Society is a woman's protection against rape, not, as some Feminists absurdly maintain, the cause of rape" (Paglia, 1990a, p. 23).

The Feminists' wedding together of sex with power is not a new concept. Around the same time as Griffin (1971) and Brownmiller (2013), Michel Foucault (1990), the noted sex scholar and philosopher, made an extensive argument for the inseparability of sex (of *any* kind) and power (and, therefore, dominion) in his seminal *The History of Sexuality*. To Foucault (1990), power plays and dynamics are central to any sexual encounter and are inherently part of the eroticism of sex. Assuming Foucault's (1990) assertions are correct, forced sex would also have to contain elements of power. Therefore, if power dynamics and vying for said power are an inherent element of sex, then logically, social hierarchy and male domination of women would emerge in at least some sexual encounters. This connection is especially true for those instances that include force, like rape.

Brownmiller (2013) emphasized the notion of dominion as the root motivation in sexual violence. According to her, sexual violence is a way in which men can control women to reaffirm and strengthen their power in society, a way of reminding women of their "place" and the consequences of straying from their set roles. This position is illustrated well when she presents her argument for why rape was ever criminalized:

> The ancient patriarchs who came together to write their early covenants had used the rape of women to forge their own male power—how then could they see rape as a crime of man against woman? Women were wholly owned subsidiaries and not independent beings…Rape entered the law through the back door, as it were, as a property crime of man against woman (Brownmiller, 2013, p. 26).

Furthermore, sexual violence would seem to be particularly germane for enforcing patriarchal values compared to regular violence. This position appears supported by the finding that sexual violence is a heavily gendered offense (Brownmiller, 2013; Felson, 2002). This,

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along with stereotypes surrounding what rape "looks like," means that such violence is most often associated with a man forcing a woman into some form of sexual congress (Brownmiller, 2013; Felson, 2002). This behavior then serves as a stark reminder to the victim and other women that such a violation could happen to them. From the Feminist perspective, then, sexual violation is a means of deterring women from violating gender roles and norms in opposition to patriarchal expectations. Ferraro (1996) would likely associate such a controlling fear with their "shadow of sexual assault" hypothesis (Ferraro, 1996, p. 667), wherein women live in constant fear of being sexually violated. In the case of the general Feminist argument, this "shadow" is a mechanism of patriarchy that establishes male power, control, and dominance.

Contemporary Feminist Responses to Sexual Violence

As mentioned earlier in the brief reference to Paglia (1990ab), not all Feminist scholars have promoted a dogmatically rigid approach to Feminist theory vis-à-vis sexual violence. From a more scientific standpoint, Scully and Marolla (1985) acknowledge the Feminist explanation for motivation in sexual violence while acknowledging that sexual offenders also express a sexual motivation for their offending. They state:

> …such arguments appear to discount the part that sex plays in the crime. The data clearly indicate that from the rapists' point of view rape is in part sexually motivated. Indeed, it is the sexual aspect of rape that distinguishes it from other forms of assault (Scully & Marolla, 1985, p. 257)

Scully (1994) reiterated this argument and cited contemporary Feminist rape scholar, MacKinnon (1982), stating that sexual violence being violent does not discount it also being sexual. At the same time, Scully (1994) makes clear that her research does not favor sexual motivation over violent, misogynistic motivation. As she states in the context of stranger rapes:

"Is it something about the woman or her appearance or her behavior that selects her for victimization? The answer is unequivocally no" (Scully, 1994, p. 174). This point would seem to be in direct contradiction to her statement above ("…such arguments appear to discount the part that sex plays in the crime") that directly implicates the role of sexual motivation. Regardless, what Scully and Marolla (1984, 1985) and Scully (1994) have demonstrated is that sexual violence appears to evidence myriad factors that converge, or even act independently, to motivate it. There may undoubtedly be elements that play more significant roles, but that does not discount the multifaceted nature of sexual violence. Scully and Marolla's (1985) approach would appear to be somewhat inconsistent. This has not prevented more recent scholars from continuing to reference Scully and Marolla's (1985) work in new scientific studies applied to a variety of sexual offenses, including revenge porn and queer victimization (see Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Bedera & Nordmeyer, 2021; Mann & Hollin, 2007; McGlynn et al., 2017).

A notable and recent evolution of Feminist theory takes the form of what McPhail (2015) has dubbed "Feminist Framework Plus" (FFP). She identified several Feminist theoretical perspectives beyond those focused on dominion (which she also included) but argued that all of them are marred by an inability to stand on their own as a general theory of rape. Employing Kalmar and Sternberg's (1988) concept of "theory-knitting," McPhail (2015) attempted a significant foray into creating a comprehensive model encompassing the strengths and weaknesses she identified across various theories within the Feminist perspective. Though McPhail's (2015) approach has not received significant attention – arguably due, at least in part, to its relative nascency – it is a noteworthy landmark in the present theoretical discussion.

Post-Feminist Explanations for Sexual Violence

Biological and Opportunism/Vulnerability Explanations

  Beyond more psychosociocultural explanations implicating the attractiveness of targets in motivating sexual violence, several biological explanations can also be applied to how attractiveness may motivate rape. For example, one common biological measure of attractiveness is based on the Body Mass Index (BMI). This research has found that BMI strongly predicts attractiveness ratings when the rating subject is female (Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005). Moreover, one study concluded that the BMI of those females rated as the most attractive were in the healthiest and most reproductively fertile BMI range (Tovée et al., 1999). This finding could indicate that physio-sexual attraction is partly based on a biological inclination to maximize reproductive potential (Cornwell et al., 2006; Fisher, 2000). This conclusion also aligns with research indicating mostly universal standards of attractiveness (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Cunningham et al., 1995; Fan et al., 2004; Mathes et al., 1985; Miller, 1970; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005), as a biological basis would likely be shared among all humankind.

  Additionally, work in biology has found that women receive lower attractiveness ratings as they age, seemingly consistent with their decline in reproductive utility. Men, however, maintain their attractiveness ratings as they age, which arguably ties in with the fact that men stay reproductively viable into old age, at least in part (Mathes et al., 1985). Additionally, this rating tendency was consistent across both genders, with both men and women rating the attractiveness of women and men similarly (Mathes et al., 1985). Additional findings include human pheromones being tied to sexual attraction (Grammer et al., 2005), that higher sex drives in men led to more attraction towards women (Lippa, 2006), that penile response could be

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accurately predicted by one's age and gender preferences (Blanchard et al., 2012), and that particular emotional expressivity in men and women was found to be consistently tied to ratings of attractiveness (Tracy & Beall, 2011).

These findings suggest that sexual attraction and desire have, at least partially, biological bases. The literature often finds that young, sexually healthy, and fertile females are consistently rated as the most attractive (Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012; Palmer, 1989; Thornhill, 1999; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005). Although these findings may point to a biological basis for attraction and perhaps even target attractiveness, they alone do not provide an attempt at actually explaining sexual violence.

Research on biology and sexual attraction has also led to work on rape as a naturalistic phenomenon in the animal kingdom. This research has found that rape exists in many animal species, ranging from insects to fish to (most significantly) primates (Palmer, 1989; Shields & Shields, 1983). However, it is important to note that this scholarship is not devoid of criticism. Some argue that the actions claimed to be rape in the animal kingdom cannot be seen as such due to the lack of sociocultural factors present among humans or that such research could be used to justify or excuse rape perpetration by humans (Estep & Bruce, 1981; Thornhill, 1999). The former argument against this work is dubious, as it relies on semantics that essentially boil down to an assertion that we cannot truly understand why animals do certain things. The latter is an accusation that those who research rape as a biological phenomenon are motivated, at least partly, by a desire to excuse or justify rape as a biological imperative rather than a conscious choice. Accordingly, researchers studying rape in the animal kingdom acknowledge only a tacit connection between their findings and rape in humans (Palmer, 1989; Thornhill, 1999). Whether these acts in other species can truly be classed as rape or not, it can at least be said that such

behavior involves forced penetration (and reproduction) or sexual coercion of some form (a category that would include rape in humans). Thus, even if not directly comparable, some parallels can be drawn between animal and human behaviors in the context of biology, attractiveness, and sexual violence.

With regard to biological research on rape in humans, there appears to be evidence of a potentially adaptive origin of rape in humans, suggesting rape is a possible means of securing ideal genetic procreation (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000). Such a conclusion would logically align with the findings that women of peak fertility received the highest ratings of attractiveness and that young (and arguably attractive) individuals are the most targeted for rape (Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012; Palmer, 1989; Thornhill, 1999; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005). To reiterate, this argument does *not* excuse or justify the act of rape among humans as a form of biological determinism. Human beings have a complex psychosociocultural network of norms and folkways that inherently differentiate how we adjudge the act of rape within our species. The argument that this perspective *is* making is that there may be innate biological urges or triggers that make someone more prone to be tempted to commit the act of rape under the "right" circumstances. This argument can be made without discounting an offender's rational choice to engage or not engage in such violative behavior. Being *prone* to the temptation of rape does not mean that one *must* rape or that a perpetrator "just can't help themselves."

From the perspective of Routine Activities Theory (RAT) (Cohen & Felson, 1979), the biological perspective can potentially explain an offender's motivation to commit a sexual offense (at least in part) but not why they choose to. Even if the biological perspective has the potential to clarify some of the motivation behind sexual violence, what it does not totally

explain is why some individuals are chosen for victimization over others, especially when chosen victims may be less biologically "ideal" than some who were not targeted. One potential explanation for this difference lies in research on vulnerability cues, opportunism, and satisficing.

Vulnerability cues can be highly varied, but at their core, they are characteristics of individuals that signal to potential offenders that someone would be susceptible to victimization. One example is an individual's susceptibility to verbal or drug-induced coercion (Armstrong et al., 2006; Carvalho & Sá, 2020). Armstrong et al. (2006) provide vivid examples of these coercive vulnerability cues in their discussion of college party rape. In their study, members of the college party scene described how some people at parties (mostly men) would target other individuals (mostly women) whom they could most easily manipulate – whether through verbal means or the lowering of inhibitions through some form of intoxication – into sexual encounters that were consensually ambiguous at best and clear cases of sexual violence at worst. Armstrong et al. (2006) found evidence that these risk cues in individuals make them vulnerable to being manipulated into sexual encounters with minimal physical force and are what potential predators specifically look for when seeking sex.

More recent research has examined individuals' walking patterns and gait as producing their own vulnerability cues (Blaskovits & Bennell, 2019; Book et al., 2013; Ritchie et al., 2019). This research suggests that even one of the most basic elements of human physiology, walking, indicates the ease with which a potential perpetrator may victimize us. Together, vulnerability cues such as those identified here help explain why some victims may be selected over others despite motivational factors. Other vulnerability cues more explicitly tied to RAT provide additional evidence. Capable Guardianship (or lack thereof) inherently suggests that well-

protected subjects will be less likely to be chosen as targets over others. Such a concept functions in tandem with vulnerability cues to effectively explain differences in target selection. What this does not explain on its own is why some more vulnerable targets are selected when they do not meet the motivational ideal of an offender. Vulnerability can undoubtedly be argued to be a powerful determinant, but following RAT, it is ultimately meaningless if the target is unsuitable for a potential offender (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

This kind of calculated, rational choice seems to reflect the concept of "satisficing," initially postulated by the economist Simon (1955). In a basic sense, satisficing holds that while an individual seeks to maximize their rewards, this maximization can only go so far before continuing becomes impractical or impossible or before negative consequences accumulate and become too severe. Instead, individuals strive for maximum reward but settle with something "good enough" once an acceptable level is met (Schwartz et al., 2002; Simon, 1955). To put it bluntly, a rapist's target may not be optimal or ideal. However, if they are more vulnerable and carry less legal or social retribution risk, the victim may be seen as "close enough" to the perpetrator's ideal. It is indubitable that a rapist on the prowl would find it difficult to assault a woman whose sexual attractiveness matches their paradigm of beauty if close and capable companions surrounded her.

Alternatively, what if said rapist was searching for a target and also came across an unprotected woman who met *enough* of his desires and preferences? He would likely choose the more available target, who is at least satisfactory, over the ideal, which is nigh impossible to obtain. In this way, satisficing can bridge explanatory gaps left by various motivational and target selection explanations. It accounts for the contextual factors that undergird offender decision-making outcomes.

The Felsonian Argument

   Arguments about human biology, opportunism, vulnerability, and how they relate to sexual violence all ultimately influenced one of the most prominent and controversial oppositions to hardline Feminist theory, that of Richard Felson. In his book *Violence and Gender Reexamined*, Felson (2002) first addressed violence in general. He asked if men are the most common victims of violence, what then is different about violence against women? Felson (2002) concluded that all violence was, essentially, instrumental and that there was a similar motivational purpose regardless of the gender of the victim. A prime example of this position is the provocative title of one of Felson's other works, *Is violence against women about women or about violence?* (Felson, 2006). The answer, Felson (2006) argues, is that it is primarily about violence, and a victim being female is secondary and mostly irrelevant. This perspective on gendered violence ultimately led to the issue of sexual violence, of which women make up the vast majority of victims (to the best of our knowledge) by Felson's (2002) own admission. Where the Feminist perspective would argue that women make up the majority of victims of sexual violence due to patriarchal oppression and sexist encouragement of targeting women, Felson provided an explanation rooted in the aforementioned arguments on psychobiology, opportunism, and vulnerability.

   Across his research, Felson argues that sexual violence is motivated almost exclusively by sexual desire on the part of the perpetrator and, thus, is motivated by sex rather than sexism (Felson, 2002; Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012). To answer the lingering questions of why males make up the majority of perpetrators and women the majority of victims, Felson (2002) resorts to elements of the biological perspective. Specifically, he argues that men have both a greater desire for sexual gratification at a biochemical level and that they have a greater

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ability to perpetrate because they are (generally) physically stronger than women, which Felson uses to explain why males are the primary perpetrators of violence in general. Instead of men sexually victimizing women because society encourages it, Felson (2002) argues that society *protects* women from sexual violation through notions like chivalry. Interestingly, this argument is reminiscent of Brownmiller (2013), who claimed that patriarchal society's use of women's sexed bodies as capital is what leads to punishment for sexual violations of women. Furthermore, it echoes the earlier statement from Paglia (1990a) regarding society acting as a protective force for women.

According to Felson (2002), male-on-female sexual violence can be explained by a biological drive for reproduction, with some men having less control over this drive than others. Society then imposes obstacles through both social shaming (informal social control) and the law (formal social control) to prevent men from acting on sexual impulses. Felson and Cundiff (2014) contend that this is why victims of sexual violence tend to be young. This argument coincides with biological research that finds that women with higher attractiveness ratings are generally the most reproductively fertile and that younger females tend to be more fertile than older women (Tovée et al., 1999). To address target selection questions, Felson (2002) uses biological explanations in tandem with arguments associated with opportunism and vulnerability, a wedding of the two that was alluded to in the prior section. As Felson (2002) notes, males generally have greater physical strength than females, providing more opportunities to engage in violence successfully. Some males, however, may lack the physical ability to victimize a woman successfully, or their setting (such as a social gathering) may not be conducive to explicit force. In these cases, opportunity can emerge through means typically associated with "date rape" or "party rape" (Armstrong et al., 2006). Here, "date" and "party" rape typically refer to non-

consensual sexual encounters where the perpetrator uses something other than physical force to complete the rape. Predatory males who lack superior physicality or who cannot use it in their current circumstances can use social coercion or intoxication tactics to make a female target more pliable to sexual advances, thus creating opportunity and vulnerability. Such tactics bypass the ethical and legal obligation to obtain consent. However, they are often subtle enough that minimal suspicion or intervention is aroused from others (Armstrong et al., 2006).

What is important to remember here is that, from Felson's (2002) perspective, even when predatory men lack one means of obtaining gratification through sexual violence, *the desire is still present*. Felson et al. (2012) emphasized this by analyzing male-on-male prison rape. They found that, despite often being the most physically fit and the most difficult to rape successfully, young males tended to be the primary target for prison rapists. Felson et al. (2012) contend that such occurrences suggest that opportunity is not the sole driving factor in target selection for sexual violence. Instead, there must be something inherently appealing about younger (in this case, male) bodies. Felson et al. (2012) argue that what stands out about young bodies is that they tend to be seen as more physically attractive. This physical attractiveness argument then plays into Felson's (2002) and Felson and Cundiff's (2014) overarching argument that sexual violence is motivated primarily by sexual desire.

Felson's position across his work on sexual violence is not so much a novel theoretical proposal as it is a revival of the pre-Feminist perspectives holding sex itself as the primary motivational factor in sexual violence. In fact, the core of Felson's perspective is fairly indistinguishable from that of pre-Feminist scholarship (Amir, 1971; Gebhard et al., 1965; Kanin & Parcell, 1977; Kanin, 1984; LeVine, 1959; all as cited by Malamuth et al., 1997). His perspective stands apart and finds its unique foothold in his couching of it in modern, empirical,

interdisciplinary research. His perspective is not so much new as it is more nuanced and empirically supported than decades prior. In this sense, Felson's collective work runs parallel to Feminist scholars like McPhail (2015) in its revitalization of older perspectives while retaining their original concepts.

It can be argued that Felson's stance on sexual violence is questionable, and I see several weaknesses in his conclusions. His position presents one angle, in this case, sexual desire, as the first and foremost motivation. With this stance, all other factors become not just secondary but arbitrary accouterments to the primary explanation rather than significant factors in their own right. Felson's arguments are not entirely new to scientific study but are new to criminology. His ideas have been (to an extent) studied empirically in other human sciences like biology and psychology for decades. What Felson is doing is challenging the domination of Feminist explanations for sexual violence within the field of criminology. The aforementioned work from other disciplines does not often consider the social sciences, and the inverse is also true. Felson's work is one of the primary reasons the present discussion exists in the first place. He raised an important point that there is evidence that has been ignored in criminology regarding the motivation of sexual violence and which the Feminist perspective has actively rejected. The problem is that Felson (2002) identified this gap in Feminist theory, and instead of focusing on the gap itself, he used it as an argument *against* Feminist explanations for sexual violence. Rather than establishing an exploration into the potential for nuance and variability in explaining sexual violence, the discussion became a fierce debate between two aggressive theoretical camps. One review of Felson's book, for example, states,

Again, he blames the victim, asking how a man is to know that he is being coercive when "sometimes women resist when they are actually interested in sexual activity" and

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"victims may change their minds during the incident and participate fully once resistance

becomes futile." This brings to mind the question, "What part of NO do you not

understand?" (Robinson, 2003)

Sexual violence is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, and like any other

phenomenon related to human behavior, an explanation for its motivations is likely just as

multifaceted. The vitriol with which these two camps have combatted each other has often

prevented a more sober approach that tries to investigate whether or not there is a middle ground.

Identifying Overlap and Gaps

Like the Feminist perspective, Felson suggests that his explanation is the definitive one

regarding sexual violence. In this way, neither is that far removed from many other

criminological approaches that tend to hold one explanation as universally applicable. From

these perspectives, other explanations are considered incomplete or subsumed under a proposed

explanation's umbrella[2]. Though this kind of theoretical argument is not new, it contradicts the

commonly held social science principle that explanations for human behavior are highly

complex. The notion that a single, overarching cause dominates the variance of a specific kind of

behavior in every circumstance runs counter to such an assumption. Therefore, it is more likely

that behaviors like sexual violence may feature multiple causes. Both the Feminist and Felsonian

perspectives acknowledge concepts that seem to contradict their perspectives. However, they

typically dismiss these as outliers or integrate them into their perspective (even when doing so

may introduce inconsistencies). I argue that these apparent exceptions should be considered

significant enough to warrant their investigation and subsequent re-theorizing.

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[2] See Agnew (2005) and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) for examples of both regarding their approaches to "General Theory."

The idea that multiple motivations may be implicated in the perpetration of sexual violence is not without evidence, though it has not received much attention. For example, even if they interpreted their results through a primarily Feminist lens, Scully and Marolla (1985), in their seminal *Riding the bull at Gilley's* study, present data that seems suggestive of multiple motivational factors that do not fit neatly within the Feminist perspective. Scully and Marolla (1985) separated rapes into multiple categories based on their type. Some of these categories can easily be tied to traditional Feminist explanations regarding notions of male dominion over women, like rape as "Revenge and Punishment" or "Impersonal Sex and Power" (Scully & Marolla, 1985, pgs. 255, 259). Others like "Sexual Access" and "Feeling Good" (Scully & Marolla, 1985, pgs. 257, 260) are not so clearly related. Scully and Marolla (1985) explain that rape types like these are still fueled by a society that is permissive of or encourages rape. This conclusion, however, does not really explain the crime's motivation.

Even though the research duo acknowledged the sexual component of rape in their earlier quotation, they do not give the sexual aspect much credence in the assessment of motivation or target selection. Again, in her earlier statement, Scully (1994) clearly claims that a woman's appearance or behavior does not contribute to her selection for victimization. The fact remains that Scully and Marolla (1985) felt these categories were significant enough to merit mention but not thorough exploration, as they fit less snugly into their Feminist interpretation. I would argue that their very inclusion makes these exceptions noteworthy enough to warrant further exploration. It seems shortsighted to dismiss the importance of attraction and sexual desire when clear categories oriented around sexual gratification have been identified.

The philosophical principle of Occam's Razor holds that when faced with two explanations for a phenomenon, the simpler one is the more logical choice or at least the

preferable one. When examining rape as Sexual Access or Feeling Good, this principle would suggest that the primary motivation and goal of these sexually violent encounters would indeed be sexual gratification. In Scully and Marolla's (1985) motivational category of Sexual Access, for example, someone wants to have sex with another but cannot for whatever reason, so instead, they choose to force it rather than not experiencing it at all. The Feeling Good motivational category is even more explicit in this regard. The rapists in this grouping very clearly pursue the physical pleasures of sex from rape. Scully and Marolla (1985) could very well be correct that patriarchal social structures make sexual violence a legitimate option in the eyes of rapists. However, this again does not explain *why* someone rapes, just why they think they can.

Additionally, just because the patriarchal social structure exists does not mean sexual gratification does not exist simultaneously. Essentially, Scully and Marolla's (1985) arguments suggest that the motivations for rape evolve out of the same basic patriarchal principles of "right" to sexual access and women as a biological commodity. The level of complexity of an argument for motivation does not, however, determine its validity. More straightforward explanations like Felson's may hold greater explanatory power either on their own or in concert with the Feminist perspective.

This argument does *not* require one to abandon the Feminist perspective completely. In fact, I would argue that rape motivated by a mere desire for pleasure is far more insidiously sexist than some complex cultural goal of maintaining male dominion over females. Put another way, it is misogynistic for a man to commit what is seen as the ultimate violation of a woman's human and bodily rights (arguably traumatizing and mentally scarring her for life) for no more reason than because he wants pleasure. Though it is objectionable no matter the reasoning, this

kind of motivation for sexual violence could be seen as more base than some grand design of social oppression.

This position is not as divorced from the core Feminist perspective as one might assume. As discussed earlier, Feminist discourse tends to affirm the argument that there is a patriarchal desire for males to control female bodies. To reiterate, the Feminist argument is that women are treated as commodities and that men have ownership over them in terms of both behavior and sexual activity. Under the Feminist assumption, males indeed would feel as though they had a kind of "right" of sexual access to females. Where Feminists distinguish themselves from their critics is that they deny that this desire for control is a biological imperative or that it even has biological origins. Instead of being driven by overwhelming biological drives for reproduction or pleasure, they argue that it is a desire for social control and supremacy that leads men to engage in sexual control of, and violence towards, women.

The Feminist explanation that rape is seen as an option for men because the "patriarchy" has taught them that it is continues to hold water and has never been seriously challenged. As such, it can easily be added to other motivational arguments (along with discussions of opportunism perspectives). Felson's (2002) arguments for sexual motivation and attractiveness factors in sexual violence are also backed by research from psychobiology and opportunism-oriented work (Blaskovits & Bennell, 2019; Book et al., 2013; Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012; Palmer, 1989; Ritchie et al., 2019; Schwartz et al., 2002; Simon, 1955; Thornhill, 1999; Tovée & Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005). However, Felson's broader arguments that his self-described instrumental aggression explanations are the primary or only causal factors in motivation and target selection for sexual violence would appear to remain unsubstantiated. Indeed, research *does* back Felson's arguments that these

factors matter. However, the more dramatic claim that his perspective solely explains sexual violence – and that even if there are other factors, they are insignificant – does not appear to be supported by the evidence.

It is important to note that, as with the Feminist perspective, Felson (2002) acknowledged apparent exceptions and contradictions to his viewpoint and used similar tactics of dismissal and subsumption to counter them. The best examples are found in his discussions of "chivalry" and social norms regarding women and violence (Felson, 2002, pp. 67-82). When addressing the Feminist argument that a patriarchal society encourages and supports violence against women, Felson (2002) states,

> I present evidence for the opposite point of view in this chapter. I suggest that violence against women is not only deviant behavior, but that it is perceived as much worse than violence against men. (Felson, 2002, p. 67)

This statement is where Felson (2002) begins his discussion of chivalry and social norms. He essentially agrees with Feminist scholars like Brownmiller (2013) that the patriarchy creates systems that naturally lead to the criminalization of harm against women. However, similar to Paglia (1990a), he argues that women are *more* protected from harm rather than less, and society does not encourage such harm (Felson, 2002, pp. 69-70). Felson agrees with Feminist scholars that violence against women is high in countries like the United States. However, he disagrees regarding what that means for the debate over motivation and cause, stating, "the fact that a behavior is common does not indicate that people approve of it" (Felson, 2002, p. 70). Essentially, Felson (2002) acknowledges the apparent exceptions to his arguments that Feminist scholars would identify but reworks them in his favor with varying degrees of persuasiveness. One of the most blatant examples of Felson's (2002) reconfiguration of "outliers" to support his

position is evident in his discussion of "double standards" regarding sexuality and the treatment

of men and women,

> It may be an important normative pattern, because according to some scholars, the double
>
> standard affects the prosecution of rape… Given that it is an exception to our tendency to
>
> punish men more severely, it seems unlikely to be attributable to some form of prejudice
>
> against women. Why would there be a double standard favoring men in regard to
>
> promiscuity and a double standard favoring women in regard to other types of deviance?
>
> Other explanations seem more likely. (Felson, 2002, p. 74)

Felson (2002) follows this by presenting several proposed explanations from fields like

evolutionary psychology and anthropology but then points out flaws in these as well. He then

dismantles them without settling on a definitive explanation himself. Though Felson (2002)

likely did not intend to provide evidence *against* a more unilateral explanation of violence in

general (and sexual violence in particular), his acknowledgment that other explanations also fall

short in some regard (typically in terms of generalizability) inherently confirms the possibility of

multiple causal factors across settings.

Similar research to that of Felson has been conducted using the Finnish Youth Survey

(Savolainen et al., 2020), which (in part) looked at the effects of physical attractiveness on sexual

victimization. However, a few aspects of this study make it less relevant to the current

discussion. The participants in this study were between the ages of 14 and 16 and included both

males and females. Physical attractiveness was self-rated by participants based on four items

providing statements to which they would indicate various levels of agreement (on a four-point

scale). These items include, "people often say that I'm good-looking," "when I'm out and about,

people 'check-me out' or admire my looks," "I get the sense plenty of people would like to ask

me out for a date," and "sometimes I feel that people resent me for my good looks" (Savolainen et al., 2020, p. 3). The researchers then dichotomized the results, and anyone scoring ten out of twelve possible points or above was categorized as "very attractive" and compared to everyone else (Savolainen et al., 2020, p. 4). As for the outcome of sexual victimization, the study employed a measure of child sexual abuse, which indicated "whether the respondent has any sexual contact, between the ages of 12-16, with adults or persons who were at least five years older than him/her" (Savolainen et al., 2020, p. 3). Savolainen et al. (2020) found that higher attractiveness was both directly and indirectly related to self-reporting child sexual abuse victimization.

There are many aspects of Savolainen et al.'s (2020) study, however, which render it less confirmatory of Felson's hypotheses than the authors would claim. For one, the authors operated under the hypothesis that physical attractiveness would be related to increased sexual victimization because attractive people are more likely to participate in social events where propinquity to sexual predators is increased. This increased presence in high-risk situations would result in more vulnerability per Lifestyle Exposure Theory (Hindelang et al., 1978). Such an approach is not the same as trying to determine whether physical attractiveness affects sexual victimization because it inherently makes someone a more suitable target. The operationalization of measures throughout is questionable, such as relying on self-ratings of attractiveness assumed from arguably vague items related to how participants perceive that others perceive them. This issue is further compounded by the uneven dichotomization of physical attractiveness, isolating those who scored ten out of twelve or above from everyone else and comparing the two groups.

Furthermore, the outcome measure is questionable, as it focuses solely on child sexual abuse (occurring in a limited age range) where the victimizer was either an adult or five years

older than the participant at the time of victimization. Though this may be noteworthy on its own, using this measure to operationalize a general "sexual victimization" outcome is not the most apt approach. This outcome measure, coupled with the narrow age range of participants, does not provide much in the way of generalizability.

Other studies adjacent to the present discussion concern physical attractiveness and sexual harassment. Petersen and Hyde (2009) examined sexual harassment among youth in 5th, 7th, and 9th grade. They had trained research assistants rate the attractiveness of participants and then analyzed these in conjunction with nine different behaviors constituting sexual harassment (alongside other items of interest). They ultimately found mixed support for the idea that physical attractiveness ratings were related to sexual harassment. Seventh-grade girls rated as more physically attractive were more likely to report sexual harassment, but this effect was not present in the other grades. Additionally, having research assistants rate the attractiveness of children and expecting this to represent how those children interact with and perceive each other is questionable. These findings, therefore, do not indicate much, if anything, about physical attractiveness in sexual harassment, particularly for adults.

Similarly, Cunningham et al. (2010) examined self-perception of physical attractiveness and sexual bullying victimization and perpetration among middle school students. The researchers employed the Comprehensive Assessment of School Bullying, which included a self-rating of physical attractiveness (compared to peers) and four items assessing victimization, perpetration, and general involvement in sexual bullying. They found that those who perceived themselves as more physically attractive reported being a victim, perpetrator, and observer of sexual bullying more than others, as well as having more friends who sexually bully others (Cunningham et al., 2010). Interestingly, males who rated themselves as less physically attractive

were also more likely to report being sexually bullied. Though some of the mentioned issues limit this study, it still provides interesting findings that are at least somewhat related to the present discussion.

None of the literature mentioned thus far provides conclusive evidence of a multivariate structure of motivation for sexual violence. Examining this literature, however, leads one to the logical interpretation that, although inconclusive, there is more to motivation and target selection in sexual violence than either Felson or the Feminists would contend. Malamuth et al. (1997) argue a variation of this stance. Their work stands as one of the most significant attempts to date to bridge the gap between notions of sex as a primary motivating factor in sexual violence and those that identify dominion through power and control. While this work may predate Felson's (2002) approach to more classical notions of sexual violence, Malamuth et al. (1997) acknowledged a more classical/biological approach alongside Feminist theory. This merging of perspectives led to what they dubbed the Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression.

Within this model, Malamuth et al. (1997) identified two primary motivational categories within which they could group all the factors they identified in their data. These include "hostile masculinity" (Feminist) and "impersonal sexual orientation" (pre-Felsonian) (Malamuth et al., 1997, p. 13). Using a national data sample, the researchers analyzed several key factors that they associated with these two categories and which they argued worked in tandem to predict sexual aggression. This work stands as a landmark advancement in the study of motivational factors in sexual violence, but it is not without flaws. For one, though it acknowledges multiple motivational factors, it is ultimately limited in that these factors are restricted into two distinct categories representing the Feminist and classical perspectives while not considering potential factors that might not fit either. Malamuth et al. (1997) acknowledge that their model is flawed

as it does not directly identify whether sexual aggression is always a result of both of these categories or if some cases are motivationally characterized by only one or the other.

Malamuth and colleagues have continued to expand on and develop the Confluence Model. Recently (Malamuth et al., 2021), they tested an expanded version of this model that included four key pillars. These consist of general risk factors associated with antisocial behavior, risk factors associated with aggression against women, secondary risk factors, and their original model's two primary motivation categories as the final pillar. All these elements were measured via an extensive questionnaire, finding that the integrated model accounted for an impressive 49% of the variance associated with sexual violence perpetration. It should be noted, however, that their outcome measure of sexual violence included three subcategories: Noncontact Sexual Offenses (Sexting, nonconsensual exposure and masturbation in front of others, etc.), Contact Sexual Coercion (manipulative behavior not involving force, reminiscent of Basile's [1999] concept of rape by acquiescence), and Contact Sexual Aggression (taking advantage of an intoxicated person, using physical force to restrain a person).

There is an argument to be made that these subcategories are comprised of unique kinds of sexually violative behavior. It would, therefore, be erroneous to group them all under the same category of sexual violence. Grouping them does not allow us to parse out the unique ways these different kinds of sexually violative behaviors present themselves or are affected by various motivational factors. Furthermore, I would argue that establishing all three of these subcategories as forms of sexual "violence" is misleading and could result in misunderstandings about the prevalence and nature of rape and sexual assault. That being said, accounting for 49% of the variance in sexually violative behavior is significant, as is their finding that the data supported all four pillars. However, this explained variance is just under half of the total. To put it bluntly, a

significant amount of variance remains unexplained. This finding indicates that the Confluence Model, while an improvement, is not comprehensive.

Toates et al. (2017) similarly argue that the evidence would suggest that it is not solely the pursuit of sexual pleasure or dominance that motivates sexual violence but a combination of the two. These researchers summarize several facets of the Feminist, Biological, and Felsonian perspectives, arguing that there are empirical reasons to consider all of them as identifying potential motivational factors. Though Toates et al.'s (2017) conclusions are arguably based on circumstantial evidence (e.g., making logical but indirect connections between variables), I reach the same conclusions as have they and others like Malamuth and colleagues. It makes more scientific sense to consider all the primary explanations that have been proposed, even if they currently rely on indirect evidence connecting some of the findings to sexual violence. Therefore, it leads one to conclude that the field should focus on empirically testing these various perspectives directly rather than deriving causality through the examination of indirect drivers of the motivation to perpetrate sexual violence.

In the same vein of this multivariate approach, Beauregard et al. (2007b) provided relevant work on repeat sex offenders. They identified seven factors that drove the target selection process for these offenders. Consistent with research on sexual violence and opportunism, they found that "location and availability of the victim" (Beauregard et al., 2007b, p. 454) was the most important factor driving target selection. However, the second most important factor was a victim's "general physical appearance" (Beauregard et al., 2007b, p. 454). It should be noted that the authors separated general physical appearance from sexual appearance. Sexual appearance (as a driver of targeting) included breast size and the presence of pubic hair, among other sexual characteristics, and only a minority (7%) of the participants

identified it as an important factor. The other key factors were victim vulnerability, age, personality, and behavior (Beauregard et al., 2007b). Their findings indicate variability in target selection and motivation across these factors. Though not explicitly identified as such by Beauregard et al. (2007b), factors like general physical appearance and personality (along with the small but significant sexual appearance aspect) imply a motivation rooted in seeking pleasure, i.e., a sexual motivation. Such an interpretation does not exclude the application of the Feminist perspective. For example, the behavior element, which included exhibitionism and "talking dirty" (Beauregard et al., 2007b, p. 455), could easily be seen as justifications or excuses for sexual violence in the vein of victim blaming or neutralization (Sykes & Matza, 1957). In the same way that clothing choices reflect the appraisal of general physical appearance, these can be used to claim a victim was "asking for it." This interpretation fits nicely into the Feminist lens of a patriarchal society legitimizing sexual violence while also abutting more Felsonian explanations rooted in notions of sexual desire. However, this is mere speculation based on what Beauregard et al. (2007b) reported.

Beauregard and colleagues have continued to use their dataset to examine other facets of sexual offending. In the same year as the prior study, Beauregard et al. (2007a) examined the "scripts" of these rapists, identifying different patterns in the actual commission of their crimes (including tactics, *modus operandi*, etc.). Harbers et al. (2012) further expanded on this work, applying what they dubbed a "signature approach" to their analysis (i.e., idiosyncratic facets of decision-making unique to individual sexual predators). Interestingly, they found that the longer a rapist's "series" (the total offenses committed by an individual), the more consistent their behavior became during their rape offenses. Hewitt and Beauregard (2017) used the data to examine how offenders moved across space during rape perpetration, finding that the locations in

which rapists move their victims can be indicative of the type of sexual violence and amount of force they employed.

Perhaps most relevant to the current discussion, Reid et al. (2014) took a multimotivational approach, identifying two primary motivation categories: Anger/Aggression and Sexual motivations. The authors determined the cases they examined involved various combinations of these two factors and categorized them. For example, High Sex/Low-Anger was classed as "Sexually Fixated," while High-Anger/Low Sex was labeled "Vindictive" (Reid et al., 2014, p. 209). These categories were determined by examining different emotional, cognitive, and behavioral indicators, with high reported explained variance in each, indicating that their categories had a valid empirical basis. Such categories suggest that, despite variability at the individual level, it still appears possible to group perpetrators of sexual violence into different empirical categories.

Though the focus on motivations revolving around sex and general aggression can be seen as affirming Felson's (2002) conclusions, it also indicates that motivation involves a complex combination of different factors to varying degrees. Such an interpretation also leaves room for the possibility of other motivational elements factoring into the decision-making process of perpetrators. In short, while significant, Reid et al.'s (2014) work still leaves the question of whether there is more to motivation yet to be identified. Beauregard and colleagues' studies using serial sex offender data indicate that the data contains a good deal of empirically rich subject matter, and it seems likely that there may be even more in the data regarding the perpetration of sexual violence generally and motivation specifically. Such a conclusion could indicate that the answers to some of the questions presented herein might be found in data

already collected. For now, though, we can only go by the research already conducted using such data.

Based on the examples given, we cannot determine which of the perspectives at the heart of this dissertation — Feminist or Felsonian — offers a definitive, accurate explanation of the motivation for sexual predation. Because these two perspectives are oppositional in nature, we also do not know the extent to which sexual violence is subject to multivariate influences and, if so, how significant they would be. The extant literature applicable to these two perspectives is capable of producing little more than speculation on the causal nature of their constituent concepts vis-à-vis motivation to commit sexual violence. That is, the research indirectly suggests support using admittedly logical arguments and data that indicate *something* or the potential for something but not explicit evidence. The preconceptions of these dominant camps have led the field to continually reify existing explanations even when they are based on indirect rather than direct empirical data and even when they test endogenous rather than exogenous outcomes. It could very well be that the data required to reach a new understanding of sexual violence has already been collected, and the trick may be to look at said data with a new lens. It could also be that, due to a lack of data collection intended to fill these explanatory gaps, such explanations are not yet possible. And finally, it may be that research designs have not been formulated to differentiate the efficacy of one perspective versus the other. Clearly, these two perspectives coexist and oppose one another indirectly, but they have yet to be pitted against one another to determine whether one perspective is more parsimonious and accurate than the other.

Indirect Evidence: Attempts at Reducing Sexual Violence

Beyond theoretical arguments, there is also evidence in the research evaluating sexual violence prevention programs that our understanding of sexual violence is incomplete. Simply

put, there is limited evidence for the effectiveness of the vast majority of sexual violence

perpetration prevention programs used across the United States (DeGue et al., 2014; Schneider &

Hirsch, 2020). DeGue et al.'s (2014) systematic review of one hundred and forty outcome

evaluations found that a measly three of the perpetration prevention strategies assessed had

"demonstrated significant effects on sexually violent behavior in a rigorous outcome evaluation"

(DeGue et al., 2014, p. 346). Moreover, DeGue et al. (2014) found that most sexual assault

prevention programs are predicated on one-time information sessions. These sessions often last

mere hours, if that long, and *none* showed clear evidence of effectiveness. The three programs

that *did* have evidence of effectiveness had varying results in terms of effect size, with outcomes

ranging from more dramatic to arguably small effects (Boba & Lilley, 2009; Foshee et al., 1998;

Foshee et al., 2004; Foshee et al., 2005; Taylor et al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2013). These successful

programs, while the exception, were characterized by extensive, in-depth, and varied approaches

to preventing sexual violence while still being only generally couched in concepts and theories

rooted in a Feminist perspective. Interestingly, two of these successful programs, *Safe Dates*

(Foshee et al., 1998; Foshee et al., 2004; Foshee et al., 2005) and *Shifting Boundaries* (Taylor et

al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2013), were aimed at minors and not adults.

While program evaluation and assessment are not the focus or purpose of the present

writing, one could argue that the efficacy of programs grounded in Feminist concepts would

serve as indirect support for or against the theoretical perspectives behind them. In other words,

the extent to which a program's success is grounded in a Feminist (or any other) perspective says

something about the perspective itself. There is no substantial evidence to support the vast

majority of sexual violence perpetration prevention programs, indirectly calling into question

Feminist explanations for sexual violence. This conclusion has remained steadfast since DeGue

et al.'s (2014) original review (Schneider & Hirsch, 2020). Though it cannot be stated definitively that *none* of these other programs work, the lack of clear evidence is at least suggestive that a large swath does not.

There may be some validity to the Feminist-oriented theory that serves as the foundation for many of these programs. However, a more straightforward interpretation of this lack of clear effectiveness across the board is that said foundation is not conceptually valid as a basis for understanding the motivation to commit sexual violence. It seems more likely that, like many other forms of criminality and antisocial behavior, sexual violence is an incredibly multifaceted issue with various motivational and causal factors at play. The fact remains that no matter how effective any of these programs may be, none of them completely eliminate sexual violence.

If the current effective programs only reduce sexual violence by a fraction, no matter how large or small, that suggests that our understanding of sexual violence is limited. What is needed, then, is research that expands the number of potential motivations, causes, and reasons for motivation within target selection in sexual violence perpetration. Though it is uncertain how much is explained by the Feminist perspective, it would seem important to determine that portion of the variance explainable by Felson's perspective, given that the two outlooks are in opposition to one another. Relatedly, other work, like that of Beauregard et al. (2007b) and the program evaluation work mentioned previously, discredits a more rigid and dogmatic approach to either the Feminist or Felsonian view. There appear to be more factors at play regarding sexual violence than has been acknowledged up to this point.

We can see these limitations in the prevention literature when we look more specifically at consent education programs. Notions of multiple motivational factors are what prevention efforts rooted in sexual consent education are arguably predicated on, even if they do not fully

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realize such a perspective. Feminist orientations undoubtedly inspired consent education but seem to unintentionally acknowledge a more multifaceted view of sexual violence. Consent education seeks to remedy the lack of education on (or, more aptly, *mis*education on) the ethical and proper ways for men to engage in sexual encounters with women. The goal is typically to educate men on how they should obtain consent and inform women of their right to refuse and only give consent when they genuinely want to, as well as how to provide explicit affirmative consent (Beres, 2020; Harris, 2018; Ortiz & Shafer, 2018). In short, consent education aims to educate individuals on how to seek and identify genuine consent and how to give consent and demand adherence to it, which is reminiscent of Feminist ideas of empowerment. To an extent, this approach assumes that men and women are unaware of the parameters of consensual sex due to patriarchal influence on sex education both in the home and in settings like schools (Beres, 2020; Harris, 2018; Ortiz & Shafer, 2018). Also, Harris (2018) makes a compelling case that discourse around consent education and the nature of communication in sexual situations is devoid of any scientific basis and that it makes assumptions not supported in the research on interpersonal communication.

Relying on the Feminist perspective, consent education attempts to combat false perceptions, as do programs aimed at dispelling rape myths (Beres, 2020; Burt, 1980; Harris, 2018; Ortiz & Shafer, 2018; Reling et al., 2018). That said, such interventions assume that if everyone understood consent, sexual violence would end, and this is obviously not the case. In their work interviewing various educators and activists advocating for consent-based sexual violence prevention education, Beres (2020) reached a similar conclusion, stating, "if this were the case, then consent education would only prevent sexual violence that was caused by people who were naïve to the communication of consent" (Beres, 2020, p. 227). As such, it could be

argued that consent education indirectly supports a multi-motivational perspective on sexual violence.

The Feminist influence is evident in the concept of patriarchal miseducation, but the idea that obtaining consent to ensure a sexual encounter is voluntary clearly acknowledges a sexual nature to the issue. The underlying implication is that many rapes occur almost accidentally due to individuals (namely men) lacking awareness of genuine consent. Following this logic, if these instances of sexual violence are unintentional (albeit fueled by ignorance), then the goal of said encounters is not feasibly linked to obtaining male dominion over females but to the desire for sex. To control a woman and obtain power over her would suggest a degree of force and domination. This is inconsistent with the notion of asking permission during a sexual encounter and accepting when that permission is denied. If domination was the sole or even primary motivation for these ambiguous sexual encounters, then surely the victim's permission is irrelevant to a perpetrator.

Beres (2020) further expresses that even advocates for consent-based education acknowledge that it alone would not be enough to quash sexual violence and that several prevention and intervention programs must be used in combination. This argument identifies a notable gap in the Feminist explanations for sexual violence: it does not consider other theoretical perspectives with any true conviction. This conclusion does not suggest that the Feminist perspective is somehow wrong and that male dominion is irrelevant to the discussion. Instead, it indicates that sexual violence is a multifaceted issue and that serious consideration of other perspectives is essential if we are to do our best to combat it.

Although prevention efforts are dominated by Feminist scholarship, it should be noted that there have been some (albeit rare) prevention initiatives rooted in more biological

perspectives on sexual violence, which can be seen as an indirect reflection of Felson's (2002) arguments. Felson (2002) himself concludes as much (p. 154). The clearest example of this concerns the castration of sexual offenders. Castration aims to reduce sexual violence by damming the production of sex hormones through either surgically removing/destroying the male gonads (testes) or using chemicals to halt their function (Nacchia et al., 2023). Ignoring the ethical concerns of castration, the literature has traditionally concluded that castration does reduce the perpetration of sexual violence (Ford & Beach, 1951; Stürup, 1960; as cited in Felson, 2002). Despite showing some effectiveness, this work demonstrates that castration does not entirely prevent sex offenders from recidivating (indicating that the "lust" causal explanation is limited in explanatory power). Additionally, it has not seen much solid empirical evidence overall, especially in recent years (for several reasons often stemming from the aforementioned ethical concerns). Despite Felson's contentions, our information on castration as a prevention tactic, while intellectually suggestive, cannot be considered truly relevant to the present discussion.

The current slate of interventions to prevent or reduce sexual violence suggests that the Feminist arguments may be lacking in terms of explaining motivation in the perpetration of sexual violence. Alternatively, Felson's arguments over the years have been based more on conjecture and circumstantial evidence paired with logical argumentation. To further advance our understanding of this issue, we must first see if empirical evidence supports Felson's approach. If we stipulate that Felson's arguments have merit, we must then determine if an empirical approach would obviate the Feminist perspective on sexual violence or if it would support a model that encompasses both Feminism and Felson. The reality is that Felson has tended to make his arguments using assumptions based on adjacent rather than direct evidence.

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For example, Felson et al. (2012) found that younger individuals were more targeted for prison rape but concluded that this was due to increased attractiveness even though they did not have evidence that youthfulness was synonymous with attractiveness.

The core Feminist perspective is subject to the same kind of error, often assuming that interventions that reduce or attenuate sexist or negative views of women equate to a reduction in sexual violence without measuring sexual violence itself. In this sense, they assume sexism and misogyny as both outcomes and causes simultaneously in a model that seeks to connect feminist-oriented prevention content with a behavioral outcome (sexual assault) that remains unmeasured. Schneider and Hirsch (2020), for example, make clear that many sexual violence prevention efforts are either aimed at combatting these views and attitudes or measure them as the outcome of prevention efforts. In short, these programs often either don't target sexual violence itself or do not consider actual sexual violence when assessing their effectiveness. In a sense, these efforts are not focused on reducing violence but negative attitudes towards women. The problem is that misogynistic attitudes can lead to a variety of negative behaviors, of which sexual violence is but one. Schneider and Hirsch (2020) acknowledge that sexist/patriarchal attitudes are likely related to the behavior of sexual violence, but what is lacking is evidence of a direct, causal relationship between the two and confirmation that the relationship is exclusive.

These efforts assume that attitudinal measures are adjacent to sexual violence and that they, therefore, can prevent or predict it linearly. The problem is that the outcomes of these programs do not appear to support this fundamental assumption. They either do not find a reduction in sexual violence or do not even bother to measure sexual violence outcomes (Degue et al., 2014; Schneider & Hirsch, 2020). Again, this is not very different from how Felson has consistently crafted arguments favoring his perspective.

Such errors are common in social scientific research. The research on Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) is a prime example. D.A.R.E. programs aimed to reduce drug and alcohol use in children and focused on teaching kids about the dangers of substance use (often through hyperbole). The assumption was that strategically altering attitudes towards drug use would naturally cause a decrease in youth substance abuse behavior (Birkeland et al., 2005; Rosenbaum, 2007). Since its inception in the 1980s and its widespread enactment, research has consistently found that D.A.R.E. does not accomplish its goals because its assumptions are faulty and incomplete. D.A.R.E.'s popularity and "common sense" logic do not supplant empirical evidence. Its effects on attitudes toward substance abuse are irrelevant if it does not also reduce the actual behavior of youth substance abuse, which is the stated goal of the program (Birkeland et al., 2005; Rosenbaum, 2007).

The recent concept of "implicit bias" and the debate surrounding it are likely even more relevant to the present discussion. In short, implicit bias holds that humans "act on the basis of internalised schemas of which they are unaware and thus can, and often do, engage in discriminatory behaviours without conscious intent" (Pritlove et al., 2019, p. 502). As with Feminist approaches to reducing sexual violence, there is an assumption that internal perceptions lead directly to behavioral outcomes. The difference between the two is that sexual violence prevention tends to focus on explicit, conscious perceptions and biases. More recently, implicit bias has faced serious scrutiny regarding some of its foundational aspects and utility. For example, Pritlove et al. (2019) support the concept in and of itself but argue that focusing on it distracts from more explicit barriers to disadvantaged groups (specifically women).

From a more theoretical standpoint, Brownstein et al. (2020) signalize the fact that meta-analyses have revealed a lack of significant causal link between implicit bias and actual

behavior. However, they still argue that there is value in continuing to expand our knowledge of the subject. For the present discussion, the disconnect between implicit bias and actual behavior might explain the apparent ineffectiveness of the current slate of sexual violence prevention efforts. The initial assumption that misogynistic biases and perceptions are present across the populace may indeed be valid; the problem may just be that such attitudes do not lead to expected behavioral outcomes. It is not uncommon for initial theories and ideas in scientific research to make certain key assumptions that must be tested, verified, modified, or eliminated based on empirical evidence. The first step is to find ways to actually test these assumptions to determine the extent of their validity and then move forward from there.

What is left then is a need for empirical evidence that directly tests the assumptions of the two dominant perspectives: Feminism and Felson. Testing the assumptions of both simultaneously would likely be impossible at this stage. However, there is arguably a way to test Felson directly and Feminism indirectly from a quantitative standpoint. If a dataset were to contain measures of attractiveness along with sexual victimization, a statistical link (or lack thereof) could be established as evidence for or against either or both views. At the same time, though it would not be a direct test of the Feminist perspective, one would at least be testing the Feminist position that attractiveness does *not* significantly factor into victimization. Such analysis could answer some questions while likely producing more and could allow us to better our understanding of this phenomenon through empirical assessment. An existing dataset, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), can arguably accomplish this.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

The present analysis employed Wave IV of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health's (Add Health) Public Use dataset (Harris & Udry, 2022). Add Health is a longitudinal survey employing "a school-based clustering sample design" (Brezina et al., 2009, p. 1099), initially administered for 7th to 12th graders during the 1994-1995 school year (Harris & Udry, 2022). The interviews for Wave IV were completed in 2008 when respondents in the sample were 24-32 years old. The Wave IV data contains a wealth of information, including various sociodemographic, behavioral, relational, and environmental measures. Additionally, participants were asked myriad questions regarding their criminal activity (namely drug use) as well as some questions about victimization experiences (Harris & Udry, 2022). For these analyses I used the STATA 17.0 [MP-Parallel Edition] statistics program.

Specifically, I focused on the items pertaining to self-reported experience with Physical Forced Sex (PFS) victimization, Coerced Sex (CS) victimization, and the interviewers' ratings of each participant's physical attractiveness. This first outcome item is H4SE34, which asks participants, "Have you ever been physically forced to have any type of sexual activity against your will? Do not include any experiences with a parent or adult caregiver" (Harris & Udry, 2022). Participants could respond with a "Yes," "No," or "Don't know," and could also refuse to answer the item. I hypothesized that the physical attractiveness ratings of the respondents are related to their chance of reporting PFS victimization in some way.

In addition to the PFS victimization measure, I ran another analysis featuring an outcome measure related to non-physically forced sexual victimization, or what I call Coerced Sex (CS) victimization. Specifically, the item H4SE32, which reads,

Have you ever been forced, in a non-physical way, to have any type of sexual activity against your will? For example, through verbal pressure, threats of harm, or by being given alcohol or drugs? Do not include any experiences with a parent or adult caregiver. (Harris & Udry, 2022)

This item has the same potential responses as the PFS victimization item, being "Yes," "No," "Don't know," or they could refuse to answer (Harris & Udry, 2022). The logic of both the Feminist and Felsonian camps would suggest that motivation and its influence should be similar across types of sexual offenses. Therefore, my hypothesis for this outcome is similar to my hypothesis for the PFS victimization outcome. I hypothesized that the physical attractiveness ratings of the respondents are related to their chance of reporting CS victimization in some way.

The primary predictor was the physical attractiveness of respondents as rated by the interviewer (H4IR1). Specifically, the prompt asked, "How physically attractive is the respondent?" (Harris & Udry, 2022). This item was measured on a five-point Likert Scale ranging from "Very unattractive" (1) to "Very attractive" (5), with the middle value being "About average" (3). The variable was recoded so the outcomes would be categorical. To assess these items, I conducted regression analysis as part of a broader model-building process with the goal of producing accurate results that inform my hypothesis. This analysis directly tested the hypothesis that physical attractiveness is related to both PFS and CS victimization in some manner. Moreover, it also tested Felson's (2002) and Felson et al.'s (2012) hypothesis that the more physically attractive a target is, the greater their risk of being the victim of sexual violence. This position is something Felson (2002) asserted when he stated that "physically attractive women should be at a greater risk of victimization" (Felson, 2002, p. 159), and he has only continued to develop that argument since (Felson & Cundiff, 2014; Felson et al., 2012).

It should be noted that Wave IV was collected by Add Health personnel via interviews in the homes of the participants. I do not have information regarding the characteristics of interviewers themselves including their demographic features. For instance, I do not know whether questions about sexual victimization were asked by male or female interviewers and how their characteristics correlated with those of the participants. I also do not know what instructions were given to interviewers, if any, for the specific items addressed in this study beyond what is explicitly stated in the questionnaire. Additionally, I do not know if interviewers rated participant attractiveness before or after the sexual victimization items were asked.

Table 1. Survey-Weighted Descriptive Statistics of the Overall Sample After Listwise Deletion

	Unweighted PFS N	Weighted PFS N	Weighted PFS %	Weighted PFS SE	Unweighted CS N	Weighted CS N	Weighted CS %	Weighted CS SE
	4,914	21,036,303	-	-	4,917	21,040,148	-	-
Physical Forced Sexual Victimization								
Yes - victim	427	1,771,257	8.4	0.5	-	-	-	-
No - not a victim	4,487	19,265,046	91.6	0.5	-	-	-	-
Coerced Sex Victimization								
Yes - victim	-	-	-	-	626	2,556,378	12.2	0.6
No - not a victim	-	-	-	-	4,291	18,483,770	87.9	0.6
Body Attractiveness								
Very unattractive	156	578,498	2.8	0.3	156	578,604	2.8	0.3
Unattractive	215	952,945	4.5	0.5	215	953,119	4.5	0.5
About average	2,287	9,899,684	47.1	1.1	2,287	9,895,182	47.0	1.1
Attractive	1,789	7,703,494	36.6	1.1	1,791	7,709,110	36.6	1.1
Very attractive	467	1,901,682	9.0	0.6	468	1,904,133	9.1	0.6
Personality Attractiveness								
Very unattractive	157	572,187	2.7	0.4	157	572,292	2.7	0.4
Unattractive	108	492,249	2.3	0.3	108	490,235	2.3	0.3

Table 1. Survey-Weighted Descriptive Statistics of the Overall Sample After Listwise Deletion (continued)

About average	1,904	8,258,853	39.3	1.1	1,905	8,256,154	39.2	1.1
Attractive	1,994	8,572,293	40.8	1.0	1,995	8,573,860	40.8	1.0
Very attractive	751	3,144,927	15.0	0.9	752	3,147,606	15.0	0.9
Self-Rated Attraction								
Not at all attractive	110	475,420	2.3	0.3	110	475,507	2.3	0.3
Slightly attractive	1,471	6,691,648	31.8	1.1	1,473	6,697,079	31.8	1.1
Moderately attractive	2,516	10,846,318	51.6	1.0	2,516	10,846,196	51.6	1.0
Very attractive	817	3,020,813	14.4	1.1	818	3,019,261	14.4	1.1
Gender								
Male	2,256	10,602,297	50.4	1.0	2,255	10,593,715	50.4	1.0
Female	2,658	10,434,006	49.6	1.0	2,662	10,446,433	49.7	1.0
Race								
White	3,558	16,993,126	80.8	2.3	3,560	16,998,336	80.8	2.3
Black or African American	1,167	3,378,430	16.1	2.3	1,168	3,376,944	16.1	2.3
American Indian or Alaska Native	38	117,803	0.6	0.3	38	117,825	0.6	0.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	151	549,048	2.6	0.6	151	549,148	2.6	0.6
Educational Attainment								
Less than high school	366	1,796,500	8.5	0.9	366	1,794,725	8.5	0.9
High school graduate	786	3,618,244	17.2	1.0	786	3,618,905	17.2	1.0
Some college	2,145	9,150,792	43.5	1.0	2,148	9,156,672	43.5	1.0
Bachelor's degree	979	4,007,416	19.1	1.1	979	4,008,148	19.1	1.1
Post-graduate degree	638	2,463,351	11.7	1.0	638	2,463,801	11.7	1.0
Personal Income								
Less than $25K	2,001	8,565,983	40.7	1.3	2,003	8,567,548	40.7	1.3
$25K-$49,999	1,925	8,231,505	39.1	1.1	1,926	8,235,114	39.1	1.1
$50K-$74,999	660	2,762,067	13.1	0.8	660	2,762,571	13.1	0.8
$75K-$99,999	183	849,867	4.0	0.5	183	850,022	4.0	0.5
$100K+	145	624,778	3.0	0.3	145	624,892	3.0	0.3
Close Friends								
None	133	591,120	2.8	0.3	133	591,228	2.8	0.3
1-2 friends	1,074	4,552,256	21.6	1.0	1,077	4,559,400	21.7	1.0
3-5 friends	2,262	9,653,559	45.9	0.8	2,262	9,649,012	45.9	0.8
6-9 friends	844	3,580,379	17.0	0.8	844	3,578,929	17.0	0.8
10+ friends	601	2,661,092	12.7	0.7	601	2,659,475	12.6	0.7

Table 1. Survey-Weighted Descriptive Statistics of the Overall Sample After Listwise Deletion (continued)

I made use of logistic regression analyses to test Felson's hypothesis. I dichotomized both outcome measures by removing those participants who responded with "Don't know" or who refused to answer the question from the analysis. Given the ambiguous nature of these responses, they could not be truly assessed, so their exclusion allowed the analysis to focus on what is known definitively. Additionally, the exclusion of these did not result in a loss of that many participants, with those who marked "Don't know" or who refused to answer making up only 18 of the 5114 total responses to H4SE32 (CS) and 22 of the 5114 responses to H4SE34 (PFS) items (based on the public use [unweighted] data).

Beyond simple regression analysis, I applied the cross-sectional sampling weights provided by Add Health, represented by variable *GSWGT4_2*. These weights are provided for each Wave I respondent who was also interviewed in Wave IV. The goal of applying these weights was to make the sample more nationally representative of "adolescents who were enrolled in US schools during the 1994-1995 academic year" for grades 7-12 (Harris & Udry, 2022, p. 7). The survey design contains one sampling unit (*Cluster2*) and sampling weight (*GSWGT4_2*). No strata are needed because the public use sample was employed. Respondents are identified with the variable *AID* (unweighted=5114; weighted=22014038).

In addition to the core predictor variable of interviewer-rated physical attractiveness, I also had a secondary interest in two other predictor variables, interviewer-rated personality attractiveness and self-rated general attractiveness. Interviewer-rated personality attractiveness (H4IR2) asks, "How attractive is the respondent's personality?" It is measured on the same five-

point ordinal scale as the physical attractiveness item. Like the physical attractiveness item, the personality attractiveness variable was recoded to make its response options categorical. Self-rated general attractiveness (H4MH8) asks respondents, "How attractive are you?" Unlike the other attractiveness items, self-rated attractiveness is measured on a four-point ordinal scale that excludes an "about average" option. This variable was recoded to eliminate missing responses from the analysis. It was also reverse coded to more closely match the other predictor variables regarding attractiveness (as H4MH8 measured from "Very attractive" to "Not at all attractive," unlike the others, which measured in the opposite order). Though these predictors are not my main line of inquiry, they arguably have the potential to inform the broader questions surrounding motivation and target selection, and I, therefore, chose to include them. Including both self-ratings of attractiveness and third-party ratings allows me to compare the ratings for each participant and the effects (or lack thereof) on the outcomes, even if they are not perfectly comparable due to the different scales used to measure them.

I also included several demographic items as controls in the full regression models. These include biological sex (BIO_SEX4), race (H4IR4), highest level of educational attainment (H4ED2), and personal income (H4EC2/H4EC3). In addition, I included the variable that asks participants to describe the number of close friends they have via self-report (H4WS4). The item asks, "How many close friends do you have? (Close friends include people whom you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, and can call on for help)." Respondents could then choose "None," "1 or 2 friends," "3 to 5 friends," "6 to 9 friends," or "10 or more friends" (Harris & Udry, 2022). All "Don't know" and refused options were coded as missing. If the question was not asked, the response was also coded as missing. My purpose in including this as a control was to account for two potential connections between the number of friends and

victimization. Routine Activities Theory (RAT) suggests that the more close friends one has, the more capable guardians one has, which should reduce one's chance of victimization in general (Cohen & Felson, 1979). However, Lifestyle Exposure Theory (Hindelang et al., 1978) alternatively suggests that the more close friends one has, the *higher* one's risk of victimization because there are a greater number of potential victimizers around you. By including the number of close friends (H4WS4) as a control, I attempt to account for these possible influences on my outcome measures.

Process

All the variables used within this study were considered categorical. As explained earlier, I recoded the variables to exclude those participants who marked "Don't know" or refused to answer as "missing" data that would not be included in the analysis. This process, again, resulted in 22 cases being excluded from the PFS analysis (leaving 5,092 cases [unweighted]) and 18 cases removed from the CS analysis (leaving 5,096 cases [unweighted]). 436 of 5,092 respondents reported experiencing PFS, and 644 of 5,096 respondents reported experiencing CS. In addition to this, I ran a crosstab between the PFS and CS variables. 338 respondents reported experiencing *both* PFS and CS, with 98 reporting experiencing PFS alone and 303 experiencing CS alone.

Some outcome measures were grouped into categories when recoding the variables used as controls to make them more straightforward. The first control was Education (H4ED2), which asked, "What is the highest level of education that you have achieved to date?" (Harris & Udry, 2022). I recoded the responses into five categories. "Less than HS (High School)" included the responses of "8th grade or less" and "Some high school." "High school graduate" was renamed "HS Grad" and was not altered. "Some College" included "Some vocational/technical training

(after high school)," "Completed vocational/technical training (after high school)," and "Some college." "Completed college (bachelor's degree)" was renamed "BA" but, like "HS Grad," was otherwise unchanged. The last category, "Post-Grad," included "Some graduate school," "Completed a master's degree," "Some graduate training beyond a master's degree," "Completed a doctoral degree," "Some post baccalaureate professional education (e.g., law school, med school, nurse)," and "Completed post baccalaureate professional education (e.g., law school, med school, nurse)." The one case that responded "Don't know" was marked as missing.

The second control was Personal Income, which was created by combining two items, H4EC2 and H4EC3. H4EC2 asks respondents, "Now think about your personal earnings. In {2006/2007/2008}, how much income did you receive from personal earnings before taxes, that is, wages or salaries, including tips, bonuses, and overtime pay, and income from self-employment?" (Harris & Udry, 2022). H4EC3 was a question answered only by those who responded "Don't know" to H4EC2 and asked,

> What is your best guess of your personal earnings before taxes? (Income data are important in analyzing the health information we collect. For example, the information helps us to learn whether persons in one income group use certain types of medical care services or have conditions more or less often than those in another group.) (Harris & Udry, 2022)

H4EC2 allowed for open-ended responses ranging from $0 to $999,995 (the values above 999,995 were used to identify "Refused" and "Don't know"). These responses were then recoded into six categories: "Less than 25K," "25K-49,999K," "50K-74,999K," "75K-99,999K," "100K+," and "Don't know." Those who answered "Don't know" to H4EC2 were then asked

item H4EC3. Unlike the prior item, H4EC3 had respondents choose from various ranges. I also placed these into six categories (similar to those previously mentioned) that grouped the response options in a self-explanatory fashion. These categories were "Less than 25K," "25K-49,999K," "50K-74,999K," "75K-99,999K," "100K+," and "Legitimate skip" (being those who responded with something other than "Don't know" to item H4EC2). I then combined the two personal income variables derived from H4EC2 and H4EC3 to make one personal income variable.

The next control addressed was Race, which was taken from item H4IR4, which reads, "Indicate the race of the sample member/respondent from your own observation (not from what the respondent said)" (Harris & Udry, 2022). The possible responses were recoded to categorical values, and five missing cases were removed, but they were otherwise left as they were in the Add Health. The response categories were "White," "Black or African American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," and "Asian or Pacific Islander." (Harris & Udry, 2022). Biological Sex was also included based on item BIO_SEX4 and consisted only of "Male" and "Female" options with no missingness.

I employed listwise deletion to allow for comparison across models with the same outcome variable. As discussed previously, 18 and 22 respondents were dropped because they did not clearly identify whether they had experienced CS or PFS victimization. Respondents with missing predictor variables were also dropped (178 for the PFS outcome; 179 for the CS outcome). This resulted in a final sample of 4914 respondents (21036303 weighted) for the PFS outcome and 4917 respondents (21040148 weighted) for the CS outcome. The final sample was separated by gender. The female sample was reduced to 2658 (10434827 weighted) and 2662 (10445461 weighted) for the PFS and CS outcomes. The male sample was reduced to 2043 (9638600 weighted) and 2097 (9867625 weighted) for the PFS and CS outcomes. Note that the

female and male samples, when viewed separately, are not equal to the combined final sample. This is due to the low number of males that were PFS and CS victims across the categorical variables. For example, there were no physically "Very unattractive" or "Very attractive" males who were PFS victims, and there were no physically "Very attractive" males who were CS victims.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

As seen in the following tables, I began with a "full" model, including male and female respondents. The core predictor variable was the aforementioned measure of physical attractiveness, with the outcome measure being self-reported PFS victimization. I employed logistic regression (logit) to conduct my analysis, given the binary outcome measure of PFS victimization. This model went through eight iterations, beginning with a simple logit that included only the core predictor variable of physical attractiveness and the PFS outcome variable. I then gradually built upon this model, adding one additional control at a time, the first of which was the personality attractiveness variable. Following this, I added self-rated attractiveness (PFS Full Model 3), gender (as a control; PFS Full Model 4), race (PFS Full Model 5), education (PFS Full Model 6), personal income (PFS Full Model 7), and number of close friends (PFS Full Model 8; which will henceforth be referred to as the PFS Full Model). The results of the logits ran on the eight PFS model iterations can be seen in odds ratio form in Table 2 and converted to percentages when all other variables are held at their means in Table 3. After coming to the eighth and final form of the PFS Full Model, I repeated this process but with CS victimization as the outcome variable within the models. The results of the logits ran on the eight CS model iterations are shown in odds ratio form within Table 4 and converted to percentages when all other variables are held at their means in Table 5.

Table 2. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Full Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES								
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive	0.55	0.37**	0.36**	0.30**	0.30**	0.31**	0.32**	0.31**
	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Unattractive	1.23	1.03	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.92	0.93	0.89
	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.32)
Attractive	0.93	0.90	0.92	0.91	0.91	0.94	0.94	0.96
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Very attractive	1.09	0.98	0.99	0.86	0.86	0.93	0.93	0.93

Table 2. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive		1.87*	1.93*	1.50	1.51	1.64	1.66	1.67
		(0.66)	(0.69)	(0.56)	(0.57)	(0.66)	(0.66)	(0.67)
Unattractive		1.99*	1.95*	2.38*	2.37*	2.20*	2.14	2.09
		(0.77)	(0.76)	(1.11)	(1.11)	(1.05)	(1.01)	(0.99)
Attractive		1.04	1.04	0.87	0.87	0.92	0.92	0.92
		(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Very attractive		1.25	1.25	1.01	1.01	1.07	1.09	1.09
		(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)								
Slightly attractive			0.48**	0.56*	0.56*	0.62	0.63	0.64
			(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Moderately attractive			0.49**	0.55*	0.55*	0.64	0.66	0.67
			(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)
Very attractive			0.42**	0.56*	0.55*	0.61	0.62	0.64
			(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Gender (ref.=Male)								
Female				8.82***	8.80***	9.18***	8.71***	8.55***
				(1.48)	(1.49)	(1.56)	(1.52)	(1.50)
Race (ref.=White)								
Black or African American					1.02	0.96	0.95	0.91
					(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.23)
American Indian or Alaska Native					1.53	1.35	1.38	1.37
					(1.21)	(1.08)	(1.11)	(1.12)
Asian or Pacific Islander					0.65	0.74	0.76	0.75
					(0.31)	(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.36)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)								
HS Grad						0.91	0.93	0.94
						(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Some College						0.96	0.99	1.02
						(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)
BA						0.41***	0.45***	0.48**
						(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Post-Grad						0.47**	0.53**	0.57*
						(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.17)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)								
25K-49,999							0.90	0.92
							(0.12)	(0.13)
50K-74,999							0.78	0.82
							(0.19)	(0.19)
75K-99,999							0.79	0.81
							(0.39)	(0.40)
100K+							0.55	0.57
							(0.27)	(0.28)
Number of Close Friends (ref.=None)								
1 or 2 friends								0.60*
								(0.18)
3 to 5 friends								0.58*
								(0.17)
6 to 9 friends								0.52**

Table 2. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

								(0.16)
10 or more friends								0.37***
								(0.13)
Constant	0.09***	0.09***	0.18***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.10$

Table 3. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Full Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES								
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive	3.69**	5.41***	5.39***	-4.09***	-4.07***	-3.78***	-3.72***	-3.69***
	(1.87)	(1.54)	(1.53)	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.02)
Unattractive	1.76	0.20	-0.17	-0.14	-0.13	-0.40	-0.36	-0.57
	(2.75)	(2.77)	(2.78)	(1.97)	(1.97)	(1.75)	(1.75)	(1.70)
Attractive	-0.57	-0.77	-0.66	-0.48	-0.48	-0.34	-0.30	-0.22
	(0.95)	(1.12)	(1.11)	(0.77)	(0.77)	(0.74)	(0.75)	(0.75)
Very attractive	0.72	-0.20	-0.04	-0.78	-0.80	-0.34	-0.37	-0.36
	(1.54)	(1.82)	(1.85)	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.09)
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive		5.82	6.12	2.58	2.60	3.06	3.11	3.14
		(4.08)	(4.17)	(2.80)	(2.83)	(3.06)	(3.04)	(3.02)
Unattractive		6.57	6.26	6.81	6.74	5.59	5.27	5.00
		(4.67)	(4.56)	(5.03)	(5.01)	(4.52)	(4.36)	(4.23)
Attractive		0.29	0.29	-0.70	-0.69	-0.40	-0.37	-0.37
		(0.96)	(0.95)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.66)	(0.66)	(0.65)
Very attractive		1.73	1.75	0.03	0.03	0.32	0.42	0.42
		(1.96)	(1.96)	(1.25)	(1.24)	(1.21)	(1.21)	(1.19)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)								
Slightly attractive			-7.41*	-3.91	-3.92	-2.85	-2.73	-2.60
			(4.14)	(2.71)	(2.70)	(2.35)	(2.31)	(2.25)
Moderately attractive			-7.29*	-3.94	-3.97	-2.70	-2.53	-2.33
			(3.96)	(2.58)	(2.57)	(2.24)	(2.19)	(2.14)
Very attractive			-8.37**	-3.92	-4.02	-2.93	-2.78	-2.59
			(4.07)	(2.71)	(2.75)	(2.42)	(2.37)	(2.30)
Gender (ref.=Male)								
Female				12.88***	12.84***	12.64***	12.22***	11.95***
				(0.94)	(0.94)	(0.94)	(0.94)	(0.95)
Race (ref.=White)								
Black or African American					0.12	-0.20	-0.26	-0.46
					(1.26)	(1.21)	(1.20)	(1.16)
American Indian or Alaska Native					2.70	1.70	1.89	1.80
					(5.94)	(5.21)	(5.32)	(5.38)

Table 3. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

Asian or Pacific Islander	-1.84	-1.31	-1.21	-1.25
	(1.71)	(1.90)	(1.94)	(1.84)
Education				
(ref.=Less than HS)				
HS Grad		-0.59	-0.42	-0.32
		(1.53)	(1.46)	(1.41)
Some College		-0.28	-0.06	0.10
		(1.39)	(1.32)	(1.30)
BA		-3.96***	-3.50**	-3.17**
		(1.42)	(1.40)	(1.38)
Post-Grad		-3.53**	-3.00**	-2.60*
		(1.45)	(1.41)	(1.41)
Personal Income				
(ref.=Less than 25K)				
25K-49,999			-0.56	-0.44
			(0.71)	(0.69)
50K-74,999			-1.18	-0.98
			(1.10)	(1.08)
75K-99,999			-1.16	-1.03
			(2.24)	(2.22)
100K+			-2.50	-2.30
			(1.59)	(1.61)
Number of Close Friends				
(ref.=None)				
1 or 2 friends				-3.43
				(2.30)
3 to 5 friends				-3.59
				(2.31)
6 to 9 friends				-4.14*
				(2.31)
10 or more friends				-5.50**
				(2.41)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses.
Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 4. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Full Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES								
Physical Attractiveness								
(ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive	1.20	1.00	0.99	0.90	0.91	0.92	0.95	0.94
	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.40)
Unattractive	1.01	0.82	0.78	0.77	0.77	0.77	0.78	0.75
	(0.26)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Attractive	1.04	1.02	1.04	1.03	1.03	1.05	1.07	1.08
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Very attractive	1.21	1.24	1.27	1.10	1.08	1.15	1.14	1.15
	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Personality Attractiveness								
(ref.=About Average)								
Very unattractive		1.35	1.42	1.03	1.02	1.08	1.09	1.10

Table 4. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		(0.47)	(0.50)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.44)
Unattractive		2.24***	2.17***	2.66**	2.63**	2.48**	2.36**	2.34**
		(0.63)	(0.63)	(1.00)	(0.99)	(0.95)	(0.91)	(0.89)
Attractive		1.11	1.10	0.94	0.94	0.97	0.98	0.98
		(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.13)
Very attractive		0.99	0.99	0.80	0.80	0.82	0.85	0.85
		(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)								
Slightly attractive			0.47***	0.55**	0.55**	0.59*	0.60*	0.61*
			(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Moderately attractive			0.48***	0.55**	0.56**	0.61*	0.64	0.65
			(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Very attractive			0.38***	0.49**	0.56**	0.61*	0.63	0.64
			(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Gender (ref.=Male)								
Female				7.84***	7.89***	8.10***	7.27***	7.19***
				(1.07)	(1.09)	(1.10)	(1.02)	(1.01)
Race (ref.=White)								
Black or African American					0.76	0.73*	0.71**	0.68**
					(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
American Indian or Alaska Native					1.13	1.03	1.05	1.03
					(0.73)	(0.66)	(0.67)	(0.66)
Asian or Pacific Islander					0.54	0.58	0.61	0.60
					(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.23)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)								
HS Grad						1.15	1.20	1.23
						(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Some College						1.30	1.38	1.43*
						(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.29)
BA						0.68	0.81	0.86
						(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.21)
Post-Grad						0.71	0.86	0.92
						(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)								
25K-49,999							0.88	0.90
							(0.11)	(0.11)
50K-74,999							0.56***	0.58***
							(0.10)	(0.10)
75K-99,999							0.36**	0.36**
							(0.15)	(0.15)
100K+							0.55	0.57
							(0.21)	(0.22)
Number of Close Friends (ref.=None)								
1 or 2 friends								0.62*
								(0.17)
3 to 5 friends								0.54**
								(0.15)
6 to 9 friends								0.60*
								(0.18)
10 or more friends								0.41***
								(0.14)
Constant	0.13***	0.13***	0.27***	0.06***	0.07***	0.06***	0.06***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)

Table 4. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 5. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Full Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES								
Physical Attractiveness **(ref.=About Average)**								
Very unattractive	2.04	-0.04	-0.15	-0.82	-0.73	-0.62	-0.39	-0.46
	(3.29)	(3.50)	(3.53)	(2.96)	(3.01)	(3.04)	(3.06)	(2.99)
Unattractive	0.10	-1.94	-2.31	-1.82	-1.82	-1.80	-1.63	-1.86
	(2.66)	(2.37)	(2.32)	(1.86)	(1.86)	(1.82)	(1.82)	(1.75)
Attractive	0.41	0.23	0.40	0.26	0.26	0.39	0.50	0.58
	(0.97)	(1.21)	(1.22)	(0.96)	(0.96)	(0.94)	(0.93)	(0.93)
Very attractive	2.13	2.45	2.72	0.77	0.64	1.13	1.03	1.06
	(1.94)	(2.43)	(2.48)	(1.74)	(1.75)	(1.80)	(1.76)	(1.78)
Personality Attractiveness **(ref.=About Average)**								
Very unattractive		3.42	3.97	0.27	0.19	0.63	0.71	0.76
		(4.31)	(4.51)	(3.13)	(3.14)	(3.31)	(3.25)	(3.24)
Unattractive		10.96**	10.32**	11.75*	11.53*	10.24*	9.31*	9.11*
		(4.79)	(4.80)	(6.00)	(5.94)	(5.66)	(5.41)	(5.31)
Attractive		1.07	1.04	-0.52	-0.51	-0.23	-0.16	-0.14
		(1.42)	(1.42)	(1.09)	(1.08)	(1.06)	(1.04)	(1.03)
Very attractive		-0.11	-0.09	-1.69	-1.66	-1.42	-1.16	-1.10
		(1.82)	(1.81)	(1.37)	(1.38)	(1.35)	(1.35)	(1.33)
Self-Rated Attractiveness **(ref.=Not At All Attractive)**								
Slightly attractive			-10.60**	-6.05*	-5.90*	-4.93	-4.53	-4.39
			(4.55)	(3.35)	(3.27)	(3.05)	(2.97)	(2.93)
Moderately attractive			-10.27**	-6.01*	-5.78*	-4.64	-4.09	-3.88
			(4.41)	(3.26)	(3.18)	(2.97)	(2.89)	(2.87)
Very attractive			12.69***	-6.82**	-5.81*	-4.65	-4.16	-4.04
			(4.32)	(3.27)	(3.26)	(3.05)	(2.96)	(2.90)
Gender **(ref.=Male)**								
Female				17.72***	17.70***	17.60***	16.30***	16.08***
				(1.10)	(1.09)	(1.08)	(1.10)	(1.11)
Race **(ref.=White)**								
Black or African American					-2.01*	-2.28**	-2.39**	-2.60**
					(1.12)	(1.09)	(1.05)	(1.01)
American Indian or Alaska Native					1.08	0.28	0.41	0.25
					(5.83)	(5.29)	(5.27)	(5.23)
Asian or Pacific Islander					-3.99**	-3.52*	-3.19	-3.31*
					(1.84)	(1.98)	(2.04)	(1.93)
Education **(ref.=Less than HS)**								
HS Grad						1.11	1.33	1.48
						(1.73)	(1.56)	(1.51)
Some College						2.19	2.52*	2.75**
						(1.59)	(1.43)	(1.37)

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Table 5. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Full Model) (continued)

BA	-2.48	-1.35	-0.96
	(1.78)	(1.60)	(1.54)
Post-Grad	-2.27	-0.98	-0.54
	(1.80)	(1.72)	(1.67)
Personal Income **(ref.=Less than 25K)**			
25K-49,999		-1.03	-0.87
		(1.02)	(1.02)
50K-74,999		-4.05***	-3.79***
		(1.13)	(1.14)
75K-99,999		-5.95***	-5.82***
		(1.60)	(1.56)
100K+		-4.09*	-3.84*
		(2.17)	(2.17)
Number of Close Friends **(ref.=None)**			
1 or 2 friends			-4.68
			(3.14)
3 to 5 friends			-5.73*
			(3.23)
6 to 9 friends			-5.02
			(3.32)
10 or more friends			-7.52**
			(3.40)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses. Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

PFS Full Model

Beginning with the PFS Full Model, the "Very unattractive" level of the core predictor variable of physical attractiveness had a statistically significant effect on the PFS outcome. Being rated as physically "Very unattractive" maintained consistent statistical significance across all iterations of the model (p<.01) except the first iteration (p<.05). Additionally, being rated as physically "Very unattractive" produced consistently large effects on the likelihood of reporting PFS victimization compared to being rated as "About average." In the final iteration of the model, those rated as physically "Very unattractive" were 3.69 percentage points (pp) less likely to report having experienced PFS victimization when compared to those rated as "About average." Every other level of physical attractiveness reported small effect sizes by comparison,

and none were statistically significant. Figure 1 (Full Model PFS Attractiveness) highlights the large difference between being rated as physically "Very unattractive" and the other levels. In particular, Figure 1 allows one to more clearly see the substantial rise in the chance of reporting PFS victimization from those rated as physically "Very unattractive" to those rated as "Unattractive." At "Unattractive" and above, the effect of physical attractiveness on the PFS victimization outcome appears to (generally speaking) plateau. This finding seems to indicate that, within this full model, there is a kind of threshold effect where being rated as physically "Very unattractive" appears to reduce one's chance of reporting being a PFS victim, but then physical attractiveness ceases to be relevant as long as someone is rated as merely "Unattractive" or above. Such a threshold effect partially confirms but also partially refutes Felson's hypothesis that those rated as more physically attractive would be more likely to report being a PFS victim in a consistent linear effect. It supports my hypothesis, however, that physical attractiveness ratings would have some effect on reported PFS victimization.

Figure 1. Probability of PFS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 3 (Full Model)
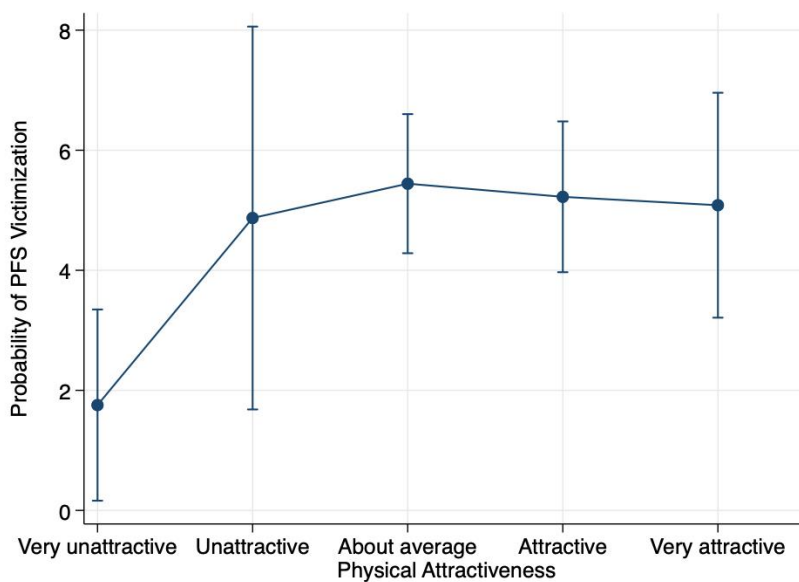
The largest effect seen, however, was found with the control of gender, with females being 11.95pp more likely to report being a PFS victim compared to males. Finding that females are more likely to report being a victim of PFS than males is unsurprising, given that the literature typically finds that females experience sexual violence at much higher rates than males (Brownmiller, 2013; Felson, 2002; Scully, 1994). What is more surprising is that the effect size for gender is not higher than a roughly 12pp greater likelihood of reporting being a PFS victim. Nevertheless, out of all the variables assessed in the final PFS model, gender had the largest effect size out of the variables that returned significant results.

While "HS Grad" and "Some College" saw minuscule effects that were not statistically significant, the PFS Full Model saw significant results for the "BA" and "Post-Grad" levels of the Education variable when compared to those in the "Less Than HS" level. Those who had obtained a bachelor's degree ("BA") were, on average, 3.17pp less likely than those with a "Less Than HS" education to report being a victim of PFS. Though it was only marginally significant (p<.10), those in the "Post-Grad" level were 2.6pp less likely than those with a "Less Than HS" education to report being a PFS victim. It is worth noting that "Post-Grad" did achieve statistical significance (p<.05) in the sixth and seventh model iterations but not in the final model.

Lastly, for the PFS Full Model, the number of close friends variable produced interesting results that varied in statistical significance and magnitude. While nonsignificant, the "1 or 2 friends" and "3 to 5 friends" categories produced large effect sizes, with the former being 3.43pp less likely and the latter 3.59pp less likely to report being a PFS victim when compared to the "None" level. These effect sizes grew consistently larger as the number of close friends level increased. Though marginally significant (p<.10), those with "6 to 9 friends" were 4.14pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than those with no close friends. Lastly, those with "10 or

more friends" were 5.5pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than those with no close friends. This result achieved statistical significance (p<.05). These findings suggest that having more close friends serves as a protective factor that reduces one's risk of PFS victimization, which aligns with Cohen and Felson's (1979) concept of capable guardianship.

The other controls, such as personality attractiveness and self-rated attractiveness, did not produce statistically significant results in the final model, with self-rated attractiveness only producing significant results in the third of eight iterations of the model, indicating that its connection to PFS victimization is likely spurious, at least within this data.

CS Full Model

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the logit using non-physically forced sex (Coerced Sex; CS) victimization as the outcome variable rather than PFS produced extremely different results in terms of significance and effect sizes. Unlike the PFS Full Model, the logit for the CS Full Model did not support my hypothesis or Felson's. My analysis found small effect sizes with no statistical significance for any level of physical attractiveness in any iteration of the model. This difference can be plainly seen when comparing Figure 1 (the PFS Full Model) and Figure 2 (the CS Full Model). Unlike the clear threshold visible in the PFS Full Model figure, the CS Full Model shows a relatively consistent plateau at every level of physical attractiveness, with only a slight, nonsignificant dip at the physically "Unattractive" level.

Whereas third-party ratings of respondents' personality attractiveness did not have any significance in the PFS Full Model, personality attractiveness did hold a degree of significance in the CS Full Model. Though it was only statistically significant in the second and third model iterations, having one's personality rated as "Unattractive" (as opposed to "Very unattractive") was marginally significant (p<.10) in the final model iteration. Specifically, those whose

personality was rated as "Unattractive" were 9.11pp *more* likely to report being a CS victim than those rated as having an "About average" personality. This effect size was much larger than the other levels of personality attractiveness, being nearly nine times larger (ignoring effect direction) than the next largest (having a personality rated as "Very attractive," where respondents were 1.10pp less likely to report being a CS victim when compared to the those rated as "About average").

Figure 2. Probability of CS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 5 (Full Model)
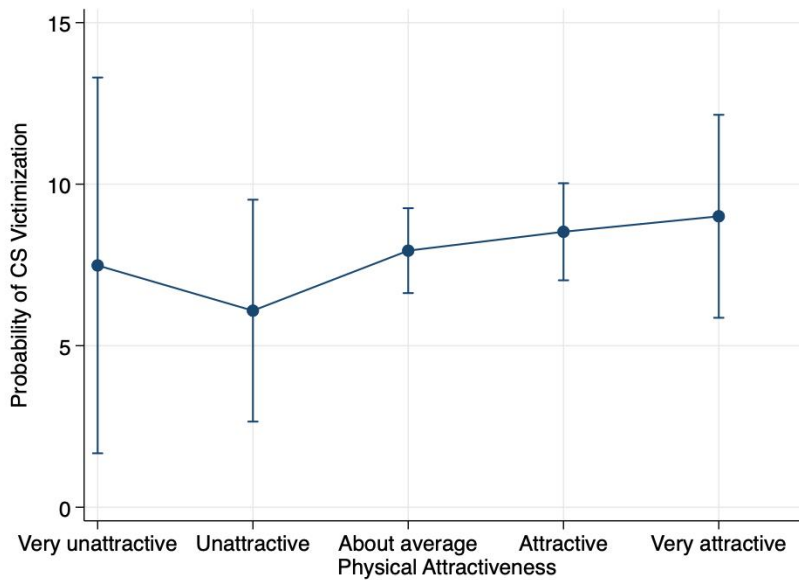
Self-rated attractiveness displayed degrees of significance and large effect sizes at every level in the third, fourth, and fifth model iterations. Those who self-rated as "Slightly attractive," "Moderately attractive," or "Very attractive" were all less likely to report being a CS victim when compared to those who rated themselves as "Not at all attractive." Still, these effect sizes rapidly dissipated with each new model iteration as more controls were added. Ultimately, this

indicates that self-rated attractiveness may be indirectly related to CS victimization once other factors are controlled for.

As in the PFS Full Model, gender was significant (p<.01) at every iteration of the CS Full Model in which it was controlled, with the only difference being that being female had larger effects in the CS Full Model than in the PFS Full Model. In the final iteration of the CS Full Model, for instance, females were 16.08pp more likely than males to report being a CS victim. This finding, again, is reflective of the general consensus across the literature that females are much more likely to be victims of sexual violence than males (Brownmiller, 2013; Felson, 2002; Scully, 1994).

Unlike in the PFS Full Model, race was found to be statistically significant (p<.05) for those identified as "Black or African American" and marginally significant (p<.10) for those identified as "Asian or Pacific Islander." "Black or African American" and "Asian or Pacific Islander" respondents were 2.6pp less likely and 3.31pp less likely, respectively, to report being a CS victim than their "White" counterparts. Interestingly, "American Indian or Alaska Native" respondents were not significantly different from "White" respondents in this regard in any iteration of the CS Full Model.

Education's relationship to CS victimization was also slightly different than its relationship to PFS victimization. In the CS Full Model, only "Some College" was statistically significant (p<.05). Those with Some College were 2.75pp more likely to report being a victim of CS than those with a "Less than HS" education. None of the other Education categories were significantly different in terms of reporting CS victimization from the "Less than HS" level for the CS Full Model.

Unlike the PFS Full Model, personal income had a number of significant effects on the chance of reporting being a CS victim. The levels of "50K-74,999" and "75K-99,999" were both significant at the p<.05 level, being 3.79pp and 5.82pp, respectively, less likely to report being a victim of CS than those in the "Less than 25K" level. The "100K+" category was marginally significant (p<.10), and those in it were 3.84pp less likely to report being a CS victim than those at the "Less than 25K" level.

Number of Close Friends produced results in the CS Full Model that were similar to the PFS Full Model. In both, only the "10 or more friends" level produced statistically significant results, with the magnitude in the CS Full Model being larger. In the CS Full Model, those with "10 or more friends" were 7.52pp less likely to report being a CS victim than those with no close friends. The other levels were nonsignificant apart from "3 to 5 friends," which was marginally significant (p<.10). Those with "3 to 5 friends" were 5.73pp less likely to report being the victim of CS than those with no close friends.

The other controls did not return statistically significant effects in the final model. Like with the PFS Full Model, Self-Rated Attractiveness produced significant and marginally significant results in earlier iterations of the model but not in the final model.

PFS Female Model

As should be evident from the results across the PFS and CS Full Models, Gender was consistently significant with large effect sizes across the model iterations, with females being more likely than males to report both kinds of sexual victimization. Due to this significant difference between female and male respondents, I also conducted logit analyses of two other sets of models that focused exclusively on female and male respondents rather than just examining both groups of respondents together. These models were built in the same fashion as

the Full Models but with only seven iterations (as Gender was no longer a control) rather than eight. I begin here with the Female Models (specifically the PFS Female Model). The results of the PFS Female Model are reported in odds ratio form in Table 6 and converted into percentages with all other variables held at their means in Table 7. The CS Female Models are similarly reported in odds ratio form in Table 8 and converted to percentages with all other variables held at their means in Table 9.

Table 6. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Female Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	0.47*	0.33**	0.33**	0.33**	0.34**	0.35**	0.34**
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Unattractive	1.13	1.05	1.05	1.05	0.98	0.97	0.90
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.37)	(0.36)	(0.35)
Attractive	0.83	0.87	0.90	0.90	0.92	0.92	0.94
	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Very attractive	0.92	0.93	0.97	0.96	1.05	1.04	1.05
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		1.55	1.58	1.58	1.72	1.74	1.78
		(0.63)	(0.64)	(0.65)	(0.77)	(0.78)	(0.80)
Unattractive		1.42	1.37	1.37	1.24	1.22	1.20
		(0.69)	(0.65)	(0.65)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.57)
Attractive		0.88	0.88	0.88	0.93	0.93	0.93
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Very attractive		0.99	0.98	0.98	1.04	1.05	1.05
		(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)							
Slightly attractive			0.62	0.62	0.70	0.70	0.71
			(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.26)
Moderately attractive			0.53*	0.53*	0.62	0.62	0.64
			(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Very attractive			0.56	0.59	0.67	0.68	0.68
			(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.29)
Race (ref.=White)							
Black or African American				0.88	0.82	0.82	0.78
				(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
American Indian or Alaska Native				1.73	1.51	1.56	1.55
				(1.43)	(1.27)	(1.31)	(1.33)
Asian or Pacific Islander				0.74	0.82	0.84	0.82
				(0.36)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.40)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)							
HS Grad					0.85	0.86	0.87

Table 6. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Female Model) (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
					(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Some College					0.89	0.90	0.93
					(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)
BA					0.39***	0.40***	0.43***
					(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Post-Grad					0.46**	0.49**	0.53**
					(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.17)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)							
25K-49,999						0.92	0.95
						(0.13)	(0.14)
50K-74,999						0.97	1.02
						(0.25)	(0.26)
75K-99,999						1.08	1.14
						(0.62)	(0.65)
100K+						0.49	0.51
						(0.29)	(0.30)
Number of Close Friends (ref.=None)							
1 or 2 friends							0.51**
							(0.17)
3 to 5 friends							0.47**
							(0.15)
6 to 9 friends							0.44**
							(0.15)
10 or more friends							0.35***
							(0.14)
Constant	0.19***	0.20***	0.34***	0.34***	0.40**	0.41**	0.80
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.40)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 7. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Female Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	-7.88**	10.11***	-9.91***	-9.85***	-9.23***	-9.16***	-9.16***
	(3.23)	(2.94)	(2.93)	(2.95)	(3.01)	(3.02)	(2.98)
Unattractive	1.74	0.69	0.63	0.69	-0.23	-0.36	-1.23
	(5.09)	(5.24)	(5.23)	(5.25)	(4.73)	(4.56)	(4.51)
Attractive	-2.43	-1.76	-1.37	-1.36	-1.08	-1.07	-0.78
	(1.80)	(2.01)	(2.02)	(2.02)	(1.99)	(2.01)	(2.02)
Very attractive	-1.07	-0.93	-0.36	-0.47	0.61	0.55	0.62
	(2.33)	(2.81)	(2.91)	(2.92)	(2.92)	(2.93)	(2.93)
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		6.58	6.84	6.82	7.95	8.17	8.46
		(6.75)	(6.89)	(6.96)	(7.56)	(7.61)	(7.69)
Unattractive		5.09	4.52	4.44	2.77	2.63	2.39

Table 7. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Female Model) (continued)

	(7.75)	(7.41)	(7.42)	(6.70)	(6.57)	(6.48)
Attractive	-1.60	-1.59	-1.55	-0.88	-0.88	-0.91
	(1.69)	(1.70)	(1.68)	(1.67)	(1.67)	(1.66)
Very attractive	-0.19	-0.25	-0.21	0.49	0.60	0.57
	(2.99)	(3.01)	(3.00)	(2.91)	(2.89)	(2.84)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)						
Slightly attractive		-7.44	-7.37	-5.13	-5.12	-4.86
		(6.32)	(6.24)	(5.67)	(5.67)	(5.65)
Moderately attractive		-9.52	-9.38	-6.55	-6.47	-6.02
		(5.99)	(5.91)	(5.37)	(5.36)	(5.36)
Very attractive		-8.77	-7.97	-5.57	-5.50	-5.28
		(6.58)	(6.75)	(6.25)	(6.25)	(6.20)
Race (ref.=White)						
Black or African American			-1.53	-2.26	-2.31	-2.82
			(2.90)	(2.83)	(2.82)	(2.79)
American Indian or Alaska Native			8.34	5.90	6.43	6.32
			(14.78)	(13.67)	(13.90)	(14.15)
Asian or Pacific Islander			-3.46	-2.24	-2.03	-2.32
			(5.04)	(5.47)	(5.60)	(5.25)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)						
HS Grad				-2.44	-2.26	-2.01
				(4.20)	(4.09)	(4.02)
Some College				-1.82	-1.57	-1.09
				(3.72)	(3.65)	(3.69)
BA				10.85***	10.33***	-9.44**
				(3.92)	(3.92)	(3.96)
Post-Grad				-9.32**	-8.70**	-7.67*
				(4.03)	(4.01)	(4.08)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)						
25K-49,999					-0.98	-0.66
					(1.77)	(1.75)
50K-74,999					-0.40	0.23
					(3.20)	(3.21)
75K-99,999					1.00	1.72
					(7.49)	(7.62)
100K+					-6.94	-6.50
					(4.36)	(4.42)
Number of Close Friends (ref.=None)						
1 or 2 friends						-10.64*
						(5.90)
3 to 5 friends						-11.73**
						(5.83)
6 to 9 friends						-12.46**
						(6.09)
10 or more friends						-14.92**
						(6.39)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses.
Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.10$

Table 8. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Female Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	0.89	0.83	0.82	0.84	0.83	0.85	0.84
	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.41)
Unattractive	0.79	0.69	0.69	0.68	0.69	0.72	0.69
	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.21)
Attractive	0.97	0.99	1.02	1.02	1.03	1.05	1.05
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Very attractive	1.07	1.18	1.22	1.19	1.26	1.25	1.26
	(0.18)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		1.06	1.10	1.08	1.13	1.13	1.13
		(0.43)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)
Unattractive		2.08**	1.97*	1.95*	1.82	1.74	1.73
		(0.74)	(0.74)	(0.74)	(0.69)	(0.67)	(0.66)
Attractive		1.01	1.01	1.01	1.03	1.04	1.04
		(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Very attractive		0.85	0.85	0.86	0.86	0.89	0.89
		(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)							
Slightly attractive			0.60*	0.60*	0.63	0.65	0.64
			(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Moderately attractive			0.54**	0.55**	0.58*	0.61*	0.61*
			(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Very attractive			0.52**	0.65	0.71	0.74	0.73
			(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Race (ref.=White)							
Black or African American				0.63**	0.60***	0.59***	0.58***
				(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
American Indian or Alaska Native				1.31	1.21	1.24	1.22
				(0.89)	(0.81)	(0.84)	(0.83)
Asian or Pacific Islander				0.59	0.62	0.64	0.62
				(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.25)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)							
HS Grad					1.33	1.37	1.40
					(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Some College					1.55*	1.62**	1.67**
					(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.40)
BA					0.85	0.99	1.03
					(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Post-Grad					0.88	1.04	1.09
					(0.25)	(0.30)	(0.32)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)							
25K-49,999						0.86	0.87
						(0.12)	(0.12)
50K-74,999						0.63**	0.66*
						(0.13)	(0.14)
75K-99,999						0.37*	0.38*
						(0.20)	(0.20)
100K+						0.80	0.81
						(0.34)	(0.34)

Table 8. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Female Model)
(continued)

Number of Close Friends
(ref.=None)

1 or 2 friends							0.70
							(0.23)
3 to 5 friends							0.63
							(0.20)
6 to 9 friends							0.71
							(0.23)
10 or more friends							0.46**
							(0.17)
Constant	0.27***	0.27***	0.47***	0.49**	0.37***	0.36***	0.54
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.24)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 9. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Female Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness							
(ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	-1.83	-2.89	-3.03	-2.78	-2.84	-2.44	-2.64
	(5.16)	(6.48)	(6.66)	(6.90)	(6.95)	(7.00)	(6.91)
Unattractive	-3.67	-5.61	-5.54	-5.55	-5.25	-4.74	-5.33
	(4.49)	(4.02)	(3.94)	(3.98)	(3.99)	(4.08)	(3.93)
Attractive	-0.54	-0.11	0.30	0.30	0.55	0.76	0.86
	(1.79)	(2.13)	(2.17)	(2.20)	(2.15)	(2.12)	(2.10)
Very attractive	1.09	2.81	3.41	3.03	3.99	3.87	3.94
	(2.91)	(3.83)	(3.95)	(4.00)	(4.10)	(4.04)	(4.08)
Personality Attractiveness							
(ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		1.06	1.66	1.34	2.03	2.00	1.96
		(6.98)	(7.28)	(7.40)	(7.76)	(7.67)	(7.66)
Unattractive		14.62*	13.39	13.17	11.36	10.32	10.22
		(8.12)	(8.40)	(8.47)	(8.20)	(8.14)	(7.96)
Attractive		0.11	0.11	0.11	0.53	0.64	0.66
		(2.30)	(2.28)	(2.28)	(2.28)	(2.28)	(2.24)
Very attractive		-2.56	-2.60	-2.47	-2.34	-1.80	-1.77
		(3.09)	(3.09)	(3.13)	(3.13)	(3.17)	(3.12)
Self-Rated Attractiveness							
(ref.=Not At All Attractive)							
Slightly attractive			-10.11	-9.79	-8.67	-7.99	-8.08
			(6.13)	(6.02)	(5.81)	(5.80)	(5.86)
Moderately attractive			-11.81*	-11.14*	-9.82*	-8.85	-8.84
			(6.02)	(5.91)	(5.74)	(5.73)	(5.83)
Very attractive			-12.22**	-8.44	-6.48	-5.65	-5.83
			(6.17)	(6.40)	(6.32)	(6.26)	(6.29)
Race							
(ref.=White)							
Black or African American				-6.90***	-7.54***	-7.62***	-7.99***
				(2.63)	(2.58)	(2.56)	(2.55)

Table 9. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Female Model) (continued)

American Indian or Alaska Native	4.95	3.45	3.94	3.64
	(13.52)	(12.72)	(12.95)	(12.84)
Asian or Pacific Islander	-7.85	-7.22	-6.69	-7.01
	(5.05)	(5.28)	(5.40)	(5.17)
Education				
(ref.=Less than HS)				
HS Grad		4.54	4.81	4.98
		(3.91)	(3.68)	(3.64)
Some College		7.23**	7.75**	8.08**
		(3.59)	(3.37)	(3.35)
BA		-2.18	-0.20	0.34
		(3.93)	(3.70)	(3.69)
Post-Grad		-1.73	0.57	1.22
		(3.99)	(4.01)	(3.98)
Personal Income				
(ref.=Less than 25K)				
25K-49,999			-2.44	-2.23
			(2.24)	(2.24)
50K-74,999			-6.96**	-6.32**
			(2.96)	(3.02)
75K-99,999			-12.62***	-12.29***
			(4.52)	(4.52)
100K+			-3.68	-3.42
			(6.50)	(6.53)
Number of Close Friends				
(ref.=None)				
1 or 2 friends				-6.61
				(6.56)
3 to 5 friends				-8.42
				(6.49)
6 to 9 friends				-6.49
				(6.43)
10 or more friends				-12.79*
				(6.74)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses. Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses. Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

When examining the core predictor variable of Physical Attractiveness, the PFS Female Model, like the PFS Full Model, displayed a threshold effect, albeit a more pronounced one, as seen in Figure 3 (Female PFS Model). Like before, only being rated as physically "Very unattractive" was statistically significant (p<.01), but what is noteworthy is that once male respondents were removed from the model, the effect size of being rated physically "Very unattractive" when compared to "About average" more than doubled. Those females rated as physically "Very unattractive" were 9.16pp less likely than those rated as "About average" to

report being the victim of PFS (compared to the PFS Full Model's 3.69pp less likely). As with

the PFS Full Model, the effect sizes shrank dramatically at the levels of physically

"Unattractive" and above (when compared to "About average") in the PFS Female Model, with

the other (nonsignificant) Physical Attractiveness effect sizes being around an eighth of the size

of "Very unattractive" at best.

Figure 3. Probability of PFS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 7

(Female Model)
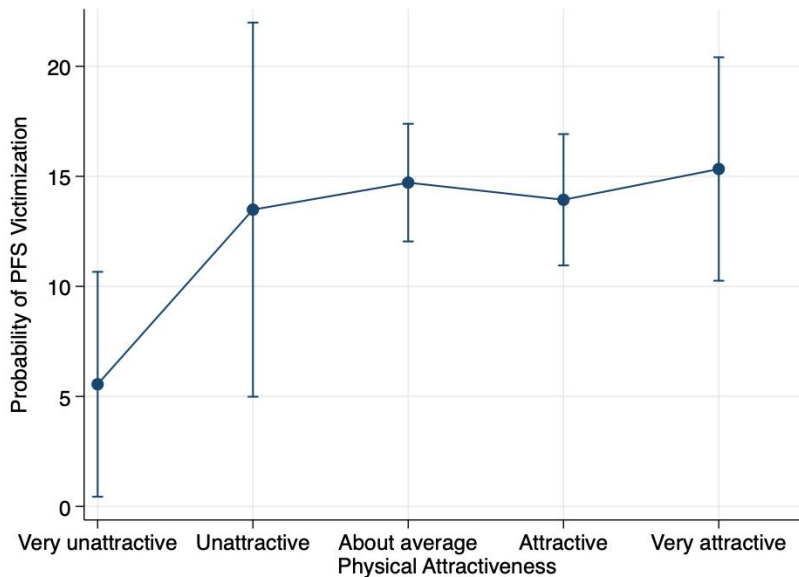
Interestingly, most of the other variables assessed produced no statistically significant

results across all seven iterations of the PFS Female Model. One exception was Education, which

was significant at the "BA" level (p<.05) and marginally significant at the "Post-Grad" level

(p<.10). Those females with a "BA" were 9.44pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than

those in the "Less than HS" level. Females in the "Post-Grad" level were 7.67pp less likely to

report being a victim of PFS than those in the "Less than HS" level. This same pattern was

observed in the PFS Full Model but with larger effect sizes in the PFS Female Model, again indicating the significant effect of Gender on the Full Model.

Of particular note is that the only other control that produced significant results in the PFS Female Model was the Number of Close Friends. Unlike in the PFS Full Model, Number of Close Friends was significant ($p < .05$) at every level within the PFS Female Model (marginally so at the "1 or 2 friends" level; $p < .10$) with large effect sizes that gradually increased at each successive level. Those females with "1 or 2 friends" were 10.64pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than those with no close friends. Females at the "3 to 5 friends," "6 to 9 friends," and "10 or more friends" levels were 11.73pp, 12.46pp, and 14.92pp less likely to report PFS victimization, respectively. These effect sizes dwarf those within the PFS Full Model while remaining significant, which suggests that capable guardianship is more important for females than males when it comes to PFS victimization. As mentioned before, no other variables within the PFS Female Model produced statistically significant results.

CS Female Model

Like with the CS Full Model, the CS Female Model did not support my hypothesis in any way regarding Physical Attractiveness. None of the seven iterations of the CS Female Model produced statistically significant results for Physical Attractiveness, and the effect sizes were not particularly large. Personality Attractiveness also failed to produce statistically significant findings despite having a large effect size for the "Unattractive" level of the variable (indicating a 10.22pp greater likelihood of reporting CS victimization compared to the "About average" level in the final model iteration). Though non-significant, these magnitude trends can be observed visually in Figure 4. Self-Rated General Attractiveness produced significant results only in the third model iteration, indicating that those females who rated themselves as "Very

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attractive" were 12.22pp less likely to report being a CS victim when compared to those who rated themselves as "Not at all attractive." This significance disappeared with the fourth iteration when controlling for Race, and the effect size diminished considerably with each new iteration.

Figure 4. Probability of CS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 9 (Female Model)
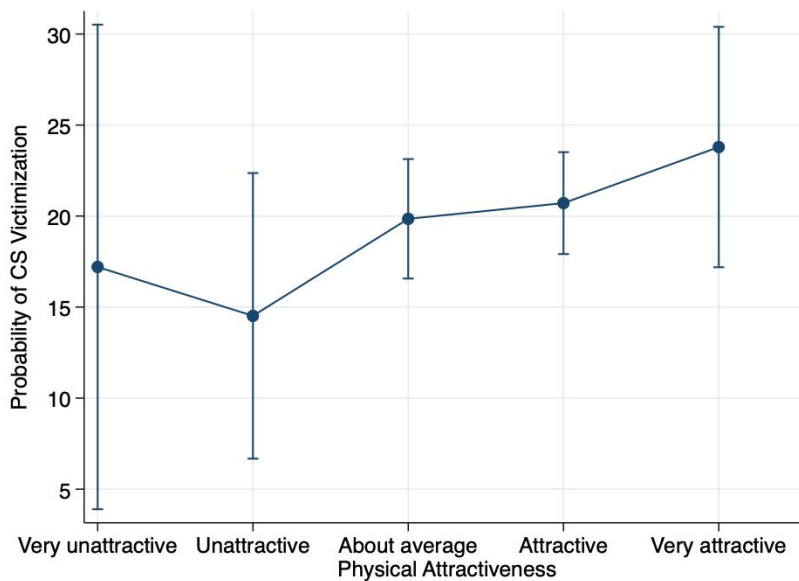
Race was significant (p<.01) for those identified as "Black or African American" in every iteration of the model it was included in. The effect size for being "Black or African American" also increased slightly over each iteration of the model, with the final iteration finding that "Black or African American" female respondents were 7.99pp less likely to report being a CS victim than those identified as "White." None of the other Race categories produced significant results (although "Asian or Pacific Islander" had a similar effect size and direction).

Like in the CS Full Model, Education was significant (p<.05) at the "Some College" level, although it had a much larger effect size in the CS Female Model, an effect size which increased with every new iteration of the model. In the final iteration of the CS Female Model,

females with "Some College" were 8.08pp more likely to report being a CS victim than those with a "Less than HS" education. This effect size was significantly larger than that of the other Education levels. The much larger effect size when compared to "Some College" in the CS Full Model suggests that Education may be a more important element of CS victimization for females than males.

Two of the personal income variables were significant in the CS Female Model. Those with a personal income of "50K-74,999" were 6.32pp less likely (in the final form of the model; $p<.05$) to report being a CS victim when compared to those at the "Less than 25K" level. An even larger effect was found for those at the "75K-99,999" level in the model's final iteration, as those at said level were 12.29pp less likely ($p<.01$) to report being a CS victim than those at the "Less than 25K" level. Interestingly, the highest level, "100K+," did not produce significant results or notable effect sizes.

Surprisingly, and unlike the CS Full Model, the Number of Close Friends variable returned marginally significant ($p<.10$) results. The "10 or more friends" level had a large effect size, indicating that those at that level were 12.79pp less likely than those with no close friends to report being a victim of CS, but this finding was marginally significant ($p<.10$). Such an outcome indicates that, for females, the Number of Close Friends one has is related to CS victimization, which seems contrary to expectations given how CS can be easily associated with so-called "date rape."

PFS Male Model

Similar to my analysis of the female data, I also conducted analyses of PFS and CS victimization in a series of models that only examined male respondents. The results from the PFS Male Model can be seen in odds ratio form in Table 10 and percentages holding all other

variables at their means in Table 11. The CS Male Model results are displayed in odds ratio form

in Table 12, and percentages holding all other variables at their means in Table 13. Of immediate

note is that, due to the low number of male respondents who identified as PFS (n=45 versus

n=382 for females) or CS (n=82 versus n=544 for females) victims, several variable levels within

the model were omitted as there was insufficient data to conduct analyses. This lack of data also

casts doubt on the accuracy of the analyses that had enough data to run, as meeting a minimum

requirement for the number of data points does not automatically mean there is enough data for

the results to be accurate.

Table 10. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Male Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness **(ref.=About Average)**							
Very unattractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unattractive	1.83	0.75	0.73	0.70	0.74	0.65	0.71
	(1.29)	(0.58)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.62)	(0.54)	(0.58)
Attractive	1.01	1.14	1.06	1.07	1.11	1.16	1.16
	(0.38)	(0.47)	(0.46)	(0.47)	(0.48)	(0.51)	(0.52)
Very attractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personality Attractiveness **(ref.=About Average)**							
Very unattractive (omitted)		-	-	-	-	-	-
Unattractive		6.79***	6.25***	6.34***	6.59***	6.34***	5.99***
		(4.38)	(3.94)	(4.17)	(4.21)	(3.94)	(3.56)
Attractive		0.77	0.77	0.75	0.78	0.79	0.79
		(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.37)
Very attractive		1.15	1.09	1.12	1.37	1.44	1.42
		(0.69)	(0.65)	(0.67)	(0.82)	(0.86)	(0.84)
Self-Rated Attractiveness **(ref.=Not At All Attractive)**							
Slightly attractive			0.19*	0.18*	0.21	0.20*	0.21
			(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Moderately attractive			0.67	0.60	0.74	0.73	0.75
			(0.61)	(0.55)	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.72)
Very attractive			0.52	0.36	0.41	0.39	0.42
			(0.51)	(0.37)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.44)
Race **(ref.=White)**							
Black or African American				1.94	1.98	1.75	1.64
				(0.82)	(0.84)	(0.80)	(0.74)
American Indian or Alaska Native (omitted)				-	-	-	-

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Asian or Pacific Islander (omitted)				-	-	-	-
Education							
(ref.=Less than HS)							
HS Grad					1.34	1.50	1.57
					(0.81)	(0.90)	(0.96)
Some College					1.76	2.05	2.02
					(1.06)	(1.25)	(1.23)
BA					0.51	0.70	0.77
					(0.35)	(0.49)	(0.56)
Post-Grad					0.26	0.34	0.37
					(0.29)	(0.38)	(0.42)
Personal Income							
(ref.=Less than 25K)							
25K-49,999						0.76	0.74
						(0.32)	(0.32)
50K-74,999						0.33*	0.32*
						(0.22)	(0.21)
75K-99,999						0.25	0.26
						(0.28)	(0.29)
100K+						0.73	0.82
						(0.62)	(0.70)
Number of Close Friends							
(ref.=None)							
1 or 2 friends							1.85
							(1.61)
3 to 5 friends							2.43
							(2.04)
6 to 9 friends							1.66
							(1.56)
10 or more friends							0.45
							(0.46)
Constant	0.02***	0.02***	0.04***	0.05***	0.03***	0.03***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 11. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Male Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness							
(ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unattractive	1.69	-0.48	-0.47	-0.53	-0.39	-0.49	-0.36
	(2.47)	(1.18)	(1.07)	(1.07)	(0.97)	(0.78)	(0.75)
Attractive	0.01	0.28	0.10	0.12	0.16	0.22	0.20
	(0.78)	(0.86)	(0.78)	(0.80)	(0.70)	(0.66)	(0.60)
Very attractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Male Model) (continued)

Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)						
Very unattractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unattractive	10.73	8.78	9.03	8.06	7.16	6.03
	(6.59)	(5.50)	(5.96)	(5.16)	(4.53)	(3.80)
Attractive	-0.49	-0.43	-0.48	-0.35	-0.31	-0.27
	(0.82)	(0.72)	(0.73)	(0.63)	(0.58)	(0.52)
Very attractive	0.31	0.16	0.23	0.58	0.63	0.53
	(1.38)	(1.18)	(1.22)	(1.21)	(1.17)	(1.02)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)						
Slightly attractive		-3.28	-3.77	-2.71	-2.59	-2.25
		(3.44)	(3.94)	(3.04)	(2.88)	(2.60)
Moderately attractive		-1.31	-1.80	-0.86	-0.86	-0.70
		(3.50)	(4.00)	(3.09)	(2.95)	(2.66)
Very attractive		-1.94	-2.91	-2.02	-1.96	-1.64
		(3.59)	(4.08)	(3.15)	(2.98)	(2.68)
Race (ref.=White)						
Black or African American			1.49	1.35	0.97	0.75
			(1.16)	(1.06)	(0.99)	(0.83)
American Indian or Alaska Native (omitted)			-	-	-	-
Asian or Pacific Islander (omitted)			-	-	-	-
Education (ref.=Less than HS)						
HS Grad				0.49	0.56	0.55
				(0.95)	(0.79)	(0.70)
Some College				1.07	1.17	0.99
				(1.00)	(0.84)	(0.71)
BA				-0.70	-0.34	-0.22
				(0.81)	(0.70)	(0.66)
Post-Grad				-1.06	-0.75	-0.62
				(0.82)	(0.71)	(0.66)
Personal Income (ref.=Less than 25K)						
25K-49,999					-0.52	-0.48
					(0.78)	(0.69)
50K-74,999					-1.44**	-1.30**
					(0.70)	(0.61)
75K-99,999					-1.59*	-1.41*
					(0.83)	(0.78)
100K+					-0.57	-0.33
					(1.40)	(1.36)
Number of Close Friends (ref.=None)						
1 or 2 friends						0.68
						(0.81)
3 to 5 friends						1.14
						(0.79)
6 to 9 friends						0.53
						(0.91)
10 or more friends						-0.45
						(0.69)

Table 11. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Physical Forced Sex Victimization (Male Model) (continued)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses.
Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 12. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Male Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	1.57	1.73	1.72	1.68	2.03	2.09	2.08
	(0.94)	(1.06)	(1.09)	(1.07)	(1.34)	(1.39)	(1.31)
Unattractive	1.99	1.18	1.10	1.08	1.08	1.01	1.02
	(0.96)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.65)	(0.67)
Attractive	0.91	1.20	1.16	1.17	1.23	1.29	1.31
	(0.23)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.41)	(0.42)
Very attractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personality Attractiveness (ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		0.77	0.77	0.77	0.81	0.92	1.04
		(0.53)	(0.55)	(0.56)	(0.60)	(0.65)	(0.73)
Unattractive		3.53**	3.36**	3.36*	3.34*	3.19*	3.05*
		(2.16)	(2.04)	(2.08)	(2.07)	(1.97)	(1.98)
Attractive		0.64	0.64	0.63	0.67	0.69	0.71
		(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Very attractive		0.51	0.49	0.50	0.61	0.64	0.69
		(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.44)
Self-Rated Attractiveness (ref.=Not At All Attractive)							
Slightly attractive			0.33	0.32	0.36	0.36	0.40
			(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.30)
Moderately attractive			0.61	0.56	0.66	0.69	0.78
			(0.44)	(0.41)	(0.48)	(0.51)	(0.56)
Very attractive			0.40	0.32	0.34	0.36	0.40
			(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.31)
Race (ref.=White)							
Black or African American				1.54	1.46	1.31	1.25
				(0.46)	(0.43)	(0.40)	(0.37)
American Indian or Alaska Native (omitted)				-	-	-	-
Asian or Pacific Islander				0.19*	0.28	0.29	0.30
				(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Education (ref.=Less than HS)							
HS Grad					0.82	0.87	0.94
					(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.41)
Some College					0.96	1.08	1.20
					(0.43)	(0.47)	(0.52)
BA					0.25**	0.34*	0.39
					(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.26)
Post-Grad					0.23*	0.30	0.35
					(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.26)

Table 12. Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Male Model) (continued)

Personal Income
(ref.=Less than 25K)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
25K-49,999						0.93	0.97
						(0.26)	(0.28)
50K-74,999						0.40**	0.40*
						(0.19)	(0.19)
75K-99,999						0.39	0.35
						(0.29)	(0.26)
100K+ (omitted)						-	-
Number of Close Friends							
(ref.=None)							
1 or 2 friends							0.46
							(0.24)
3 to 5 friends							0.33**
							(0.17)
6 to 9 friends							0.36*
							(0.21)
10 or more friends							0.31*
							(0.19)
Constant	0.04***	0.04***	0.08***	0.08***	0.09***	0.10***	0.20*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.19)

All estimates produced from logistic regression analyses holding all other variables in the model constant but not at zero.
Estimated coefficients are shown in odds ratio form, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 13. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Male Model)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES							
Physical Attractiveness							
(ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive	1.90	2.14	2.05	1.91	2.49	2.61	2.52
	(3.02)	(2.94)	(2.98)	(2.87)	(3.03)	(3.10)	(2.81)
Unattractive	3.26	0.54	0.30	0.23	0.20	0.02	0.04
	(2.90)	(2.01)	(1.97)	(1.91)	(1.67)	(1.59)	(1.60)
Attractive	-0.31	0.58	0.47	0.48	0.57	0.70	0.73
	(0.82)	(1.01)	(0.99)	(0.97)	(0.87)	(0.90)	(0.89)
Very attractive (omitted)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personality Attractiveness							
(ref.=About Average)							
Very unattractive		-0.92	-0.90	-0.85	-0.59	-0.26	0.13
		(2.17)	(2.15)	(2.17)	(1.95)	(2.07)	(2.19)
Unattractive		8.98	8.21	8.04	6.88	6.41	5.80
		(6.48)	(6.05)	(6.08)	(5.25)	(4.98)	(4.92)
Attractive		-1.42	-1.40	-1.41	-1.06	-0.98	-0.87
		(1.10)	(1.08)	(1.06)	(0.93)	(0.93)	(0.90)
Very attractive		-1.98	-2.00	-1.91	-1.25	-1.15	-0.95
		(1.47)	(1.39)	(1.38)	(1.37)	(1.40)	(1.45)
Self-Rated Attractiveness							
(ref.=Not At All Attractive)							

Table 13. Average Marginal Effect of Individual Characteristics on Coerced Sex Victimization (Male Model) (continued)

Slightly attractive	-4.33	-4.63	-3.46	-3.36	-2.77
	(4.47)	(4.69)	(3.77)	(3.68)	(3.17)
Moderately attractive	-2.50	-2.92	-1.79	-1.60	-1.00
	(4.47)	(4.68)	(3.77)	(3.69)	(3.18)
Very attractive	-3.87	-4.64	-3.58	-3.41	-2.81
	(4.53)	(4.74)	(3.80)	(3.71)	(3.21)
Race					
(ref.=White)					
Black or African American		1.58	1.21	0.83	0.66
		(1.26)	(1.07)	(1.04)	(0.95)
American Indian or Alaska Native (omitted)		-	-	-	-
Asian or Pacific Islander		-2.50***	-1.96**	-1.96**	-1.90**
		(0.63)	(0.75)	(0.77)	(0.77)
Education					
(ref.=Less than HS)					
HS Grad			-0.73	-0.46	-0.20
			(1.72)	(1.49)	(1.36)
Some College			-0.15	0.27	0.63
			(1.79)	(1.56)	(1.42)
BA			-3.14*	-2.39	-1.95
			(1.73)	(1.56)	(1.46)
Post-Grad			-3.21*	-2.53	-2.09
			(1.74)	(1.58)	(1.47)
Personal Income					
(ref.=Less than 25K)					
25K-49,999				-0.23	-0.10
				(0.93)	(0.93)
50K-74,999				-2.13**	-2.03**
				(0.93)	(0.93)
75K-99,999				-2.14*	-2.22**
				(1.22)	(1.11)
100K+ (omitted)				-	-
Number of Close Friends					
(ref.=None)					
1 or 2 friends					-3.70
					(3.22)
3 to 5 friends					-4.59
					(3.16)
6 to 9 friends					-4.43
					(3.27)
10 or more friends					-4.80
					(3.28)

All estimates derived from the margins command holding all other variables at their means following logistic regression analyses.
Estimated coefficients are shown in percentage points, and standard errors are in parentheses.
Significance denoted as: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

For the PFS Male Model, the core predictor variable of Physical Attractiveness had two omitted levels, produced no significant results, and had extremely small effect sizes compared to the other models, as seen in Figure 5. The other attractiveness categories of Personality

Attractiveness and Self-Rated General Attractiveness also produced no significant results. However, their effect sizes tended to be slightly larger than those produced by the Physical Attractiveness variable. Race, Education, and Number of Close Friends also failed to produce significant results or large effect sizes.

Figure 5. Probability of PFS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 11 (Male Model)
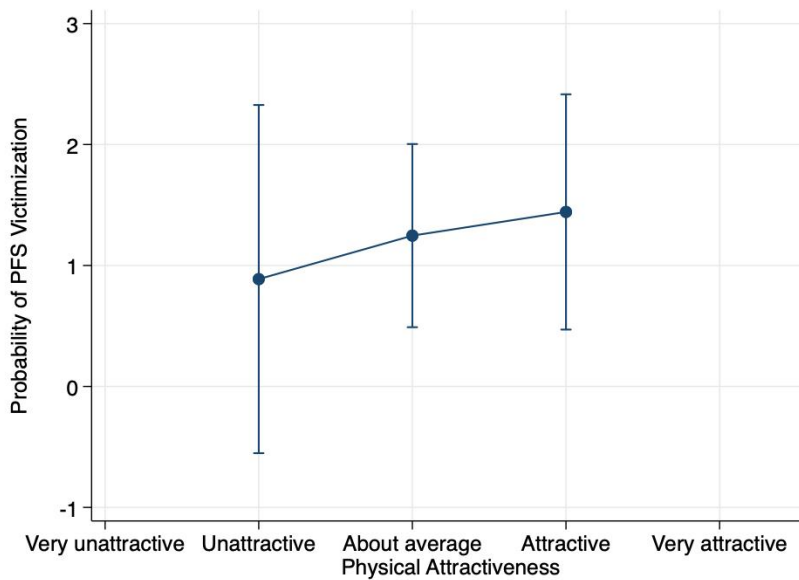
Interestingly, the only significant effects were found with the personal income variables, although the effect sizes at the significant variable levels are notably small. In the final model iteration, those males at the "50K-74,999" level were 1.30pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than those at the "Less than 25K" level (p<.05). Though marginally significant (p<.10), those males at the "75K-99,999" level were 1.41pp less likely to report being a PFS victim than those at the "Less than 25K" level. Though it is possible to interpret the lack of significance across the board as an indication that most of these variables do not affect male PFS victimization, it is also possible that the limited sample size of male PFS victims in Add Health is not enough to conduct accurate analyses.

CS Male Model

Like the PFS Male Model, several variables were omitted from the CS Male Model due to low respondent numbers. The core predictor variable of Physical Attractiveness produced no significant results. However, as can be seen in Figure 6, the final iteration of the CS Male Model followed a general downward trend, with those male respondents rated as physically "Very unattractive" being the most likely to report being a CS victim (2.52pp more than those rated as "About average"). Although there appears to be an inverse relationship between Physical Attractiveness and CS victimization, the fact is that Physical Attractiveness returned no significant results. Additionally, the level of physically "Very unattractive" had a large standard deviation, calling into question the validity of the outcome.

One unexpected finding, given the results produced by the other models, is that the "Asian or Pacific Islander" level of the Race variable (when compared to those identified as "White") was significant (p<.05). Those males labeled as "Asian or Pacific Islander" were 1.90pp less likely to report being a victim of CS than those labeled "White." This instance is the only time the "Asian or Pacific Islander" category produced statistically significant results across the models.

Interestingly, the Personal Income variable's results followed the same trend as several of the other models, with the levels of "50K-74,999" and "75K-99,999" returning significant (p<.05) findings. Those identified as being in the "50K-74,999" category were 2.03pp less likely, and those in the "75K-99,999" category were 2.22pp less likely, to report being a CS victim than those in the "Less than 25K" category. It should again be noted that with such a small sample of male victims, these findings are tenuous. Though the results and differences compared to the Full

and Female models are undoubtedly interesting, firm conclusions cannot be drawn due to the small sample throughout the model.

Figure 6. Probability of CS Victimization by Physical Attractiveness Level from Table 13 (Male Model)
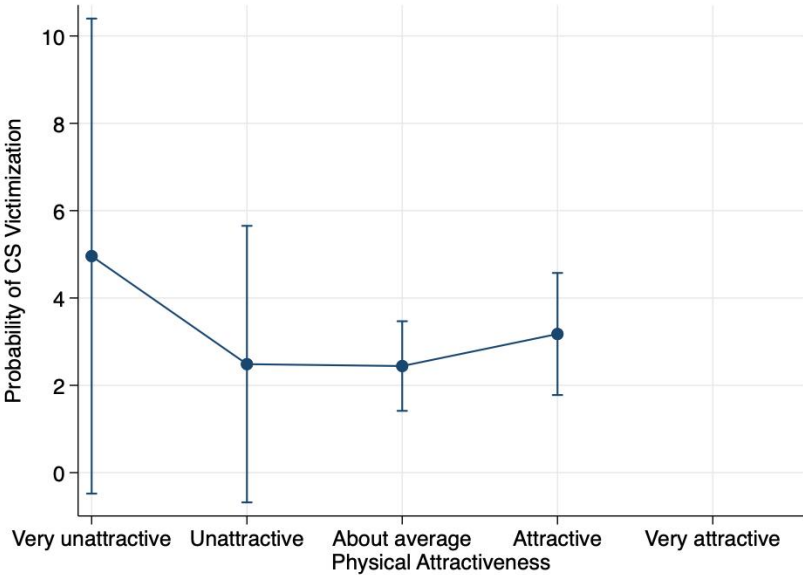
CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Physical Forced Sex and Physical Attractiveness

The present study sought to directly test Felson's hypothesis that the more physically attractive a person is, the more likely they will be to experience sexual victimization (Felson, 2002; Felson et al., 2012) and to indirectly test the Feminist notion that physical attractiveness (and therefore, sexual motivation) has no significant relationship with sexual victimization (Scully, 1994). Additionally, I tested my own hypotheses that predicted that physical attractiveness would have some effect on both Physical Forced Sex (PFS) and Coerced Sex (CS) victimization. To accomplish this, I employed the public use Add Health dataset, specifically Wave IV. I found mixed and unexpected results that partially support both Felson's hypothesis and the Feminist perspective but also partially refute both. My hypothesis regarding physical attractiveness and PFS victimization was also supported. My hypothesis regarding physical attractiveness and CS victimization was not. PFS and CS are two distinct types of sexual victimization. PFS maintains similarities to the stereotypical violent stranger rape concept and CS to the concept of acquaintance rape (consisting of things like date and party rape). By examining these two dominant types of sexual victimization, I was able to also determine if the effects found in one class of sexual victimization persisted across other types.

For this discussion, I focus on female-only analytic models for several reasons. Firstly, both Felson and Feminist scholars predominantly discuss females when assessing sexual violence and acknowledge that, to the best of our knowledge, the lion's share of sexual violence victims are female (Brownmiller, 2013; Felson, 2002; Scully, 1994). Second, when comparing the three model pairs – the Full Models, the Female Models, and the Male Models – it became clear that the female respondents heavily influenced the effects seen in the Full Model. Also,

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lower effect sizes observed in the Full Models were likely the result of the small number of male victims in the sample. The Male Models also had several variable levels omitted from the analyses due to the low sample. Therefore, I argue it is more parsimonious to focus on the statistically sound Female Models.

In line with Felson's hypothesis (Felson, 2002; Felson et al., 2012), female respondents rated as physically "Very unattractive" were significantly less likely to report being the victim of PFS. These respondents were around 9 percentage points (pp) less likely to report PFS victimization than their "About average" counterparts. This group was also significantly less likely to report being a victim than respondents in the other Physical Attractiveness levels. When examining the data more closely, however, it is clear that the results do not continue to neatly fall in line with Felson's assumptions. Once a female's categorization goes beyond "Very unattractive," the effect dissipates and becomes nonsignificant. In other words, the effect only exists for those rated as physically "Very unattractive" and disappears for those rated as "Unattractive," "About average," "Attractive," and "Very attractive" (see Table 7 column 7). This finding would indicate that Physical Attractiveness is relevant only for those females rated as physically "Very unattractive," suggesting a threshold effect of Physical Attractiveness on PFS victimization.

Whereas Felson's hypothesis would suggest that sexual victimization would increase at a relatively consistent and linear rate along with Physical Attractiveness, it appears that being physically "Very unattractive" is a deterrent for PFS. Felson appears to be right that physical attractiveness is relevant as a factor in sexual offender decision-making. However, the risk of being a victim of PFS is stable for those rated as physically "Unattractive" or above but decreases for those rated as "Very unattractive." In other words, being physically "Very

unattractive" serves as a protective factor against PFS victimization. This is not to say that those deemed "Very unattractive" maintain no risk of PFS victimization. Nor does this suggest that there is an increased risk for those who are not rated as "Very unattractive" for the same reasons. There are clearly qualitative differences between those who are "Unattractive," "About average," "Attractive," and "Very attractive," but these differences are not relevant to the risk of victimization. This conclusion is then supportive of the Feminist perspective, which would argue that Physical Attractiveness is not a risk factor for victimization. The problem with their argument is the finding for individuals rated as physically "Very unattractive." After all, the flip side of something being considered a risk factor is that its opposite can be considered a protective factor. In other words, Feminists would have predicted no difference between physically "Very unattractive" individuals and all other levels of Physical Attractiveness.

It is important to note that these differences in attractiveness are not absolute. All females retain some level of risk for PFS victimization across Physical Attractiveness categories. Those rated as physically "Very unattractive" still exhibit some level of sexual victimization. The chance of reporting being a victim of PFS is only reduced by 9pp compared to the "About average" category for those labeled "Very unattractive." While a 9pp decrease is undoubtedly a large effect, especially compared to most of the other effect sizes reported throughout this study (and with it holding a significance of p<.01), the fact remains that this does not wholly exclude physically "Very unattractive" females from experiencing PFS victimization.

From these conclusions, it can be argued that Felson was correct in implicating Physical Attractiveness as a causal factor related to the motivation to engage in sexual victimization. Where he seems to have been wrong is in his assumption that Physical Attractiveness serves as an increasing risk factor as victims are perceived by offenders as more attractive. Instead, it

appears that physical *un*attractiveness is a *protective* factor. Such a difference is more than just a splitting of semantic hairs. Females rated as one of the other Physical Attractiveness levels ("Unattractive" to "Very attractive") have roughly the same chance of reporting being a PFS victim as one another, and none of these levels evidence an increased risk compared to one another. "Very unattractive" females, however, see a decreased risk compared to every other level of the Physical Attractiveness variable. Such a finding comports with the concept of satisficing (Schwartz et al., 2002; Simon, 1955) in that once a target is "good enough" for an offender (in this case, "physically attractive" enough), the risk of experiencing PFS victimization becomes undifferentiated. This conclusion is indirectly supported by the lack of significant relationships between the levels of physically "Unattractive" and above and PFS victimization.

Conversely, the findings regarding physical attractiveness and PFS victimization both support and contradict the Feminist perspective on sexual violence, but in the opposite direction. Recall that the Feminist perspective traditionally holds that physical attractiveness and sexual desire are minor, nonsignificant elements of sexual victimization, if they are present at all (Scully, 1994). In my findings, their hypothesis holds true for those rated as physically "Unattractive," "About average," "Attractive," or "Very attractive," but does not for the group rated as "Very unattractive." Though the true extent of the relationship cannot be determined from the present analysis, it can at least be said that there is a relationship and that it warrants further study. Neither Felson nor Feminist scholars have settled the science on the matters of motivation and causation within sexual violence.

A Brief Note on Control Effects on PFS

Regarding the control variables included in the PFS Female Model, in all cases, having one or more close friends dramatically reduced a female's chance of reporting being a victim of

PFS compared to someone with no close friends. Having "1 or 2 friends" reduced risk by 10.64pp (marginally significant; $p<.10$), and the effect size continued to increase with the more close friends female respondents identified as having. Those with "10 or more friends" were nearly 15pp less likely to report being a PFS victim compared to those with no close friends. Such a finding appears to align with Routine Activities Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979), though it speaks more to the concept of Capable Guardianship than to offender motivation. The simple conclusion is that the more close friends a female has, the more capable guardians she has to protect her from potential victimizers.

Although not all PFS cases are necessarily "stranger rapes," the concept is undoubtedly tied to the stereotype of the unknown assailant who emerges from hiding to violently ambush a female victim. Having close friends, while not guaranteeing guardianship, certainly increases the likelihood that a female will have someone around them to deter a sexual predator. The findings regarding Education in the PFS Female Model are similar. I found that having a "BA" or being a "Post-Grad" significantly reduced a female's likelihood of reporting being a PFS victim by 9.44% ($p<.05$) and 7.67% (marginally; $p<.10$), respectively, when compared to females with a "Less than HS" education. This finding is almost certainly reflective of situational rather than motivational factors. Having a higher level of education likely permits females to avoid more high-risk socioenvironmental factors due to socioeconomic advantages derived from both having a higher level of education and having had the means to obtain that higher level of education.

While reducing the risk of PFS victimization somewhat, the Number of Close Friends and Education variables target situational factors. They do not necessarily speak to the cause or motivation behind PFS offenses. Notably, out of the three attractiveness measures included in the model, Physical Attractiveness, Personality Attractiveness, and Self-Rated General

Attractiveness, only Physical Attractiveness produced significant results. A potential explanation for the lack of significance regarding Personality and Self-Rated General Attractiveness is that the nature of PFS and its close association with "stranger rape" precludes consideration for these on the part of the offender. Simply put, if we assume that many, if not most, PFS encounters are between strangers and are sudden attacks, then an assailant would not necessarily have any way to even know what a target's personality or self-perception is like. For those cases where a PFS encounter is *not* between strangers, an alternative explanation could be that Physical Attractiveness is the only kind of attractiveness considered in nonconsensual sexual encounters involving physical force. Such explanations are assumptive at best, and more detailed and specific research will be needed to understand the connection between Physical Attractiveness and PFS victimization identified herein.

Coerced Sex and Physical Attractiveness

Felson's assertions that physical attractiveness should serve as a (or *the*) primary motivating factor in sexual violence is a theoretical position that should hold true across types of sexual violence. To test this assumption, I also analyzed Add Health's measure regarding what I have dubbed Coerced Sex (CS; see Methods section above). In the same way that PFS overlaps with the stereotypical notion of stranger rape, CS bears a striking resemblance to acquaintance rape, which often includes categories like date and party rape. These types of rape tend to lack the use of physical force or threat and instead typically rely on verbal coercion or the use of drugs or alcohol to reduce inhibitions or incapacitate a victim. It is also more common than physically forceful stranger rapes (Armstrong et al., 2006; Sampson, 2002). Simply put, the stereotypical perception of rape as an unknown assailant jumping out of the bushes to violently subdue and rape a victim is not the typical experience. That said, if sexual desire and the pursuit

of sexual gratification are always the primary motivations in sexual violence, then Felson's hypothesis that physical attractiveness leads to increased sexual victimization should hold with CS.

When examining the CS Female Model, however, I found no statistically significant relationships between any level of physical attractiveness and CS victimization for females. Females rated as physically "Very unattractive" or "Unattractive" did produce effects indicating they were less likely to report being a CS victim than those rated as "About average." Additionally, those females rated as "Attractive" or "Very attractive" were more likely to report being a CS victim compared to those rated as "About average." Again, however, these findings were not significant, and the large standard errors around each further indicate a spuriousness to the findings. Unlike the strong results found in the PFS Female Model at the physically "Very Unattractive" level, the CS Female Model appears to indicate that there is no relationship between physical attractiveness and CS victimization for females. However, it is interesting to note that large effect sizes were found when examining personality and self-rated general attractiveness. For example, having an "Unattractive" personality indicated that a female was 10.22pp more likely to report being a victim of CS than females rated as having an "About average" personality. Self-rated general attractiveness also saw large reductions in the risk of reporting CS victimization the higher a female rated herself. Like the physical attractiveness levels, however, none of these findings were statistically significant, and all had large standard errors.

Though these findings do not entirely dismiss the idea that sexual desire plays a part in CS perpetration, they do strongly indicate that physical attractiveness is not a significant motivational element of CS. That said, if sexual desire is indeed a prominent motivational

component in the perpetration of CS, it does not appear to manifest through physical

attractiveness. This conclusion, alongside the findings from the PFS Female Model, further

validates the argument that Felson is partially, but not entirely, correct in his suppositions. The

lack of evidence supporting Felson's perspective on CS is then indirectly supportive of the

Feminist perspective in the sense that it does not contradict it. Given the earlier acknowledgment

that nonstranger rape is more common than stranger rape, it may even be that Felson's

perspective is only correct in a minority of cases within the general category of sexual

victimization. A lack of evidence that physical attractiveness affects CS victimization risk

comports with the Feminist notion that sexual violence is not motivated by sexual desire as an

outcome of perceived physical attractiveness. It should be clarified, however, that a lack of

evidence for Felson regarding CS is not absolute confirmation of a Feminist explanation. It could

very well be that other motivational elements at play are not measurable using the Add Health.

It should not be entirely surprising for evidence of an effect to be found regarding PFS

but not CS. Though both are forms of sexual violence, they are typically distinct in their

enactment, tactics, setting, and victim-offender relationship, among other key factors

(Armstrong, 2006). Expecting perfect symmetry between the two would be tantamount to

expecting no differences when comparing a street corner robbery to a convenience store robbery.

A basic understanding of these phenomena would lead one to immediately conclude that the

patterns, scripts, and more are distinct to each *kind* of offense within a broader offense category,

and the research on sexual violence is supportive of this conclusion (Armstrong et al., 2006;

Sampson, 2002).

The lack of support for the effect of physical attractiveness on CS, coupled with the

mixed support for its effect on PFS via a threshold effect, is ultimately indicative of the

limitations of this data in that it fails to illuminate motivations associated with sexual violence beyond physical attractiveness. While I may assume or speculate the presence of other motivations, they are not to be found in the Add Health data. Different types of sexual violence offenses may well have different motivations behind them rather than a broad-sweeping primary motivation that applies to all kinds of sexual violence equally. Such a conclusion is loosely supported by psychologists McCabe and Wauchope (2005), who found strong evidence for different kinds or types of rapists (all of which focused on the use of force and violence, somewhat aligning with Feminist theory regarding power dynamics), as well as the aforementioned work by Reid et al. (2014). Though identifying different types of rapists is not the same as different types of rape motivations, the former implies the latter to a degree.

Different methods or contextual elements of a sexual violence incident can suggest that multiple motivations might be at play, given that all contextual variables can rarely be dismissed as entirely unrelated or just due to chance. Malamuth and colleagues' (Malamuth et al., 1997; Malamuth et al., 2021) Confluence Model is arguably the most notable attempt to date for addressing sexual violence from a multi-motivational perspective, but it lacks in ways discussed earlier. These findings ultimately suggest a possible need for a new framework for understanding sexual violence that considers both the Felsonian and Feminist perspectives while remaining adaptable to different kinds of sexual violence, situational contexts, and potential motivational factors that fall outside these two dominant views.

Limitations

It should be acknowledged that the present research carries with it several limitations. This research indirectly indicates a perpetrator's perspective by involving third-party ratings of attractiveness. The assumption being that the ratings of attractiveness by the Add Health

interviewers are generalizable to how the larger world would view the attractiveness of Add

Health respondents, including those who perpetrated sexual violence against them. As such,

sexual victimization outcomes for Add Health respondents serve as indirect indicators of the

decision-making of sexual violence offenders. Thus, both variables in this data – the physical

attractiveness ratings and the self-reports of sexual victimization – are proxies for how offenders

view potential victims and make their decisions about whether to target them. As such, the

analysis does *not* truly represent the perspective of an actual perpetrator, nor does it

contextualize or allow one to explain the "why" of whatever results were found. That said, I

argue that this analysis provides a more proximate estimation of the relationship between

attractiveness and risk of sexual victimization than that provided by Felson, who supported his

hypotheses by linking a patchwork of disparate research studies that logically related to the

variables he conceptualized but were not causally or functionally linked to one another. The fact

remains that the present study relied on victim self-report data to understand perpetrators.

Though unorthodox, I argue that such an approach can provide valid ideas and assumptions that

can be elucidated through future research that examines the subject from a truly offender-based

perspective (see below).

Though it has the potential to provide a nuanced empirical assessment of Felson's

assumptions regarding physical attractiveness and sexual victimization, Add Health also has

clear limitations that should be acknowledged. To begin, the Physical Attractiveness item in Add

Health is more objective because it relies on the assessment of multiple raters rather than self-

assessments, which are more likely to be biased (Holzbach, 1978; Snow et al., 2005) and could,

therefore, be seen as a weakness of studies like Cunningham et al. (2010) and Savolainen et al.

(2020) (Rauthmann & Sherman, 2018). However, it is unclear what instructions interviewers

were given, if any, and how this might affect the ratings that interviewers gave. Though there are

consistent biological trends in what humans consider "attractive" (Berscheid & Walster, 1974;

Cunningham et al., 1995; Fan et al., 2004; Mathes et al., 1985; Miller, 1970; Tovée &

Cornelissen, 2001; Tovée et al., 1999; Weeden & Sabini, 2005), I do not know what

characteristics or physical aspects interviewers looked for when making their assessment. Were

they given rubrics? Standards? Instructions? I also do not have the characteristics of the

interviewers themselves. Demographic features like race, gender, and sexual orientation for the

interviewers would be helpful in determining if there were any systematic biases among various

raters. Ratings could be more reflective of the personal or cultural preferences of the

interviewers, which could potentially hinder the generalizability of the results.

Another potential issue arises from the design of the survey itself. I have made

assumptions about the perspective of sexual predators using the third-party assessment of

attractiveness given by interviewers. Obviously, in cases where an individual reports being the

victim of a physically forced or coerced sexual encounter, the person who violated the

participant will not be the same person who assessed the attractiveness of the participant. An

assumption is made based on the aforementioned literature that perceptions of attractiveness are

generally consistent across individuals. Though unlikely, it cannot be ruled out that some of the

interviewers were sexual predators. By the same token, there is a case to be made that sexual

predators think and perceive differently than the average person. It is more likely that the

interviewers are representative of the broader, non-offender population. This is where the

assessments of raters present a further potential problem. We cannot know if there are

dispositional perceptual preferences related to attraction between sexual offenders and the

general population, and we cannot know if the raters working for Add Health had their own

histories of sexual predation. Although highly unlikely, given the proportion of sexual predators in the general population, this nonetheless represents a degree of uncertainty in translating my results to a causal conclusion regarding the relationship between physical attractiveness and risk for victimization. However, if Felson's (2002) assumptions about perpetration hold, then sexual predators are arguably different from the average person only in regard to a lack of control (both internal and external) that they use to justify extreme behavior. Therefore, operating under the assumption of generalizability of perceived attractiveness to test Felson was consistent with Felson's overall perspective.

There are also notable limitations regarding Add Health's measures of physically forced and coerced sexual victimization. Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect is that the items asking about physically forced and coerced sexual victimization do not include a frequency count of victimization experiences, nor do any follow-up questions address frequency. The items instead boil down to a simple determination of whether someone has ever experienced physically forced or coerced sexual victimization in their lifetime. Follow-up questions do ask about the participant's age the first time they experienced each of these, but they do not account for any subsequent experiences. Additionally, based on these follow-up items, it is clear some participants were victimized from very early ages.

In some cases, these ages of first victimization are far removed from those at the time the participants were rated on their attractiveness. Therefore, there is a risk of including individuals who were only victimized as children but assessed for their attractiveness as adults. It is questionable that an attractiveness rating as an adult would have anything more than a spurious relationship to victimization as a child. However, I argue that the risk of excluding individuals who experienced unaccounted-for repeated victimization across the lifespan outweighed the risk

of including those only victimized as children. Such a stance is supported by empirical evidence that being sexually victimized once increases an individual's risk of being sexually victimized again (Sorenson et al., 1991). I conducted the analysis under the assumption that those who reported being victimized at a young age were more likely than not to have been victimized again at a later time.

A Potential New Framework: The Orientation Model of Sexual Aggression

The overarching discussion regarding the debate between the Felsonian and Feminist perspectives and my findings suggest that a new model of motivational factors and target selection patterns in sexual violence is warranted. To be frank, I only found evidence that one particular factor is at work regarding sexual victimization; being perceived as "Very Unattractive," and even then only regarding physical forced sex (PFS) victimization among females. I found that being perceived as "Very Unattractive" seems to act as a protective factor, reducing (but not eliminating) the risk of PFS victimization for women. This finding supports Felson's hypothesis that physical attractiveness *does* matter when assessing sexual victimization risk. However, he was wrong in his assumption that it was a continuous, positive, linear relationship and that it would apply uniformly to all forms of sexual violence.

Similarly, my finding indirectly refuted the Feminist hypothesis that physical attractiveness was unrelated to sexual victimization. At the same time, the threshold effect found for PFS victimization and the lack of effect for coerced sex (CS) victimization indicate that the Feminist perspective was correct in that physical attractiveness is not a consistent primary cause of sexual victimization. My findings in the present study do not directly or indirectly evidence other aspects of either of these perspectives beyond this basic test of one common theoretical element of the two.

Though I did not test both perspectives in full, my finding does suggest that there are aspects of both that are correct and aspects that are not. This conclusion, then, indicates that a new framework for assessing motivation and cause behind sexual violence could be helpful. Said framework could draw inspiration from prior work like the Confluence Model in its most recent forms (Malamuth et al., 2021) and the Feminist Framework Plus model (McPhail, 2015). The Confluence Model itself is an attempt at wedding psychobiological theory with Feminist notions, but it is limited in its incorporation of an overwhelming number of variables and ideas that are, arguably, *assumed* to be important. I argue that a new framework should be in the spirit of what Malamuth et al. (2021) have done but should start from scratch and add elements as they are rigorously researched and evidenced rather than taking assumptions from varying perspectives as forgone conclusions and un-strategically integrating them into a generalized conglomeration.

The framework would represent a more foreground approach to understanding motivation within sexual violence that allows for it to be applied on a case-by-case basis. This would allow the framework to account for varying contextual factors and motivational elements rather than painting all instances of sexual violence with a broad brush. In the most basic sense, this framework would focus on different types of motivational orientations. The use of motivational "orientation" is particularly important, as it suggests a general direction of motivation rather than holding one motivational factor as paramount over other factors that may have less magnitude or significance. Due to this focus on motivational orientation, I dub this potential framework the Orientation Model of Sexual Aggression. Here, I use "sexual aggression" rather than sexual violence to leave open the possibility of applying the model to sexually aggressive or violative behavior that is not necessarily "violent."

I suggest two distinct motivational orientations of sexual aggression to begin with. These two orientations could serve as a starting point, and both need to be subject to further in-depth analyses to determine what aspects of each are valid. The first is Sexually Oriented Sexual Aggression (SOSA), which is based on Felson's hypothesis that sexual aggression is motivated primarily by sexual desire and gratification. The second is Misogynistically Oriented Sexual Aggression (MOSA), which draws inspiration from the Feminist perspective's argument that sexual aggression is motivated primarily by the oppression of patriarchy and male desire to maintain dominion over females. These two perspectives serve as the foundation for the Orientation Model in its nascency, given that the present study found partial support for the Felsonian perspective and only indirectly failed to support aspects of the Feminist perspective (leaving open the possibility that other parts of the Feminist perspective hold). These two theoretical perspectives' partial support and partial refutation leave a few possibilities open. The first is that the two perspectives fill in each other's gaps, meaning that where Felson is refuted (in that sexual desire manifested through physical attraction is not the sole determinant of victimization status), the Feminist perspective can explain what is missing, and vice versa. This stance is further supported by the fact that attractiveness had no significant effects on reported victimization for females within the Coerced Sex model, indicating that other factors are likely at play.

The question is, then, what form should the Orientation Model take? An initial idea could see the model represented by a simple line continuum with SOSA on one end and MOSA on the other. Cases of sexual aggression would then fall somewhere along said continuum depending on the strength of each of these orientations on their motivation to commit sexually aggressive behaviors. In some cases, then, an offender may be motivated mainly by sexual desire but also

partially influenced by misogyny and the desire to assert male dominion. The reverse could also be true in some cases, where oppressing women (or enforcing patriarchal ideas and standards) is the primary goal, but there remains a hint of the desire for sexual pleasure from the act itself. Then, of course, there could be those in the middle who are equally motivated by a desire for sexual gratification and want to punish women (or a woman) from a misogynistic standpoint. This relatively simple approach to the Orientation Model could be tested in future research merely by attempting to account for both SOSA and MOSA variables. Assuming that SOSA and MOSA are the only significant motivational factors in sexually aggressive behavior, a continuum should suffice for evaluating such acts. A continuum such as this would not, however, allow for the inclusion of other potential motivations that fall outside SOSA and MOSA should they be identified in future research.

Though the present endeavor does not identify other motivational factors besides SOSA and MOSA, there may be more at play beyond these notions derived from the Felsonian and Feminist perspectives. Should more evidence emerge for more motivational factors beyond SOSA and MOSA, the Orientation Model would need to be adapted from beyond the basic continuum structure into something more multi-dimensional. For instance, a version of the model could potentially exist as a 3D graph where SOSA is on the X axis, MOSA on the Y, and whatever additional orientation is on the Z. As more orientations are evidenced, such a model would become increasingly complex to account for the varying levels of each orientation's influence on a particular instance of sexually aggressive behavior. How advanced the model would need to become cannot accurately be determined at the time of this writing. Still, the fact remains that even when physical attractiveness was significant (in the PFS Female Model) and presented the aforementioned threshold effect, it did not eliminate all instances of PFS

victimization for those rated "Very unattractive" but merely reduced it. Other motivational elements are likely involved. While MOSA may be what explains the gaps, the occasional significance of other contextual factors seems to indicate a greater complexity to sexual aggression beyond the two categories of SOSA and MOSA.

However, there is a distinct problem with both of these model approaches. What if an instance of sexual violence involved a perpetrator who was highly motivated by *both* sexual desire and a desire to assert dominance? It seems likely that both of these factors could be high without the two being highly related. Philosophy scholars like Foucault (1990) would argue that sexual desire and power are inseparable. Still, even if this were to be proven true, it does not automatically mean they are *causally* linked. Like any other human behavior, a sexually violative act could very well involve multiple goals and desires, multiple orientations, simultaneously. Each orientation could serve its unique purpose and be its own means to an end apart from the others involved. It seems doubtful that any form of a continuum would be able to truly account for such an occurrence, especially if future research were to continue confirming new orientations for sexual aggression and adding them to the model. The structural approach of Malamuth et al.'s (2021) Confluence Model may remedy this issue for an Orientation Model. Malamuth et al. (2021) measured a plethora of different elements independently before assessing them together rather than having them all part of one large continuum. While future evidence may not support the same approach for the Orientation Model, taking a similar form will likely be the most useful way to assess orientations that may act in parallel without being causally related.

It is unlikely that future research can expand on the present study through more quantitative work, at least not immediately. The current study indicates that there seems to be

something there: a connection between physical attractiveness and some instances of sexual

violence (PFS). Moreover, due to the threshold effect found with PFS victimization and the lack

of significant effects in CS cases, the Feminist perspective is only partially refuted. The reality is

that although the present quantitative analysis was indicative of the connections mentioned

above, it does not explain them. Future research needs to be conducted to get at the how and why

of the present findings so that they can be genuinely understood and applied to continued

research and, eventually, to prevention and intervention efforts. Furthermore, the various aspects

of the Feminist and Felsonian perspectives need to be studied directly as individual elements and

in conjunction with each other. The ideal approach to garnering this data would be through in-

depth qualitative research.

There are two main avenues that this qualitative next step could take. The first assumes

that the necessary data already exists in interviews collected by other qualitative researchers who

have touched on motivational factors in their analyses without focusing on it. One example of

data that could have the potential to be fruitful is that of Beauregard et al. (2007b). Though not

explicitly focused on motivation, Beauregard et al. (2007b) analyzed the target selection patterns

of the rapists in their study, and their results and discussion allude to clear motivational factors

within this selection process. One clear limitation of this data set is that it was focused on serial

rapists and did not include single-offense rapists, which may hinder generalizability.

That said, they interviewed sixty-nine of these serial rapists, and such a large sample

arguably strengthens the internal validity of the data. Specifically, this data contains discussions

of the rapists' *modus operandi*, their target selection patterns, how they mitigated risk, how they

accounted for situational and contextual factors, and various motivational elements, among other

aspects. It seems apparent that Beauregard et al.'s (2007b) data is rich and detailed with the

benefit of having been collected by a seasoned and experienced research team that approached the interviews from a neutral perspective.

No preexisting interview data will be a perfect fit for any *ex post facto* qualitative analysis. Still, such a scientific endeavor aims to get close enough to the point that using the data for future study of these topics is valid. At first blush, Beauregard et al.'s (2007b) data appears to meet this "close enough" standard. Being "close enough" carries with it a few added benefits. The first is that any data wherein the rapists describe their motivation will likely be naturally facilitated and untainted by a prearranged goal of steering the interviews in a particular direction. This first point then relates to the second in that it would reduce the chance that my unconscious biases or those of others examining the data may affect the results. Though such biases may still affect the coding and interpretation of the data (which is an inevitable risk in all research of this kind), the data being collected by a third party helps ensure that said data is not skewed.

Despite these arguments in favor of a follow-up study using data such as this, there will inevitably need to be new qualitative data collected that purposefully focuses on motivational factors within sexual aggression. Given the obvious ethical pitfalls of trying to locate and interview "active" offenders engaged in sexual aggression, qualitative interviews would need to be conducted with either incarcerated or released sex offenders. Getting access to such populations may prove challenging given the nature of sex crimes, but the information that could be potentially gleaned would be invaluable. These interviews would be semi-structured in an attempt to tease out the specific information on motivation without overly influencing the responses of the interviewees. Additionally, a more indirect but purposeful approach would make it more likely that unexpected information might emerge that could better inform the potential framework and future research projects in other adjacent spheres.

One possible limitation to interviewing incarcerated or previously incarcerated sex offenders would have to be considered, and that is the effects of incarceration itself and the sex offender rehabilitation efforts commonly found in penal institutions (Copes et al., 2015; Topalli et al., 2020). These settings are literally intended to alter the thoughts and perspectives of the individuals they house (one of the core goals of carceral punishment), and this could undoubtedly result in accounts from interviewees that are influenced by such circumstances. A potential means of minimizing these effects (while also examining the effects themselves) could be to identify participants based on the length of their incarceration. Separating those recently incarcerated from long-term or released individuals could allow me or other researchers to reduce the effects of the incarceration itself for one group of interviews while also being able to compare the effects of incarceration on long-term participants.

The goal will be to follow up such qualitative studies with systematic experimental research and data. Ideally, this avenue of research will produce a cycle wherein qualitative research provides the conceptual information necessary for proper operationalization and theoretical framing, and quantitative data uses this information to conduct accurate and informative statistical analyses in settings that feature high internal validity. Ultimately, this cycle will lead to a pattern of testing theory and theoretical suppositions and then implanting those elements supported by the data into a more comprehensive and holistic model, whether it be an Orientation Model or something else supported by the research.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

The present study sought to examine motivation within the perpetration of acts of sexual violence, starting with an overview of the general historical trends in the study of the subject. I then addressed a debate at the forefront of the modern discourse surrounding motivation in sexual violence, pitting the general Feminist perspective against that of Felson. This debate served as the core of the present writing. I then employed the public use version of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health's dataset, specifically Wave IV, to directly test Felson's hypothesis that physical attractiveness was a key motivating factor in the perpetration of sexual violence (being a manifestation of sexual desire). Additionally, I indirectly tested the Feminist argument that the qualities of victims themselves (in this case, physical attractiveness) are not a motivating factor in sexual violence perpetration. I conducted two series of logistic regression analyses with Physical Forced Sex (PFS) as the outcome of the first series and Coerced Sex (CS) as the outcome of the second. Ultimately, the results indicated a partial support and partial refutation of both the Feminist and Felsonian perspectives. Regarding PFS victimization, female respondents rated as being physically "Very unattractive" were significantly less likely to report being a PFS victim than those rated as being "About average." However, this effect was absent for female respondents rated as physically "Unattractive" or above, with no significant differences between these categories.

This finding was indicative of a kind of threshold effect where being physically "Very unattractive" acts as a kind of protective factor for PFS victimization risk. These results suggest that Felson's hypothesis that increased physical attractiveness leads to greater sexual victimization risk is somewhat true but also flawed. The findings indicate that less physically attractive females are less likely to be at risk of experiencing PFS but that increased

attractiveness does not see a consistent increase in reported PFS victimization. Additionally, the effect of physical attractiveness is only observed in one level ("Very unattractive"), not across all levels, as Felson would suggest. These findings also then partially refute the Feminist perspective's argument that physical attractiveness is irrelevant to sexual victimization, but it does not appear to be paramount either.

Though the PFS Female Model ultimately produced significant findings regarding physical attractiveness, the CS Female Model did not. Physical attractiveness was not found to have a significant effect or particularly large magnitudes at any level of the Physical Attractiveness variable. It appears that, when it comes to Coerced Sex, Felson's hypothesis that increased physical attractiveness will increase one's risk of sexual victimization does not hold. Though it does not disprove his broader argument that sexual desire is the primary motivation for sexual violence, Felson's hypothesis appears to only be (partially) accurate for certain kinds of sexual offenses (PFS) rather than all kinds of sexual violence. The findings herein identified a relationship between physical attractiveness and PFS victimization for females, but it does not and cannot explain the reason(s) for this relationship. Future research should focus on attempting to understand this relationship. Said research would likely require employing qualitative methodology through either the re-analysis of relevant qualitative data already collected or the collection of new data through approaches like semi-structured interviews. The findings from such work will ideally fuel additional scholarly investigation and will ultimately better inform policy and intervention efforts aimed at reducing the frequency of sexual violence.

Outro: Dogma and Discipline

The debate, data, and conclusions reached in the present study suggest a more abstract and far-reaching issue among the various social science disciplines: disciplinary dogmatism. At

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its core, the Feminist perspective is (generally) rooted within the discipline of sociology, with its emphasis on patriarchal social structure and male hegemony. Felson, on the other hand, despite being trained as a sociologist himself, takes a much more micro-level psychobiological approach with his hypotheses. Part of the contention between Feminists and Felson is undoubtedly aided by the two perspectives being party to distinctive disciplinary approaches to studying sexual violence. The Feminist perspective focuses on social structure and works down but stops short of truly considering individual-level factors. Felson fully embraces the consideration of individual-level factors but disregards broader social factors. Both perspectives sometimes pay lip service to these extra-disciplinary elements, but they do not allow them to maintain any primacy in the discussion. The problem is that, based on my findings, sexual violence does not appear to be a topic that lends itself entirely to one disciplinary explanation or another. While I cannot conclude from the present study how much of the total puzzle Felson's perspective explains, I can definitively say that the Feminist perspective, with its sociological bent, does not explain sexual violence in full. The findings herein, which support Felson (that in cases of PFS, physical attractiveness does seem to have an effect on sexual victimization), frankly do not support a singularly sociological view of sexual violence. However, the lack of evidence concerning CS victimization and the plateau effect found in the PFS models (the Full and Female models) indicates that the inverse is also true. Felson's micro-level psychobiological approach does not provide a holistic explanation.

Such conclusions are indicative of far more than a need for mere theory integration if criminology is to achieve a better and more useful understanding of sexual violence. What appears to be sorely needed is disciplinary integration, a multidisciplinary approach to studying the present phenomenon. Perspectives like that of the Feminists and Felson are rigidly dogmatic

in their approach to analyzing a problem, not just regarding theory but in terms of methodology and analysis. Such dogma of discipline is inherently limiting in terms of scientific inquiry and invariably limiting in terms of the resulting data that emerges from it. If a single disciplinary perspective is incapable of fully explaining things like motivation and causation within sexual violence, then the logical conclusion is that an integration of disciplines is necessary. If criminologists are to reach the level of knowledge and understanding regarding the perpetration of sexual violence needed to inform effective prevention and intervention policy, then they must be willing to abandon rigid disciplinary dogma and look at the issue from a holistic perspective.

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