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THE IMPACT OF ALCOHOL ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS

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The research examined whether alcohol intoxication is a greater risk factor for some types of violence than others, using data from the National Violence Against Women and Men Survey (NVAW). Analyses indicated that offenders were much more likely to be intoxicated when they physically assaulted a stranger than when they assaulted someone they knew and least likely to be intoxicated when they assaulted an intimate partner. Offenders who committed sexual assaults were no more likely to be drinking than offenders who committed physical assault. It is argued that conflicts involving people who know each other are more intense and may lead to an assault without the facilitative effect of alcohol.

Keywords: alcohol; violence; NVAW

Alcohol is arguably the most well-known and strongest correlate of violent behavior. Estimates of the number of violent offenders who were intoxicated at the time of their offense range from 57% to 85% (Roizen, 1997; see also Boles & Miotto, 2003; Fagan, 1990; Miczek et al., 1994; Pernanen, 1991). Evidence also indicates that individuals who drink more frequently are more likely to have engaged in violence (Collins & Messerschmidt, 1993; Collins & Schlenger, 1988; Leonard, Bromet, Parkinson, Day, & Ryan, 1985; Wells & Graham, 1998). Experimental studies indicate that alcohol intoxication has a causal effect, although the mechanism is not clear (e.g., Chermack & Taylor, 1995; for reviews, see Graham, Schmidt, & Gillis, 1996; but see Lipsey, Wilson, Cohen, & Derzon, 1997).

The present research examined whether alcohol intoxication is a greater risk factor for some types of violence than for other types. Specifically, we examined whether intoxication is a greater risk factor for assaults committed by intimate partners, acquaintances, or strangers and whether it plays a more important role in physical assault or sexual assault. Because most prior research focuses on specific types of violence, or examines violence generally, it has not addressed these issues.

PHYSICAL ASSAULT

The typical incident involving alcohol and violence is thought to be the drunk and violent husband or the intoxicated man starting a fight with another individual in a bar. Such stereotypes

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or “exemplars” shape our thinking about the nature and causes of violence and help to simplify complex phenomena. However, the images may be misleading. For example, it is not clear whether men who assault their wives are more or less likely to be intoxicated than other violent offenders. Perhaps the drunken husband image reflects the association between alcohol and all types of violent offending.

The image of the drunken husband implies that men who assault their female partners are particularly likely to be drinking. Kantor and Straus (1987) challenged what they call the “drunken bum theory,” based on evidence that many husbands are sober when they commit violence. They did not examine whether drinking rates were lower for partner violence than other types of violence, however. Some theoretical claims about the motivation of violent husbands also imply a less important role for alcohol. The argument that violent husbands typically have a dominance motive implies a future orientation (e.g., Browne, 1987; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Felson & Messner, 2000; for reviews, see Archer, 1994, and Fagan & Browne, 1994). On the other hand, alcohol has been generally associated with a present orientation, careless thinking, and impulsive behavior (e.g., Steele & Southwick, 1985).

One might also predict that alcohol plays a more important role in assaults on strangers than on people who know each other. Strangers do not have as much to fight about as people who know each other. As a result, people are less likely to assault a stranger *unless* they are drinking. On the other hand, individuals are much more likely to have a serious grievance and a history of conflict with someone they know, even when they are sober. Thus, alcohol may exacerbate a contentious situation, but people who know each other may get into violent conflicts without it.

A study conducted in a Canadian city found support for this perspective: Offenders were more likely to use alcohol in assaults involving strangers than in assaults involving non-strangers (Pernanen, 1991; also see Sampson, 1987). On the other hand, evidence from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) find the opposite pattern for violent offenses generally (assault, robbery, and rape; U.S. Department of Justice [USDOJ], Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 1998). However, it is important to distinguish between types of violent offenses, because alcohol use may vary by type of offense. Robbery and rape, for example, do not typically stem from grievances. In addition, all of these studies are based on bivariate analyses and do not control for the gender of the offender. Men drink alcohol more frequently than women do, and they are more likely to be drinking when they commit violent offenses (e.g., Karberg & James, 2005; Martin & Bryant, 2001; Pernanen, 1991; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2003; USDOJ, BJS, 1998). Because men are much more likely to assault strangers (USDOJ, BJS, 1997), gender may produce a spurious relationship between alcohol use and violence toward strangers. It is therefore important to control for gender when examining the association between drinking and the offender’s relationship to the victim (and vice versa). The gender difference in drinking also makes it difficult to interpret studies that compare drinking by violent husbands and wives. Most of these studies show that violent husbands are more likely to be intoxicated than violent wives, but they do not control for gender differences in drinking (see Roizen, 1997, for a review; but see Block & Christakos, 1995). In addition, it not clear whether gender differences in intoxication during partner violence reflect gender differences in intoxication during any type of violence.

SEXUAL ASSAULT

Past research suggests that offenders who commit sexual assault are more likely to be using alcohol at the time of the offense than offenders who commit physical assault. Roizen (1997), summarizing data from published studies, suggested that 60% of sexual offenders are drinking during the offense, compared to 37% of physical assault offenders. Data from the NCVS also suggest that offenders who commit sexual assault are more likely to be drinking than offenders who commit physical assault (USDOJ, BJS, 1997). A similar pattern is reported for youth (Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989). However, these differences may again be caused by gender differences in drinking. Virtually all sexual assault offenders are males, whereas only a majority of physical assault offenders are males. In addition, most victims of sexual assault are females, whereas most victims of physical assault are males. Alcohol may play a different role in violence against men compared to violence against women (Pernanen, 1991). It is therefore important to control for gender when comparing intoxication during sexual and physical assault.

One might expect alcohol to play a greater role in "acquaintance rape" (i.e., sexual assaults involving nonstrangers). Discussions of this type of violence often emphasize the role of alcohol (e.g., Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996). However, two studies based on bivariate analyses do not find this pattern. Brecklin and Ullman (2001) found that offenders are more likely to be drinking in sexual assaults on strangers than in sexual assaults on nonstrangers. In addition, a study of college students found that men who sexually assaulted strangers, acquaintances, and casual dates were more likely to be drinking than men who sexually assaulted victims they knew well, such as dating partners and spouses (Abbey et al., 1996).

PRESENT STUDY

The current research was based on assault victimizations reported by participants in the National Violence Against Women and Men Survey (NVAW). The dependent variable was whether victims of assault reported that offenders were using alcohol at the time of the incident. The key independent variables included the gender of the offender, the offender's relationship to the victim, and whether the incident involved a sexual or physical assault. Analyses indicated the types of assaults in which offenders were most likely to be using alcohol. Although we treated alcohol use by offenders as the dependent variable, we did not consider it a causal outcome. Theoretically, it makes more sense to say that alcohol use has different effects on different types of violence. We chose to treat drinking as the outcome variable because it allowed us to examine additive and interactive "effects" of gender, relationship, and crime type.

It was hypothesized that offenders would be more likely to be drinking when they assaulted strangers than when they assaulted people they knew. The hypothesis was based on the idea that conflicts between people who know each other are more intense and can become violent without the impact of alcohol. In fact, offenders who assault intimate partners may be particularly unlikely to be intoxicated if these conflicts are particularly intense.

We also examined whether there was a statistical interaction between gender and partner relationship. The stereotypical image of the drunken husband implies that men who assault their female partners are particularly likely to be intoxicated. On the other hand, the idea that men use violence strategically to achieve dominance over their partners suggests that men who assault their partners should be particularly likely to be sober.

Finally, based on past research, it was expected that offenders would be more likely to be drinking when they committed sexual assault than when they committed physical assault. Furthermore, it was believed that there might be a statistical interaction between sexual assault and stranger relationship. Discussions about sexual assaults involving acquaintance rapes imply that offenders who commit these offenses are particularly likely to be drinking. On the other hand, two bivariate studies described above found that men who sexually assault strangers are more likely to be drinking.

METHOD

The NVAW is based on data collected in 1995 and 1996 from a nationally representative sample of 8,000 women and 8,000 men aged 18 and older (see Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). A computer-assisted telephone interview was conducted with all respondents that included information about their experience with violence.

Respondents in the NVAW Survey were asked about incidents of physical assault during adulthood and sexual assaults since childhood. For physical assaults, respondents were asked whether anyone had: "Thrown something at you that could hurt you? Pushed, grabbed or shoved you? Pulled your hair? Slapped or hit you? Kicked or bit you? Choked or attempted to drown you? Hit you with some object? Beat you up? Threatened you with a gun? Threatened you with a knife or other weapon besides a gun? Used a gun on you? Used a knife or other weapon on you besides a gun?" For sexual assaults, respondents were asked: "Has a man or boy ever made or tried to make you have sex by using force or threatening to harm you or someone close to you? Has anyone, male or female, ever made or tried to make you have oral sex by using force or threat of harm? Has anyone ever made or tried to make you have anal sex by using force or threat of harm? Has anyone, male or female, ever put fingers or objects in your vagina or anus against your will by using force or threats?"

Respondents were asked about the most recent incidents: They could report up to six incidents of assault and six incidents of sexual assault. Analyses were limited to the first three physical assaults and the first three sexual assaults reported by the respondent (99.4% of the incidents). These incidents occurred most recently and they had much less missing data. Since the assumption of independence of errors across observations is likely to be violated with these data, we used hierarchical linear modeling (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) to estimate these equations. The first level in the multilevel design includes incident characteristics, and the second level includes victim characteristics.

Incidents that involved same-sex couples ($n = 20$) were eliminated from analyses because their number was insufficient for analysis. On the other hand, there were a sufficient number of male victims of sexual assault ($n = 175$) for analysis. The final sample for the incident level included 6,005 physical assault incidents and 1,725 sexual assault incidents involving a total of 5,861 respondents.

MEASUREMENT OF INTOXICATION

The measure of intoxication was based on the victim's response to the following question about the offender: "Was he/she using drugs or alcohol at the time of the incident?" The response categories were: alcohol, drugs, both, neither, and don't know. Unfortunately, information on the quantity or the type of alcohol consumed at the time of the incident was not available. The term "intoxication" was used because it facilitated communication. The intoxication variable was coded as a trichotomy: the offender used alcohol, the offender did not use alcohol or drugs (the reference category), and other responses. Incidents in which the victim indicated that the offender was only using drugs or both drugs and alcohol or that they did not know whether the offender was using alcohol or drugs were placed in the "other" response category. Our interest in this analysis was to isolate effects of alcohol use (i.e., to create a contrast between alcohol use and no alcohol or drug use. Multinomial logistic hierarchical linear models were used to estimate effects, but we do not discuss the results for the ambiguous category "other responses."

Measurement error is a concern when relying on victim reports of an offender's alcohol use. However, there is likely to be error in measures of drinking whether one relies on victims' reports about offenders or offenders' self-reports. Victims' reports about offenders should be less biased than offenders' self-reports because drinking provides an excuse for the offender. The main problem with victims' reports is that victims often do not know whether the offender was drinking. As a result there was a considerable amount of missing data on this variable ($n = 1,453$).

There may be biases in victim's reports, however. Some victims may think that they know whether the offender was drinking but are mistaken. Random measurement error should not affect estimates of the effects of crime type, gender, and relationship. It is possible, however, that there is some systematic error. For example, some victims may stereotype male offenders and assume that they are drinking when they are not. It is also possible that victims are more likely to make mistakes in judging whether strangers have been drinking. However, these mistakes would only produce systematic error if victims are more or less likely to think sober strangers are drinking than to think drinking strangers are sober. For example, perhaps victims are more apt to make sense of an assault by a stranger by attributing it to alcohol. Or perhaps victims are more apt to make sense of an assault by someone they know by attributing it to alcohol. We have no strong reason to expect these biases to operate in either direction.

MEASUREMENT OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Sexual assault is a dichotomous variable coded 1 for sexual assault and 0 for physical assault. The genders of offender and victim were treated as dummy variables (men coded as 1, women coded as 0). Victim-offender relationship was coded as follows: either partners (spouses, former spouses, partners, and former partners), other family (parents, children, uncle, aunt, cousin, brother, sister, in-laws), other known (i.e., friend, date, and acquaintance), or stranger (the reference category). Preliminary analyses suggested that it was unnecessary to code partners in more detail as the effects were not significantly different. Offenders known by sight only were coded as strangers on this survey.

The equations include a dummy variable reflecting whether the incident occurred in a bar or at some other location (the reference category). People have more contact with strangers at bars, and they are, of course, more likely to be drinking in bars than they are at other locations.

We also controlled for victim substance use at the time of the incident, because it is likely to be associated with offender alcohol use and some of the independent variables (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). The question was similar to those for offender use and the response categories were the same. The equations also included Gender \times Partner and Sexual Assault \times Nonstranger interaction terms.

There were no measures of the demographic characteristics of the offender other than gender. However, we included controls for demographic factors of the victim: age at the time of the incident, race, ethnicity, and current level of education. Race was coded as Black, Other, and White (the reference category), and ethnicity was a dichotomous variable coded as 1 if the respondent is Hispanic and 0 otherwise. Age at the time of the incident was coded as younger than 18, 18 to 25, 26 to 35, and 36 years or older (the reference category). It was based on current age minus the number of years since the incident occurred. The level of education was coded from 1 to 7, as follows: 1 = *no schooling*, 2 = *Grades 1 to 8*, 3 = *some high school*, 4 = *high school graduate*, 5 = *some college*, 6 = *4-year college degree*, and 7 = *postgraduate*.

We used mean replacement when data were missing for age at time of incident ($n = 65$). Many respondents could not recall exactly how long ago the incident had occurred. Missing data on race and location were assigned to the other category. There were no missing data on education or victim-offender relationship.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for the NVAW incident analyses are presented in Table 1. They show that in 36% of the incidents, the offender was using alcohol but no other drug at the time of the incident. In 19% of the incidents, the victim was using alcohol alone. Results not presented show that 8% of incidents involved offenders who were using both alcohol and illegal drugs and 2% of incidents involved victims also using both alcohol and illegal drugs. Recall that they were classified (along with missing data) into the "other" category.

The results from multinomial logistic regressions involving the offender's intoxication are presented in Table 2. We do not present the results for those who gave an "other" response to the alcohol question, as the comparison with sober offenders was not meaningful. The results for offender's intoxication revealed strong negative coefficients for each of the nonstranger relationship categories. These results supported the hypothesis that offenders who assault strangers are more likely to be drinking than offenders who assault people they know. Offenders who assault partners are the least likely to be drinking. For example, when offenders assaulted partners, the odds that they were intoxicated were about one quarter (.27) as large as the odds that they were intoxicated when they assaulted strangers. We changed the reference category to partners to determine whether differences between partners and other nonstranger categories in intoxication were statistically significant. In this analysis, both the coefficient for family ($b = .47, t = 2.29, p = .02$) and other known ($b = .59, t = 3.17, p = .002$) were significant. These results show that offenders who assault family members or other people they know are more likely to be intoxicated than those who assault partners.

Table 2 also reveals main effects of gender and a Gender \times Partner statistical interaction. Male offenders were more likely to be drinking than female offenders were, and offenders

TABLE 1: Description of Incidents Reported

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Incident-level variables		
Offender alcohol use		
Offender used alcohol	2,746	35.5
Offender sober	2,603	33.7
Other response	2,381	30.8
Victim alcohol use		
Victim used alcohol	1,482	19.2
Victim sober	5,917	76.5
Other response	331	4.3
Victim-offender relationship		
Partner	2,261	29.2
Family member	720	9.3
Acquaintance	2,335	30.2
Stranger	2,414	31.2
Gender of offender		
Female	1,125	14.6
Male	6,605	85.4
Type of assault		
Physical assault	6,005	77.7
Sexual assault	1,725	22.3
Location of offense		
Bar	779	10.1
Other	6,951	89.9
Age at time of incident		
Younger than 18	1,352	17.5
18 to 25	3,067	39.7
26 to 35	1,979	25.6
Older than 35	1,332	17.2
Total	7,730	100.0
Individual-level variables		
Gender of victim		
Female	2,669	45.5
Male	3,192	54.5
Race		
White	4,618	78.7
Black	583	9.9
Other	660	11.2
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	426	7.3
Other	5,435	92.6
Education		
No schooling	6	0.1
Grades 1 to 8	92	1.6
Some high school	436	7.4
High school graduate	1,826	31.2
Some college	1,873	32.0
College graduate	1,072	18.3
Postgraduate	556	9.5
Total	5,861	100.0

who assaulted women were slightly more likely to be drinking. The nature of the statistical interaction is revealed in Figure 1. The pattern of probabilities does not indicate that men who assault their partners are particularly likely to be sober. Rather, the figure shows that

TABLE 2: Multinomial Logistic Hierarchical Linear Models Predicting Offender Intoxication (Versus No Alcohol Use at Time of Incident)

	<i>Offender Intoxicated^a</i>		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Odds Ratio</i>
Incident-level variables			
Intercept	-0.40*	0.16	0.67
Partner	-1.32***	0.19	0.27
Family	-0.84***	0.14	0.43
Acquaintance	-0.73***	0.10	0.48
Male offender	0.59***	0.13	1.81
Sexual assault	-0.15	0.23	0.86
Victim alcohol use	2.55***	0.12	12.77
Victim drug use	0.05	0.31	1.05
Victim other substance use	1.71***	0.45	5.52
Bar location	2.12***	0.21	8.35
Younger than 18 ^b	-0.61***	0.12	0.54
18 to 25 ^b	-0.16	0.01	0.85
26 to 35 ^b	0.10	0.01	1.10
Male offender is partner	0.87***	0.22	2.38
Sexual assault by nonstranger	0.48*	0.23	1.62
Individual-level variables ^c			
Male	-0.21*	0.1	0.81
Black	-0.21	0.11	0.81
Other race	0.01	0.12	1.01
Hispanic	-0.39**	0.15	0.68
Education	-0.11***	0.03	0.90

Note. Reference categories are as follows: for victim-offender relationship, stranger; for victim use, no drug or alcohol use; for location, other location; for age, greater than 35; and for race, White.

a. Reference category is "offender did not use alcohol at the time of the incident." Analyses of other responses are not presented but are available from corresponding author.

b. Age at time of incident.

c. Victim characteristics.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

men are much more likely than women to be intoxicated when they assault their partners. The gender difference for other violence is weaker.

The evidence did not support the hypothesis that offenders who sexually assault people they know are particularly likely to be drinking. The interaction term representing sexual assaults by nonstrangers was significant, but the probabilities do not show the hypothesized pattern (see Figure 2). Rather, the results show that the greater tendency for the offender to be intoxicated during assaults on strangers is observed primarily for physical assault, not sexual assault. Offenders were much more likely to be drinking when they physically assaulted strangers than when they physically assaulted people they knew. Offenders were only slightly more likely to be drinking when they sexually assaulted strangers rather than people they knew. A separate analysis of sexual assaults revealed that this difference was not statistically significant ($t = -1.09$, $p = .28$).

Finally, some of the other demographic variables had significant effects. Offenders who assaulted respondents when they were younger than 18, who had more education, and who were Hispanic were less likely than their counterparts to be intoxicated. Not surprisingly, offender's drinking was strongly associated with the victim's drinking and drug use, and offenders who committed assaults in barroom settings were much more likely to be drinking.

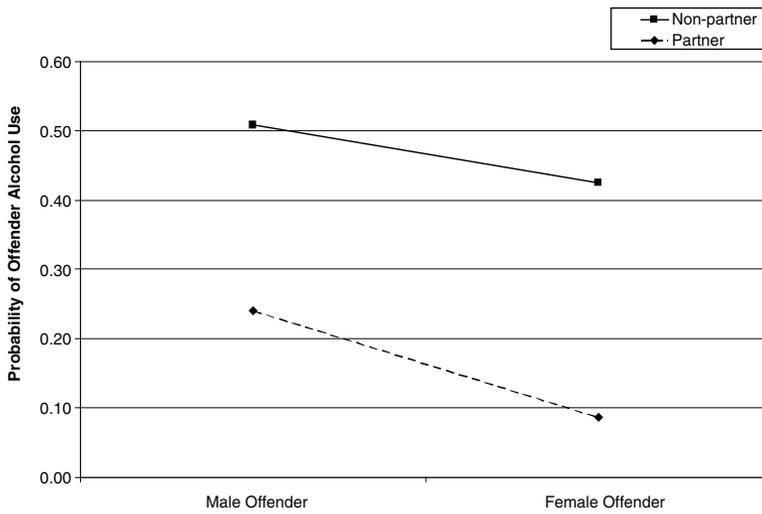


Figure 1: Alcohol Use by Gender of Offender and Victim-Offender Relationship

Note. Because all variables were grand-mean centered, probabilities were computed by fixing the values of all control variables at zero.

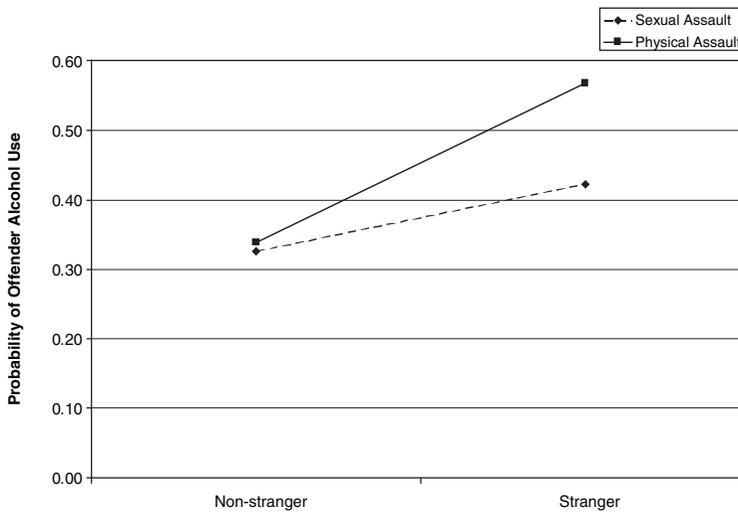


Figure 2: Alcohol Use by Victim-Gender Relationship and Type of Assault

Note. Because all variables were grand-mean centered, probabilities were computed by fixing the values of all control variables at zero.

DISCUSSION

Our results support the hypothesis that offenders are much more likely to be drinking when they physically assault strangers than when they physically assault people they know. This finding is consistent with previous bivariate research on assault based on offender's

self-report (Pernanen, 1991; Sampson, 1987). The pattern supports our argument that verbal conflicts involving people who know each other are more common and more serious and may lead to an assault without the facilitative effect of alcohol. People are not as likely to have serious conflicts with strangers and therefore are not as likely to assault them unless they are intoxicated.

An alternative interpretation is that it is more risky to assault a stranger, and alcohol has a greater impact on behaviors that entail greater risk (Brecklin & Ullman, 2001). Offenders may be at greater risk of retaliation or criminal sanctions if they assault strangers. However, if this process were operating, we should have found a similar pattern for sexual assault—and we did not. The pattern is more consistent with our conflict argument: serious conflicts between people who know each other are less likely to require alcohol to become violent. Typically, physical assaults stem from disputes, whereas sexual assaults do not.

It is also possible that some unmeasured individual-difference factor produces a spurious relationship between intoxication and assaulting strangers (versus nonstrangers). For example, perhaps the most violent-prone offenders are more likely to drink and also more likely to target strangers. The fact that we did not observe this pattern for sexual assault, however, argues against this possibility. It is also possible that drinkers are more likely to engage in activities that lead to contact with strangers. However, this interpretation is not consistent with previous research based on this data set showing that *victims* are less likely to be drinking when assaulted by strangers than when they are assaulted by someone they know (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). In addition, we controlled for whether or not the assault occurred in a bar.

We did not find that men who assault their female partners are particularly likely to be sober. Men are more likely than women to be drinking when they assault their partners. This evidence does not support the idea that men who assault their partners are more likely to have a future orientation. Alcohol does play a less important role in partner violence than in other types of violence, but that is true for both men and women.

Drinking may play a less significant role in assaults on partners for the same reason that it plays a less significant role for assaults on any nonstranger. The conflicts are more intense and can lead to violence without the facilitative effect of alcohol. Why are women less likely than men to be drinking when they assault their partners? We do not think the women are more likely to be responding to male violence: Previous research on this data set suggests that women's violence against their partners is no more likely to be precipitated by a violent attack than are men's (Felson & Cares, 2005; also see Archer, 2000). On the other hand, other research based on this data set shows that when women assault their partners, their partners are particularly likely to be drinking (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). We suspect that women's sober violence is often a response to nonviolent provocations by intoxicated male partners. The victim, not the offender, tends to be drinking during these incidents.

More generally, the pattern of drinking for offenders is opposite of what has been reported for victims with this data set (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). In violence involving strangers, offenders are more likely to be drinking, whereas victims are more likely to be sober. In violence between people who know each other (particularly partners), victims are more likely to be drinking, whereas offenders are more likely to be sober. Apparently, intoxicated victims are much more likely to provoke people they know. Research on victim precipitation based on this data set is consistent with this argument (Felson & Cares, 2005). It shows that victims are more likely to be the first to use violence in incidents involving people who know each other than in incidents involving strangers.

Our evidence is not consistent with the literature showing that sexual assault offenders are more likely to be intoxicated than physical assault offenders (Roizen, 1997). Previous research may have observed gender differences because of gender differences in chronic drinking. However, when we look at the relationship between the type of offense and drinking without controls, we still do not observe a relationship. It is interesting to compare the results herein with those from the research on victim's drinking using this data set. That research shows that sexual assault victims are more likely to be drinking than are physical assault victims (Felson & Burchfield, 2004). Alcohol apparently plays a similar role in offending for physical and sexual assault but a greater role in sexual victimization.

We find no significant difference between offenders who sexually assault people they know and those who sexually assault strangers. Our evidence is not consistent with previous bivariate research suggesting that offenders are more likely to be drinking when they sexually assault strangers (Brecklin & Ullman, 2001). However, the stranger category in our study is a broad one; it includes incidents in which the victim meets the offender at a bar or social gathering or knows the offender by sight only. Brecklin and Ullman's (2001) analysis was based on NCVS data, and that survey uses a more restricted definition of stranger. It is interesting to note that previous research with this data set shows that victims of sexual assault by known offenders are no more likely to be drinking than victims of sexual assaults by strangers (Felson & Burchfield, 2004).

In sum, this research increases our understanding of the nature of the relationship between alcohol and violence. Alcohol can contribute to any type of violent outcome, but it is much more important for some types of violence than others. Our results suggest that it is particularly likely to increase the likelihood of a physical assault on a stranger, and it is least important for assaults on partners. We attribute this pattern to the nature of conflict in different relationships, but we acknowledge that there are other explanations. Whatever the explanation, it is a strong pattern that should be considered in discussions of the role of alcohol in violent crime.

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