A MODEL FOR RAPE VICTIMIZATION REPORTING

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ABSTRACT

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Rape victimization rates are 4 times higher for college aged women than for any other age groups (Koss, Gidycz, Wisnieweski, 1987). Yet, it is estimated, only one out of ten survivors choose to report the rape to the police (Russell, 1984, Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, 1989).

This thesis analyzes interviews with rape survivors, interviews with rape crisis counselors, and sexual assault client contact sheets to determine factors which influence the decision to report a rape.

The situations which were found to increase the likelihood of reporting are listed below in order of greatest to least influential: stranger assailants, additional violence, the expectation that the police would believe the women's report, the belief that reporting would increase one's continued safety, the absence of quilt feelings, the immediate encouragement from a friend to report, and, finally a desire to tell the assailant what he did was wrong, and keep him from doing it again.

Several policy recommendations designed to increase the likelihood that survivors would report are discussed.

For my husband, Nick . . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of the sexual assault survivors that have volunteered to be interviewed for this study. It is only through the insight and courage of survivors like the seven who volunteered for this thesis that we are able to research the topic of sexual assault. This research represents my hopes and prayers for a safer world for all women.

I would also like to thank the sexual assault counselors that I interviewed. They fill very crucial and yet under-rewarded positions on college campuses. The experience and perceptions of these counselors provided a deeper understanding of the reporting process.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

One out of three women will be raped in their lifetime according to the United States Federal Bureau of Investigations (Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, (SAPAC), 1989). Only one out of ten of these victims will report the rape to the police (Russell, 1984). When such a small fraction of sexual assaults committed are ever reported, there are several serious negative consequences likely to result. First, the assailant is never told that his actions were wrong, and he is never held accountable for assaulting another person (Feldman-Summers, and Norris, 1984).

Second, communities and the criminal justice system are never made aware of the prevalence and seriousness of rape. If communities are not made aware of the rape epidemic, they will be less willing to allocate resources to the eradication of rape. According to Armand Mauss and Camille Wolfe, in This Land of Promises, much of the feminist literature advocates reporting a rape, because "modifications in the law will be affected more rapidly if the appalling frequency of rape becomes known" (Mauss and Wolfe, 1977, p. 182). Lorna Flynn conducted interviews with the director of a Rape Crisis center in Washington D.C. and a policewomen in New York. Both women stated that procedures in handling rape crisis cases would have changed if more assaults were reported (Flynn, 1974).

Third, if the victim reports the assault, she may be more likely to feel she has regained some control over the situation and her own life. Rape makes victims feel a sense of a loss of control. It is important for them to regain a sense of control (Caringella-MacDonald,1983).

If she does not report the assault, she also will not be eligible to receive publicly supported treatment and assistance (Feldman-Summers and Norris, 1984). Finally, if the victim

never achieves retribution for the assault against her person, she, as well as the community, may continue to blame the victim for the rape (Anonymous, 1990).

Yet reporting a sexual assault, and pursuing it through the criminal justice system can be an extremely taxing process for any woman. It requires a great deal of strength and time and money. Often women are faced with accusatory attitudes and hostility at every turn in the process, and they may spend years of their lives trying to prosecute only to have the man judged not guilty and set free without retribution for his actions. "For a woman struggling to make sense of her experience and cope with her feelings, the attitude and distancing of the legal system may not be best for her personal progress" (Anonymous, 1990, p.5). It is clear, there are significant reasons not to report.

There are likely social as well as individual factors which influence a woman's decision whether or not to report a sexual assault. Thus an improved understanding of this decision-making process poses an interesting sociological question. I have conducted an empirical, exploratory study of the factors which influence whether a sexual assault survivor will decide to report a sexual assault to the police. I am presenting and using a definition of rape rather than examining or questioning how it is defined by victims or public opinion. I believe that there is a line which separates consensual sex from rape, regardless of context. When a woman says "no" , and a man forces her to have intercourse, it is always rape [1] (see note, Best, 1989).

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[1] Best, Joel, (1989) Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems. New York:
Aldine De Gruyter, Inc.. There is another approach to understanding rape. Social construction theory describes labels of rape as social constructions influenced by the culture and normative climate. People use situational cues to decide on which labels to attach to a situation, and thus assignment of labels then changes as popular opinion changes. According to this theory, the definition of rape changes over time, even though the events are no less "real".

I have formed hypotheses about three separate factors which may affect a sexual assault survivor's decision making process. Some studies claim that rape is reported as frequently as many other crimes, other studies claim rape is far more underreported than other crimes. The purpose of my study is to examine the conditions under which rape (according to my definition) is reported and is not reported.

I will present a review of previous literature which has examined conditions under which rape is reported or not reported, and discuss the influential factors that have emerged from the results of these studies. From this research and my own experience as a rape crisis counselor, I have drawn three broad factors out of the previous research on rape reporting and developed a hypothetical model of reporting based on these factors. These three factors are situational circumstances around the rape (such as level of acquaintance, location of assault, level of violence, level of resistance, and race of assailant and victim), expectations of the police response, and the support system which a victim may have (such as family, friends, and counselors) to report the assault. In order to test these three factors, I have used three sources of information. The methodological procedures and rationales will be discussed for each of the data collection measures. Results of the data collection will be presented, and I will discuss the importance of each factor in reference to the three sources of data.

Finally, those factors for which I find evidence in the decision-making process will be combined into an integrated model of rape victimization reporting. I will offer policy recommendations which might improve the rate at which sexual assault survivors report rapes to the police based on these factors.

I wish to make a few comments about the language used before going into the body of the thesis. First, there are some differences of opinion concerning language used to describe sensitive issues such as rape and its victims. Some prefer the use of the term "survivor" in order to concentrate on the recovery and strength of the individual and the fact that rape is a life-threatening event which the woman survived. Concentrating only on women's victimization ignores the personal and political strength that women have and use. It is important to refer to women who have been raped as survivors.

But, women who have been raped are also victims. The term "victim" carries with it the connotation of innocence. A victim did not cause their victimization. Some women describe the experience after a rape as a two stage process, first they are victims and then they become survivors. Thus the words are used interchangeably throughout this thesis. Women who have been raped are victims and survivors.

The second comment I wish to make is that I use only female pronouns when I refer to victims/survivors in this thesis. This is intentional. Men are also victims of rape. One out of ten men will be sexually assaulted in their lifetime (SAPAC, 1989). The issue of the sexual assault of men is remarkably neglected. There is too little research in the area. Unfortunately, I am not equipped to add to it. One reason for this, is the difficulty of gaining access to male survivors of rape to interview. They are a very hidden group. Secondly, I believe there may be different issues involved in the decision making process men go through when deciding whether or not to report a rape. I have decided to concentrate on women only.

I also always refer to assailants with male pronouns. There are rare documented cases when women have been an assailant in a rape, but only in conjunction with a man

or when the victim is a child. I am not delving into the area of child sexual abuse, and the cases involving adult women for the most part also involve men. Men rape women. Thus the adjectives I have used are justified.

Andrea Dworkin claims it is important to understand and speak of female rape survivors. She states her views very simply "Rape is a crime against all women" (Dworkin, 1976, p. 32). "It may be damaging to say men are raped too, because that ignores the political consequences of the rape of women. And, perhaps men can only be sympathetic when they feel they may be in danger also. We don't want the victimization of women to become invisible as a consequence of viewing men as also potential victims" (Dworkin, 1976, p. 44).

The use of the terms sexual assault versus rape is also a noteworthy language issue. Recently women's groups have preferred the term sexual assault because rape infers penetration while sexual assault includes other forms of forced sexual contact. But, the legal definition of rape in the state in which this study was conducted also does not require penetration. The definition contains four parts. First and third degree rape involve penetration with body or objects, and second and fourth degree rape do not involve penetration. Sexual assault is rape, and I will use the two terms interchangeably.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

The comparison of rape reporting rates with the reporting rates of other crimes

There have been some research studies which have claimed that rape is not underreported compared to other crimes. The number of police reports of rape has been increasing over the last two decades. Baron, and Straus, state that between 1960 and 1987, reports of rapes have increased from 16,860 to 91,111 an increase of 440%, a higher increase than any other major violent crime (Baron and Straus, 1989). Between just 1972 and 1976 rape reports increased 105% (Anonymous, 1990, p. 2). No other violent crime has increased at a faster pace.

Galvin and Polk claim, according to their data, victims of rape report to the police as often as victims of other crimes (Galvin and Polk, 1982, p. 135). They claim that the problem of underreporting is not unique to rape, the majority of crimes never make it to the police records. Yet, I will argue, and present contradictory evidence that rape is less far less likely to be reported to the police than other crimes.

Duncan Chappell conducted a study of criminal justice system personnel. Comprehensive questionnaires were sent to police agencies and prosecutor's offices around the U.S. Based on these questionnaires, Chappell concluded that the increase in rape reporting is in part due to the improved ways in which police officers deal with victim's reports. He found in general that rape victims have become the focus of more concern with the police. Many police departments offer sensitivity training to officers to instruct them on how to deal with a rape victim. In addition, more women are

entering into influential roles in police departments making female victims of sexual assault feel more comfortable reporting to the police (Walker, and Brodsky, 1976).

Baron and Strauss view the increases we are seeing in the number of reported rapes as part of the changes in rape laws, broadening definitions of rape, greater sensitivity on the part of criminal justice personnel, and an increasing willingness on the part of survivors to report a sexual assault. Baron and Strauss do recognize however, the increase seen in the numbers of rapes that are reported are also due to an increase in the incidence of rape (Baron and Strauss, 1989, p. 45).

There are two oversights and methodological flaws in the above studies that bring their results into question. The first is that the incidence of rape is very likely increasing and this may account for much of the increase in rape reporting (Baron and Strauss, 1989). The second oversight is that the studies neglect to mention the types of rapes that are reported to the police. Stranger rapes are far more likely to be reported to the police. The increase in reporting of rape and the improved treatment of victims may only involve stranger rapes. If stranger rape is increasingly being reported, but not acquaintance rape, then we still need to examine the reasons why acquaintance rape is not being reported. The above studies would be more reliable if they had defined which types of rapes were being reported. Unfortunately, it is still unclear as to how severely underreported, rape really is.

Other research studies have found that rape reporting is far less likely to be reported than other crimes. Dukes and Mattley claimed that sexual assault reporting rates are lower than any other crime. Their estimation is that from 75%-90% of all rapes go unreported (Dukes and Mattley, 1977, Weis, and Borges, 1973, p. 169). Susan

Brownmiller estimated that only 1 in 5, to 1 in 20, rapes are reported (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 190). In another study by Kilpatrick, et. al., researchers took a random sample of 2,004 women, of those who had been raped, only 29% reported to the police (Kilpatrick, et al 1981). In a study by Lizotte, half of the sexual assault survivors in his sample did not report the rape to the police (Lizotte, 1985). Koss and Harvey claim that less than 5% of all college student rape victims report the assault to the police (Koss and Harvey, 1991, p.15).

A well-known study conducted by Diana Russell, in 1984 was probably the first research study to reveal the profound underreporting of sexual assault. She conducted an impressive study of 930 women randomly selected from the San Francisco Bay area. The study lasted seven years. Women in the sample were given detailed interviews averaging 1 hour and 20 minutes. Of the 930 women in the whole sample, 223, or 24% had been the victim of at least one completed rape. An additional 291 or 31% of the total sample, had been the victims of at least one attempted rape. According, to this state's criminal sexual conduct laws, (which combines completed and attempted rapes) 44% or 407 women out of 930 had been sexually assaulted (Russell, 1984, p.35).

Many women had been sexually assaulted more than once. When the total number of assaults is added up, for all the women, there were 780 incidents of sexual assault in this sample. Out of the 780 assaults, only 8%, or 66 assaults, were ever reported to the police (Russell, 1984, p.35-36).

Not only were very few cases ever reported, but those that were reported, were extremely unrepresentative of the majority of rape cases. Russell examined variations in the reporting rates of rape, according to the relationship between the victim and assailant.

The majority of rapes that were reported were committed by strangers: 30% of stranger rapes were reported to police, 13% of rapes by authority figures, 10% of rapes by boyfriends, 7% of rapes by acquaintances, 6% of relatives and friends of family, 3% of lovers or ex-lovers, 2% of friends, and only 1% of date rapes. Although Russell found that date rapes were the most common type of rape, they were the least likely to be reported to the police (Russell, 1984, p.37).

There are also demographic differences among women who report and those who do not. Women in economically disadvantaged groups are more likely to report to the police than women in more economically advantaged groups. This is in part a function of the dating tradition among middle and upper classes. Only middle and upper class youth possess the finances and resources to engage in dating activities which allow a young man and woman virtually unlimited privacy. So women in middle and upper classes are more likely to be assaulted by dates or acquaintances and women of lower classes are more likely to be raped by strangers. Those who are raped by strangers are more likely to report.

Allen Lizotte conducted an extensive review of the literature and concluded that "rape is vastly undereported, ... minimizing our awareness of rape as a social problem" (Lizotte, 1985, p. 169). Lizotte examines the National Crime Survey (13,500 cases from 1972-1975, people 12 and older) using logistical equations to determine whether rape is unique in terms of the factors that motivate a woman to report the rape to the police. He concluded that there are in fact, unique factors which motivate the reporting of a rape. Moreover, he controlled for gender, and the differences could not be explained by gender (Lizotte, 1985, p.169).

In this study, Lizotte chose to examine four different factors hypothesized to differentially affect crime reporting: characteristics of the offender, characteristics of the victim, spatial-temporal location of offense, and characteristics of the offense. A multivariate analysis was conducted to test the relationships of each of the above factors to crime reporting.

Lizotte found that factors that make for a strong prosecution are more powerful predictors for reporting rape, than for reporting any other assaults. This places more severe requirements for evidence before reporting a sexual assault. Victims of sexual assault look to the presence of physical injury and stranger status among assailants as evidence to help their case.

Lizotte claimed the social distance between the victim and offender was only predictive in the reporting of rape. The study also found that if medical injury resulted, the victim of rape would be more likely to report. While this relationship did not always hold for other types of assaults.

Lizotte, like Russell in her 1984 study, found a relationship between education and reporting. Lizotte's results agree with Russell's findings on the relationship between class and reporting, but his explanation of the relationship differs from Russell's. Lizotte found that highly educated women are less likely to report a rape than less educated victims (education in part determines social class standing). He speculated that highly educated women are more knowledgeable about the way rape reports are treated in the criminal justice system, and thus avoid the process. I would not offer the same explanation. Women with less education are likely to live in poorer neighborhoods, and poorer neighborhoods have more contact with the police. Women who have more contact

with the police would have a better understanding of how they handle reports of assaults. There may be a better explanation for the relationship between education and reporting than the one offered by Lizotte.

While the victims of rape consider the factual evidence they have to support their case and their knowledge of the police, victims of other types of assault seem to respond more to idiosyncratic factors like age of assailant and victim, etc. (Lizotte, 1985, p. 181).

From all of the above studies, it seems that sometimes rape is reported, and sometimes it is not, thus a study such as this is called for, to determine the conditions under which rape is reported or not reported. Taking the results of all the studies described above, it seems that if rape were placed on a continuum of reporting along with other crimes (both assaultive and non-assaultive) rape would be at the low end of reporting. There is sufficient evidence that the underreporting of rape is a common social phenomenon that deserves sociological examination.

Factors Which Affect the Decision Whether or not to Report a Sexual Assault from the Previous Literature

Menachim Amir was the first to study sexual assault reporting rates in an empirical manner by examining police records. He was instrumental in demonstrating when rapes are likely to be reported or not reported. In concluding his research, Amir offered one view of rape that had been commonly held for sometime, he asserted that women precipitate or cause their own rape by their suggestive behavior and lifestyles (Amir, 1971). According to Amir, young women who run away from home, and drink alcohol or use other drugs in the presence of men, are engaging in suggestive behavior that often leads to rape (Koss and Harvey, 1991).

Subsequent studies have refuted Amir's conclusions. Social control theories claim rape is caused by a desire to gain power and domination over a woman, not by a desire to have sex (Brownmiller, 1975). Psychological theories have offered hypotheses which state that rape is the act of deviant individuals. Men who rape are mentally imbalanced and do not represent the average man (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1983). To the contrary, radical feminist research has claimed that relationships between men and women are inherently unequal because men are in dominant, controlling positions and seek to maintain those positions. Sexual relations between men and women cannot be viewed as consensual in this regard, and thus all sex is rape (Griffen, 1978; MacKinnon, 1983).

In his research, Amir was concerned with why some women choose not to report a sexual assault. He suggested some predictive factors that have formed the basis for subsequent theorizing about rape reporting. His results are outlined as follows.

The first predictive factor to stand out concerned personal characteristics of both parties involved: age and race. There is a linear relationship between age differences and reporting. The greater the age difference, the more likely the woman will be to report. However, when the victim is a minor, she is less likely to wish to report the assault regardless of the age of the assailant (less likely to tell her guardian(s) or want her guardians to report it). Amir also found that victims who had nonwhite assailants demonstrated a greater tendency to report.

The second factor Amir examined was the extent of physical injuries sustained by the victim. Women who suffered more severe physical injuries were also more likely to report in Amir's sample.

Third, Amir discusses what he labels a community factor in the overall handling of rape cases. When the community experiences a wave of sex crimes, individual women may be more likely to report. Fluctuations in community sentiment about rape influence the resources that the criminal justice system allocates to the processing of rape cases and the level of receptivity that is shown to women who report a rape. These community level changes can affect individual women's willingness to report.

Amir noticed the role that parents often play, since many of the rape cases he reviewed involved young (teenage) girls. Parents had a strong influence on girls in both directions. If parents wanted their daughter to report, she was more likely to, but if they preferred to protect her and the family from further attention and difficulty, they were able to strongly dissuade her from reporting.

Parents and other significant people are usually the first people a survivor tells about the assault. If they respond by blaming her, she is very unlikely to go to the

police. Sometimes survivors fear telling their parents or having them find out about the assault. Amir found this to be the case especially with teenage victims who had been engaging in activities which their parents would not approve when the rape occurred, for example, drinking alcohol.

Yet, Amir did not assume the decision was determined by these factors alone. Individual feelings about the assault do enter into the process. Shame, embarrassment, or fear, or simply the desire to put the ordeal behind, all keep many women from reporting, according to Amir (Amir, 1971).

Research by LeBeau, found that social distance was very influential in deciding whether or not to report a rape to the police (LeBeau, 1988). Steketee, and Austin claim that acquaintance rapes are less likely to be reported because the victims fear that others will not view the incident as rape, or the victim interprets it as less serious (Steketee, and Austin, 1989).

Linda Williams in her review of sexual assault client contact sheets, found that victims attacked in certain social contexts which they entered into willingly, for example on a date or studying with the assailant, were less likely to report than those who were raped by strangers or assailants who forced their way into the woman's home (Williams, 1984).

Holmstrom and Burges cite a study by Smith and Nelson which concluded that the probability that the victim would report varied by the degree of social distance between the offender and the victim. Acquaintances were less likely to report (Holmstrom and Burges, 1978). Koss and Harvey state that victims who knew their

assailants were less likely to seek any type of treatment, or make a report, and where also less likely to have physically defended themselves (Koss and Harvey, 1991, p. 76).

However, another research study by Hindelang and Gottfredson, found that social distance was not influential in reporting. Although they noted a relationship, those who had a prior acquaintance with the assailant were less likely to report, the relationship was not significant (Hindelang and Gottfredson, 1976). Hindelang and Gottfredson have offered evidence of another predictor variable, age. Younger victims (under 35), they assert, are always less likely to report than victims over 35 years of age (Hindelang and Gottfredson, 1976).

Roberts argues for the effects of race in the decision whether or not to report. It seems both black and white women take into consideration the race of the rapist, when deciding whether or not to report the assault. Each group of women realize black men are more likely to be convicted than white men. Black men are arrested for rapes at a rate five times greater than their representation in the total population. More women reported a black rapist than a white rapist regardless of their own race (Roberts, 1989, p. 26).

LeBeau listed situational characteristics which he concluded made victims more likely to report. Violence took precedence. The characteristics included the level of violence used, whether or not the victim's home was broken into, and if a weapon was used. Violence, I believe, can have varied affects on survivors. For some, it provides the outrage which compels them to action, and they report it to the police. For others, the added physical violence and often accompanying threats, can be so frightening that victims do not report to the police. In fact, LeBeau found that even though women in

the violent situations just listed were more likely to report, in rapes where physical injury or sexual humiliation occurred, reporting rates would decrease (LeBeau, 1988).

From some of the research on rape reporting, it seems that women are afraid to report to the police because they fear the police will mistreat them by not believing their claim or blaming them for causing the rape. Steketee and Austin have argued that these attitudes about the criminal justice system, and expectations for conviction, are formed by media accounts of rape cases and these accounts profoundly affect women's decisions whether or not to report a rape themselves (Steketee, and Austin, 1989).

Diana Russell found that the more politically conscious women were less likely to report. These women were most affected by the women's movement, which exposed the unfair treatment that rape victims are likely to receive. This had a discouraging affect on survivors (Russell, 1984, p.14). In fact, many studies have found that the media plays a major role in forming women's impressions of the manner in which the criminal justice system handles rape cases.

The fear of mistreatment by the police, seems to be rather debilitating for sexual assault survivors, and perhaps more importantly, only for sexual assault survivors (Bumiller, 1990). Holmstrom and Burgess conducted personal interviews with sexual assault survivors at several points of the recovery process. Again and again, these researchers heard victims say they did not want to prosecute because they were afraid they would be mistreated in the criminal justice system. Women feared it would be them on trial. People would ask them what they did to precipitate the event. These fears were based on what they had heard about the rape trials of other survivors (Holmstrom and Burgess, 1978, p.58).

Herzog provides further support for the contention that sexual assault remains undereported. She suspected that one reason for low reporting rates was the poor treatment that victims receive from the criminal justice system. To test this theory, she studied three aspects of rape, the first involved personal and demographic characteristics of the victim, the second was situational circumstances before the rape occurred, and the third was situational circumstances during the rape. Herzog found that only situational circumstances before the rape were significantly related to victim's perceptions of responses from criminal justice personnel. Victims who consumed alcohol prior to the rape, reported less understanding treatment from the prosecutor than victims who did not report the use of alcohol. Victims who used other drugs besides alcohol reported less understanding treatment from the detective than victims who did not use such drugs. Victims who met their offenders in a bar or tavern, reported less understanding treatment from both the detective and prosecutor, than victims who did not meet their offenders under such circumstances. Victims who were hitchhiking reported that the patrol officer was less understanding than victims who had not been hitchhiking. Finally, victims who were acquainted with the alleged offender, reported less understanding treatment from both the patrol officer and the detective, than victims who were not acquainted with the offenders. All of these activities which can occur prior to a rape do not warrant a rape. The mistreatment of rape victims who had engaged in these activities is based on rape myths and gender stereotypes. This mistreatment pervades the entire criminal justice system personnel and it is very difficult for a survivor to combat (Herzog, 1963).

Herzog offers interpretations of her findings. She reasons that criminal justice personnel are more likely to treat victims that they believe better than victims that they

do not believe. They judge credibility on the basis of circumstances over which the victim has control. This involves only behavior occurring prior to the forcible rape.

> "By far the most crucial variables which dictate the victim's perception of the treatment she received from the criminal justice personnel are the behaviors in which she engages prior to the assault. These results have serious social implications both at a societal and an individual level. At present, no evidence exists that women who consume alcohol, use drugs, meet men in bars, hitchhike or who indicate being raped by men they know, are any more likely to make a "false" complaint, than women who do not conduct themselves in these ways" (Herzog, 1963, p.81).

The second fear that victims have, which was mentioned above, is a fear that the police will not believe the rape report. This fear is not unjustified (Griffen, 1973). Studies have found that police do disregard women's reports of sexual assault. Rape is the only crime for which police officers are entitled to utilize an unfounding process (Brownmiller, 1975).

According to this process, police are entitled to use their own judgment when a survivor reports a sexual assault and determine whether or not they think the incident really happened as the victim claimed it did. If they feel the case is weak, it may be dropped at this point without any further investigation (Russell, 1984). Perhaps there would be some justification for this process if the criteria chosen to determine credibility were fairly and accurately chosen. However, in a study conducted by Gary LaFree, Indianapolis police officers were interviewed about their decisions to use the unfounding process. LaFree classified the answers into the following three categories with the given frequency rates: 70.9% stated that problems with victim's moral character caused them to use the unfounding process, 20% stated that a lack of cooperation from the victim caused them to unfound the claim, and finally only 9.1% unfounded the claim for

technical reasons (LaFree, 1989, p. 69). The majority of rapes reports that are unfounded are done so on personal police opinion about the survivor's character, not on the evidence of the case. Women have reason to fear reporting to the police when it involves a judgment of their moral character.

Police officers have also made unfounding decisions based on the time period between the assault and the victim's report of the assault. There is no consideration given to the idea that reporting a rape may take courage and women need some time to feel ready to contact the police. If she does not report within a few days her credibility is severely crippled (Holmstrom and Burgess, 1978).

The adherence to this process is fairly ingrained. Subsequent to LaFree's study, a special sexual assault unit was developed in the Indianapolis police unit to improve the processing of rape cases. Even after this program, evaluation studies found that little had changed in the way the cases were handled and the problematic unfounding process was still being utilized in the same manner (LaFree, 1989,p. 88).

A similar study conducted by Susan Caringella-MacDonald examined the processing of rape cases before and after many progressive changes were made in the rape laws in Kalamazoo, Michigan. One year after the sexual assault laws were changed, she found there were limited changes made in the actual processing of rape cases. This demonstrates underlying attitudes that are firmly in place. The unequal treatment given to rape cases is not merely a problem with the laws, it is a problem with how players in the system use the laws. Their personal beliefs about rape enter into the way survivors of rape are treated and the way the case is handled. Attitudes regarding rape must

undergo some changes before improvements can realistically be seen in rape reporting and processing.

Weis and Borges have shed light onto the responses of victims when reporting a sexual assault to the police. They claim that the basic question in reporting is whether or not officials believe that it was really a rape and not a seduction. Sometimes victims will disclose details of the rape that seem inconsistent. When the victim is recounting the rape she will evaluate how the police officer is reacting. Depending on whether the police officer seems to be accepting the victim's story, she may release or hold back certain key details. Police officers often do not understand this process and thus become suspicious of her entire story (Weis, and Borges, 1973).

LeBeau conducted a study of rape victims in San Diego for 1971-1975. Among his sample of survivors he also found a reluctance to report due to factors related to the criminal justice system. Survivors mentioned such things as; a lack of corroborating evidence or proof of the lack of consent, judicial and juror attitudes made the victim feel she had to prove her innocence, the victims wanted to avoid a disclosure of their sexual history in court, and the police were insensitive (LeBeau,1988).

The fear that the police will blame you is also not unrealistic for sexual assault survivors (Koss and Harvey, 1991). Flynn conducted interviews with a rape crisis counselor and a female police officer, both attested to the difficulty women have securing a rape conviction, moreover, they claimed that women in the general public are aware of the difficulty that previous survivors have had (Flynn, 1985).

Debilitating fears of the police response seem to only be a concern for victims of sexual assault and not for victims of other crimes. Elizabeth Rafter offers an explanation

for this by quoting Burgess and Holmstrom who claim that women fear the criminal justice system as much as the rapist. Women are placed in the position of reporting an embarrassing personal event to a man, someone not only above them in the social hierarchy but also someone of the same sex as their assailant (in a crime for which gender is the key). Women are also aware that as a victim of rape, their sexual behavior will be placed under scrutiny and they will be judged according to how closely they acted in accordance with their ascribed gender roles (Rafter, 1982).

Rafter cautions us about the effects this has on the community's image of women. When women's claims are taken less seriously, this is an indication of women's place in the community. It becomes acceptable for women to be victims (Rafter, 1982). Disbelieving women's claims of rape or blaming them for the incident is a social control mechanism which further victimizes women in denying them any retribution for crimes committed against them.

Dukes and Mattely were also interested in what factors influence survivors in deciding whether or not to report a sexual assault. These researchers have come to understand the survivor's decision making as a sequential process in which several factors are taken into consideration.

The first stage in Dukes and Mattely's process begins before the rape. Women who have survived a rape have preconceived notions about how the police will handle rape cases which come from general exposure to the police. Women were primarily concerned with the way police treat survivors rather than the efficiency of the police department, they did not have sufficient knowledge of the police department to make judgments about its efficiency.

The second step is the influence of situational characteristics of the rape itself. Dukes and Mattely have argued that specific circumstances around the rape make the victim feel that the police are less likely to believe her. They found that women who felt more fearful of the rapist, immediately after he left tended to report more often. However, they found that social distance between the assailant and the victim, or the level of acquaintance, the number of offenders, the number of threats made by the assailant, and the degree to which the victim was hurt physically were not statistically different for reporters and non-reporters.

Victims also took expected family and friend's reactions into account when deciding whether to report. The final step in this process was making the decision whether or not to report. After testing the model, Dukes and Mattely found only two predictive factors showing up; fear after the rapist left, and a concern over the manner in which police handle rape cases. The percentage of variance accounted for in this model was 96%. They were able to predict non-reporters with 100% accuracy, and reporters with 76% accuracy. Koss and Harvey also claim that rape victims frequently refrain from disclosing a rape to clinicians or police for fear of the assailant (Koss and Harvey, 1991, p. 83).

Linda Williams reviewed client contact sheets from a rape crisis center in the state of Washington, she also examined reasons for not reporting a sexual assault to the police. Her research is one of the most frequently quoted pieces on the issue of factors which cause women not to report a sexual assault. She claimed that often very practical issues are involved for survivors, they feel they do not have the time and resources to pursue the case through the entire criminal justice process. And, women lack confidence in the

effectiveness of the criminal justice system to insure that justice is served (Williams, 1984, p.460).

The authors Ashworth and Feldman-Summers, have done the most extensive research on female sexual assault survivor's expectations and perceptions of police responses and how these have affected the level of reporting. In one of their research projects, female rape victims, male and female assault victims, and matched non-victimized controls were compared on their perceptions of the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in handling their cases. They found that not only did female victims of sexual assault give the police the lowest rating on effectiveness, but this rating also declined over time (Ashworth, Feldman-Summers, 1978).

In a later study, Feldman-Summers, and Ashworth, again questioned why victims do not report to the police. They found that many victims will not report because they believe the outcomes of the report will be unfavorable. Victims suspected that reporting would not do any good in terms of punishing the assailant. The respondents also perceived the criminal justice system to be particularly ineffective at handling rape cases (Feldman-Summers, and Ashworth, 1981).

Ashworth, and Feldman-Summers have concluded through their research that although victimization has increased, reporting rates remain low, in part, this must be due to people's perceptions of how the criminal justice system handles reports. Rape victims express a declining confidence in the police in handling rape cases with the more experience they gain. And, the message seems to be reaching other women, that reporting to the police may not be the best decision for them (Ashworth and Feldman-Summers, 1978).

Another issue which has been researched in previous studies on rape reporting is the support from family, friends or counselors to report to the police. The underlying assumption in all of these studies is that victims who have strong support and expectations from others to report are more likely to do so.

Liza Jacoby points out that it is very difficult for people to talk openly about rape. Rape is in the realm of privacy, it involves sex, and violence, and judgment by those who hear the news. It makes for awkward and emotional conversation. She asserts that if a survivor discusses the rape with a counselor, it may be easier to tell significant others about the assault. When more people talk about rape and its affects, the incident may become destigmatized and victims will have more avenues in which to tell their story (Jacoby, 1983).

Counseling has a personally critical function for survivors. According to Liza Jacoby, a rape crisis counselor may be the first and only person that tells a rape survivor that she is not to blame for the assault. Many families and friends remain uneducated about sexual assault, and a trained person in the area can help a survivor better understand the incident (Jacoby, 1983).

One final benefit of receiving counseling is that rape crisis counselors have more experience with the criminal justice system and know what reporting an assault involves. Through their training, they gain knowledge as to what steps are necessary for a survivor to go through if she decides to report an assault. Counselors can inform women of what to provide in terms of evidence to support their case. Counselors can also inform survivors that they have the option of reporting anonymously.

Yet, counselors have less influence on the lives and self-images of the survivor than family and friends have. Numerous studies have found that family and friend's responses to the survivor have significant effects on her decisions of whether or not to report. A noted expert on the issue of rape reporting, Linda Williams in her article, "The Classic Rape: When Do Victims Report?" mentions the fear of rejection by husband and family and the desire to protect one's family from the knowledge of the rape or its attendant publicity, keeps women from reporting a rape to the police (Williams, 1984, p.460).

Steketee, and Austin also mention in particular the degree of social support and especially the expectations of family and friends affect whether or not a woman reports (Steketee, and Austin, 1989). In Menachem Amir's ground-breaking study, the affects of protective parents and other agencies, is mentioned as a deterrent to reporting the sexual assault of many young women (Amir, 1971).

The strongest evidence for the influence of family and friends comes from a study by Feldman-Summers, and Ashworth. These researchers adapted Fishbein's model of behavioral intentions (Fishbein, 1963). This model states that the intention to carry out any act is a function of two factors: first the perceived outcomes and evaluation of those outcomes, and second, the perceived responses by significant others to the act. They attempted to test the strength of each of these factors on the victim's decision making process. The researchers drew a random sample of women from the phone book, called them at home and set up an appointment to conduct a self-administered interview. Respondents were then questioned on their likelihood of reporting a sexual assault in various situations.

At the conclusion of their study three findings were noted. First, the intention to report an assault varied substantially according to several demographic characteristics of the respondent. Single, lower income, minority women tended to be more influenced by perceived outcomes of reporting to the police, while married, white, upper income women tended to be more influenced by the expectations of significant others for them to report. Perhaps the first group of women may be more concerned about the perceived outcome of reporting because they are less likely to be believed by the police and more likely to be blamed (Feldman-Summers and Ashworth, 1981, p. 63).

Second, respondent's intentions to report also varied significantly according to the potential recipient of the report. Intentions to report to non-criminal justice officials such as clergy or medical practitioners, are more affected by normative expectations to report, than by expectations from others to report to these sources. Intentions to report to significant others or family were more affected by the perceived responses of these groups.

Third, Feldman-Summers and Ashworth's study found a subject-by-subject analysis indicated that normative expectations were typically better predictors than perceived outcomes of reporting. The authors heard women express the need to feel that a decision to report to the police would be supported from their family and friends. They concluded that many women do not report because they perceive little if any social support for reporting.

There is one critical methodological problem with Feldman-Summers and Ashworth's study that must be brought to attention. The women in this sample were chosen randomly, they were not chosen on the basis of experiencing sexual assault

victimization. We do not know if any of these women are sexual assault survivors. Stated intentions to report a sexual assault, while in the comfort of one's own home, may be very different from what survivors actually do after experiencing a sexual assault. I presume that often, women sincerely believe that if they were ever raped, they would most assuredly report it to the police. Yet, after a sexual assault, factors which they might not have ever considered, will enter in and deter them from reporting it.

In another study, Holmstrom and Burgess, followed women through many post rape procedures, and concluded that victims usually look to family and friends for guidance after a rape, and thus their decision will in part be based on what their family suggests that they do (Holmstrom and Burgess, 1978, p. 54). Many victims are hesitant to report the assault, and use reactions from significant others to decide whether to report. Victims evaluate the perceived reactions from significant others as positive or negative and act accordingly.

Sometimes, significant others take an even stronger stand. They make the decision for the survivor. In more than half of the adult victim cases in Holmstrom and Burgess's study, someone other than the victim reported the rape (Holmstrom and Burgess, 1978).

Feldman-Summers, and Norris conducted an extensive research study on the influence of various factors on sexual assault reporting. They interviewed 179 female victims of rape recruited through public notices in health agencies and on public service announcements. The women were asked whether or not they had reported. Then the following issues were discussed and assessed. What kinds of outcomes did the women expect after reporting? Did she feel social expectations to report or not to report?

Various demographic characteristics of the individual victims, and situational characteristics of the rape were also recorded.

Several hypotheses were formed to predict rape victim reporting. The perceived outcome of reporting, whether close reference groups expect the woman to report (partners, parents etc.), individual characteristics (demographic and psychological), and situational characteristics around the rape (violence used, acquaintance level etc.) were all hypothesized to influence the likelihood of reporting. The strongest predictor of reporting to show up was the social expectations scale (Feldman-Summers, and Norris, 1984). An earlier study by Weis and Borges agreed that those who were encouraged or expected to report the assault by their families and friends were more likely to report (Weis, Borges, 1973).

Two other significant predictors came forth. The belief that reporting would result in positive treatment by police made women much more likely to report. Conversely, the belief that reporting would result in a trial in which the respondent would have to testify against the assailant in court deterred many from reporting (Feldman-Summers, and Norris, 1984).

Above, I have described a great portion of the research on rape reporting decisions. From the results of these studies, I have selected out three factors which seem to most strongly influence rape reporting: situational circumstances, expectations of police response, and outside support systems to report. These factors and my hypothesis about them will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Hypothetical Model for Rape Victimization Reporting

It is difficult to sum up the factors which affect sexual assault survivor's decisions whether or not to report a rape into one clear predictive model. There are so many factors which enter into the survivor's decision, and not all survivor's are affected by the same factors, (often their past history plays a role in how they adjust after a sexual assault) Koss and Harvey, 1991; Steketee, and Austin, 1989). Yet, what I will attempt to do in this thesis is pull out factors and examine them separately in terms of how they tend to affect a survivor's decision to report to the police. The nature of science is to pull out the pieces of the whole picture and gain a better understanding of these pieces and how they work in the phenomenon. Then we replace the pieces, back into the system, with a better understanding of how the system works. This is what I hope will happen in the course of this research project. I will pull out what seem to be the most prominent factors affecting a survivor's decision, test them, and then replace those which provide the strongest evidence in order to obtain an even more accurate picture of the whole decision making process.

I am drawing upon not only a review of the literature on rape and reporting, but also my own work in the area of sexual assault. Some might argue that this is an invitation to biased results. However, as Sandra Harding argues in Feminism and Methodology, no research is bias or value free (Harding, 1987). By recognizing the influence of my past experience with sexual assault survivors in the interpretations I make, I am able to understand my biases and better limit their effects on my research. The effects of my biases cannot be eliminated altogether, however, but this does not compromise the results.

From the literature on rape, there are three factors which seem to have the strongest influence on survivors' decisions of whether or not to report. The first factor involves situational

circumstances surrounding the rape. These circumstances include, primarily, the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant, the level of violence used during the assault, the level of resistance offered by the victim, location of assault, and race of the victim and assailant.

The second factor is the victim's perceptions of the criminal justice system. These perceptions include the woman's expectation of whether or not the police will believe her, and if they will blame her.

The third factor is the level of encouragement the victim receives to report the assault. This encouragement can come in two forms; first, support from family and friends, and second, advocacy from a rape crisis counseling center.

Factor #1: Situational Circumstances

Figure 1 contains a "hypothetical" path model which portrays how I have hypothesized each of the factors to be interrelated. The model begins with elements of the situational circumstances. The level of acquaintance is the first factor. The acquaintance factor influences how each of the other factors are experienced.

> Hypothesis #1: There is a direct, inverse relationship between level of acquaintance and rape reporting. As the level of acquaintance decreases rape reporting increases.

The level of acquaintance also has an indirect affect on the likelihood of reporting. As level of acquaintance increases, the more likely the victim and assailant are to socialize together. This brings the assailant and the victim into the same physical locations. When a woman knew her assailant and had willingly invited him into her home, and he raped her there, she and the surrounding community, are less likely to view this as a "real rape" and more likely to blame her. The victim is therefore, less likely to report.

> Hypothesis #2a: There is a direct, positive relationship between the level of acquaintance and the location of the assault. The greater the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant, the more likely the rape will take place in a location that is familiar to the victim.

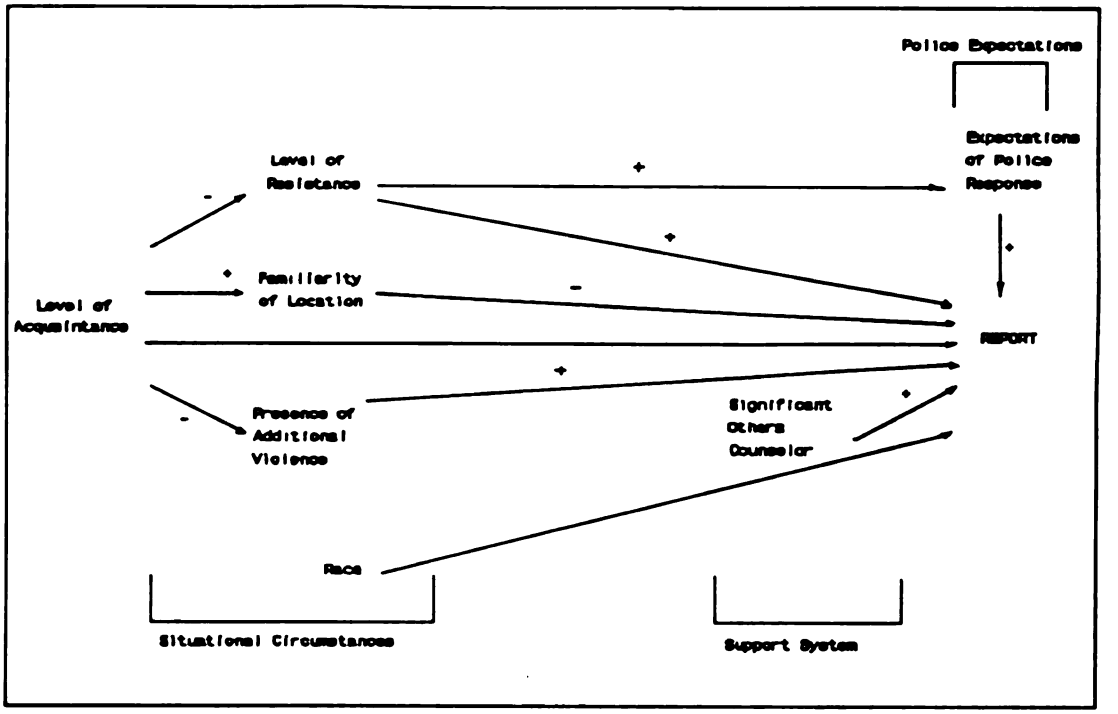

Figure 1: Hypothetical Model of Rape Victimization Reporting

Hypothesis #2b: There is a direct, inverse relationship between the location of assault and reporting. The more familiar the victim is with the location of assault, the less likely she is to report the assault.

When the woman and man are well acquainted, it is usually less necessary to use additional physical violence to complete the rape. Women have more inhibitions about fighting a man that they know (Koss and Harvey, 1991).

Hypothesis #3: There is a direct, inverse relationship between the level of acquaintance and the level of additional violence used in the assault. The greater the level of acquaintance the less additional violence is used, and the less likely the victim will report.

A rape victim will be less likely to report a rape if she thinks the community in which she reports will not believe her. Typically, communities look for violence to define an incident as a crime, so the less violence used in the assault, the less likely the victim will expect the support of her community, and the less likely she is to report (Koss and Harvey, 1991).

Prior acquaintance also decreases the level of physical resistance that women offer. I assume that no woman desires to be raped, and that all victims do all that they can to resist the attack. Yet, when a woman has a prior relationship with a man, she again feels more inhibitions against striking out at him in a physical manner.

> Hypothesis #4: There is a direct, inverse relationship between the level of acquaintance and the level of resistance offered. The greater the level of acquaintance, the less physical resistance is offered, the less likely the victim will report.

Evidence of resistance has the same effect on public opinion regarding rape, and the victim's actions, as violence does. Communities also look for signs of resistance from the victim. If the rape survivor can provide evidence of this resistance, than she may expect the community to be more supportive of her claim, and thus more likely to report

> The fifth element of situational circumstances is the race of both the victim and assailant.
>
> Hypothesis #5: Women who are white are less likely to report a rape to the police than women who are not white.

One reason for this has already been mentioned, in general, white women are more likely to be assaulted by men they know, (largely a function of their class standing). A second reason is that upper, and middle class (white women are more likely to be in upper and middle class groups) groups tend to desire a greater degree of anonymity. They maintain this by neglecting to report crimes. There has not been a great deal of research on the relationship between race and reporting. The research that has been done, has concluded with somewhat contradictory results. Possible reasons for differences in reporting behaviors among white women and women of color, have never really been tested, so, as an exploratory measure I will examine this relationship.

> Hypothesis #6: Women who are raped by a black man are more likely to report than women who are raped by a man of another race.

The myth of the black male rapist (Brownmiller, 1974) may still lead women to believe that they are more likely to get a conviction if the assailant is black.

These six characteristics; social distance, location of assault, level of violence and level of resistance, race of victim and assailant constitute the first factor called situational circumstances. Most certainly, there are other characteristics which describe rape incidents and may have an effect on the woman's decision whether or not to report the assault, but these are the factors which I have hypothesized to have the greatest affect on this decision and I have recognized these as important in the previous rape literature.

Factor #2: Perceptions of the criminal justice system

Previous literature discussed above, claims that women are acutely aware of discriminatory, negative treatment rape victims often receive from the police when reporting a sexual assault. These perceptions are often formed by media accounts. Fear of mistreatment by the police in the form of disbelief or blaming attitudes can often keep women from contacting the police.

> Hypothesis #7: There is a direct, positive relationship between expectations of police response and reporting status. Women who have positive expectations of the police response (expect to be treated fairly, and respectfully) are more likely to report than women who have negative expectations of the police response (expect to be blamed or disbelieved).

Factor #3: Support System

The affects of counseling services, and supportive significant others, when viewed in terms of the whole model I have constructed, do not seem to be well integrated factors. They are positioned off in the corner and affect only her likelihood of reporting. Supportive assistance is not assumed to be affected by any of the other factors in the model. Yet, this factor has been mentioned in previous research articles on rape and I initially felt it was important. So I have chosen to discuss it here and examine its affects in my research.

Hypothesis #8: There is a direct positive relationship between support system and reporting status. Women who have immediate support from family, friends, or a counselor to report the assault are more likely to report to the police than women who do not have the support of family, friends or a counselor to report, or receive the support much later.

This factor is pointed out in Figure 1 by the bracket labelled "Support System". Significant others and counselors comprise this support system.

I have discussed the three factors I hypothesize to affect rape victim's decisions whether or not to report the assault to the police. Next, I will present a discussion of the ideal manner in which the effects of these factors might be tested, the methodological and practical complications to testing in this manner, and the methods that were selected, based on what was feasible, to test each of the factors.

Chapter 4

Methods

The ideal methods to test the hypothetical model of rape victimization reporting

An examination of the factors I have described call for a descriptive study, which measures the phenomenon at only one point in time, the decision whether or not to report a rape after it occurs. This is not an experimental study in which variables are manipulated, or treatments are administered. In a descriptive study such as this, the key requirements for setting up the ideal test of the hypothetical model involve the sampling procedures used, the reliability of the questions asked, and validity of the questions. These three issues will be discussed.

In order to test a hypothetical model of factors which affect rape victimization reporting, I would suggest that two different sources of data be used. The first and obvious source of information on sexual assault reporting would be interviews with sexual assault survivors. This is the population that has survived a sexual assault and has made a decision whether or not to report it to the police.

A second important source of information on sexual assault reporting could be obtained from sexual assault crisis counselors. The training and experience which they receive enables them to recognize survivor concerns about reporting which victims themselves might not even be aware. For example, a victim may fail to report because she feels some guilt for causing the event. This guilt may be embarrassing or difficult for her to express, but the counselor may recognize it, because the counselor has seen it in other victims. In addition, the survivor may have worked through the guilt in the course of counseling and would fail to mention it later during an interview. Although counselors only have direct contact with survivors who call a counseling center (not a representative sample of survivors), they may be more aware of the social conditions which affect a woman's decision whether or not to report a sexual assault than many survivors.

The first step to conducting interviews with sexual assault survivors is selecting the sample to include in the study. In order to test for statistical difference in responses across respondents, a random sample is necessary. To obtain a random sample of female sexual assault survivors for the study, women from the general population would need to be screened to determine if they have ever been sexually assaulted. Thus there are two steps to selecting the sample for this study, first selecting a sample of women to screen for incidence of sexual assault, and second, selecting those who have been raped, to participate in the study.

The population, from which the sample of women to be screened is drawn, should be broadly defined so that the study might be generalizable to many women. I would suggest the sample be drawn from the population of adult, female, United States citizens, 18 years of age and older.[2] The sample must be random within this population, and should include women of color in proportion to their numbers in the population.

The size of this screening sample would be determined based on the final number of survivors desired in the study. If one operates on the assumption that 1 out of 3 women will be sexually assaulted in their lifetime (Russell, 1984), then the required size of the screening sample can be calculated to achieve a level of 5% error of measurement, in the final sample of survivors selected to participate in the study.

The second step in the "ideal interviews" with survivors is a pretest of both the screening instrument and the actual questionnaire to survivors to test for validity and reliability.

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[2]Girls younger than 18 years of age are sexually assaulted, but parental permission would be required for participation, and I fear the subject matter may be too sensitive for girls under 18.

Once valid and reliable instruments of the screening form and the questionnaire are constructed, the third "ideal" step would be to conduct the screening of a random sample of women. The sample of women to be screened would be contacted by phone using a procedure called random digit dialing. This procedure takes phone banks which are known to include working, residential numbers and randomly assigns suffixes to yield a list of potential working phone numbers. This method will reap some phone numbers that are not residential and will have to be screened out, but it is preferable to selecting numbers from a phone book because phone books do not contain unlisted numbers. Random digit dialing (RDD) procedures are able to reach 94% of the population (Groves, et. al., 1988).

Telephone interviews would most likely bring the highest response rate from the screening sample given the nature of the topic being screened. The incidence of rape is a sensitive, and threatening issue. Although personal interviews in general achieve a higher response rate, the threatening nature of this screening topic would likely have negative affects on the response rate to personal interviews. The thought of a stranger coming to a woman's home asking her if she has ever been raped seems very threatening. Finally, mail surveys receive a much lower response rate than telephone interviews (Sudman, 1976).

At each household called, one woman, 18 years of age or older, would be randomly selected for the screening (i.e. the one woman with the most recent birthday). She would be asked a series of questions which describe rape scenarios. The questions would be designed in essence to determine whether she has ever been raped. Not all women may fit their experience into one definition of rape, therefore, several will be

given so that all incidents of rape may be noted. Those women that reply, "no", to all of the questions will be dropped from the study, and those women who reply, "yes", to any of the questions will be asked to participate further in the study by answering more questions about the rape.

The interviews with sexual assault counselors would also involve three steps. First, a questionnaire which asks counselors about the factors which they believe influence a sexual assault survivor's decision whether or not to report a rape should be pretested on a group of counselors to test for validity and reliability.

Second, a random, and representative sample of counselors must be selected to be interviewed. The National Directory of Victim/Survivors Services and Programs (Webster, 1989) contains information on sexual assault crisis centers in the United States. The name, address and phone number of the center and a contact person at each center is given in this directory. A simple random sampling procedure can be used to select centers from this directory to be included in the sample. Once the center is contacted, one counselor could be randomly selected from the entire staff to participate in the study.

Finally, the group of counselors selected for the study should be contacted in advance with a letter from the researcher explaining the study. This letter can describe the types of questions that will be asked in order to prepare the counselor for the interview, (for example, the counselor may have to look up statistics on the numbers of clients who have reported to the police, etc.).

Then, approximately one week later, the counselors selected for the study should be contacted by phone and administered the pretested questionnaire. I suggest they be called by phone because counselor's schedules can more easily accommodate a telephone

interview than a personal interview, and thus the completion rates are likely to be higher with telephone calls.

Methodological and practical complications to the ideal test

Critical methodological and practical complications prevent a graduate student researcher (and possibly more established researchers) from carrying out the "ideal" study described above. The first source of information that was suggested was interviews with randomly selected sexual assault survivors. This requires a demanding screening process of the general population of survivors. The first problem with this screening is that although it is random, not every woman will have an equal chance of selection. For example, women who do not have phones, women who are institutionalized and are not allowed to answer a phone, and homeless women do not have a chance of being selected for the screening. Screening in this manner also requires time and money to make the phone calls. The screening instrument as well as the questionnaire should be pretested for validity and reliability, placing additional demands on the researcher's resources.

Once selected for the screening, there remain complications to securing a truly representative sample of women who have been raped. Some women will refuse to participate, some will be unable to participate due to language problems, or time conflicts, etc., some will have blocked the memory of the rape out of their minds (especially if it occurred while they were young), and some were murdered during the rape.

The second source of information that was suggested was interviews with sexual assault crisis counselors from a random, representative sample of rape crisis centers in

the United States. This requires a directory of such services. The directory cited above, National Directory of Victim/Survivor Services and Programs (Webster, 1989) is considered by most counselors, to be the best available (Diane Windischman, personal interview, 1991), and yet, it is not kept up-to-date and contains some errors. It is also questionable as to whether it is complete. Sampling from all crisis centers, so that each has an equal chance of selection would require an accurate and complete list of all centers, which truly distinguishes rape crisis centers from other medical and mental health services, and to this date, one does not exist.

In part, this is a problem with defining a rape crisis center. For example, some hospital emergency rooms offer counseling services to survivors, often domestic violence shelters have clients who are also rape victims, many schools (middle schools, high schools and universities) have counselors who help students recovering from a rape, and victim/witness programs sometimes offer counseling to rape victims. Likewise, some centers that are listed in the above directory offer only medical or legal assistance to rape survivors and never actually counsel them on the issue of reporting the assault. Yet, these services are not consistently included or excluded in directories of services to rape victims. So not all rape crisis counselors may be represented in the above listed directory, while others who rarely or never counsel rape victims, might be listed.

The questionnaire administered to sexual assault crisis counselors would also need to be pretested, again on a different sample, in order to ensure validity and reliability. This requires additional time and financial resources that are not available to this researcher.

Finally, there are complications to completing the survey with all of the counselors selected. There may be some counselors who will refuse to do the survey, or due to time constraints are unable to complete the study, and this threatens the generalizability of the sample. Furthermore, not all rape crisis center staff actually counsel survivors, some of those selected for the study might not have actually had the opportunity to discuss the issue of reporting with rape survivors, and this threatens the validity of the study.

Thus there are complications to conducting the ideal study of rape victimization reporting which could perhaps be rectified with unlimited time and resources, but these resources are not available to most researchers. We are forced to work with what resources we do have and be innovative in using them to conduct the most valid and reliable study possible. Because I could not access a random sample of sexual assault survivors, I did not screen for respondents but rather interviewed known survivors that I could access. I did not have the resources to pretest my questionnaires so I attempted to achieve face validity by subjecting my questionnaires for review by a rape crisis counselor and a survey researcher. Because I did not have a random sample of survivors, I supplemented my data with information from rape crisis center client contact sheets.

I was also not able to sample rape crisis counselors in the ideal manner. Therefore, I restrained my sample to centers which exist on college campuses and did not strictly define a rape crisis center for inclusion in the sample. Some of the centers were also not chosen randomly.

I was not able to pretest the counselor's questionnaire, and thus made the assumption that it was valid. I was unable to achieve the ideal, thus I used what resources were available. Below, I present a discussion of the methods I utilized to test my hypothetical model of rape victimization reporting, and the methodological flaws involved with each of them.

Methodology used to test the hypothetical model of rape victimization reporting

Population - College students

I gathered data only from sexual assault survivors (73% of these had received counseling for the rape), and counselors who were at colleges and universities in the United States. Women are more susceptible to rape while in college than during any other four year period of time in a woman's life (Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, University of Michigan, 1989, Koss, and Harvey, 1991). The ages and lifestyles of this group seem to increase their chances of being sexually assaulted. One out of four women are raped during a four year college career. Victimization rates are 4 times higher for ages 16-24 than for any other age groups (Koss, Gidycz, and Wisnieweski, 1987).

College is a time when many young people leave their parent's home for the first time, they are primarily surrounded by others their own age, and they may experiment with drugs and alcohol for the first time. These conditions seem to be associated with high rates of sexual assault. Young women at these stages are also sometimes hesitant to say "no" to a man when he is making sexual advances. As freshman, women are trying to fit into a new situation among older people. Many fear that saying "no" to a man will detract from their popularity and affect their social lives in negative ways (Jayne Schuiteman, MSU, Department of Human Relations, Personal Interview, 1992).

College campuses provide a very good setting for studying factors that influence sexual assault reporting rates. They are the only institutions which offer specific rape crisis counseling to their members. Thus they provide access to a group of survivors who have received counseling, and to directors and counselors who have worked in the area of sexual assault and possibly have some insightful information to offer.

Method #1: Interviews with survivors

The first means that I employed in gathering information to test my hypotheses was to conduct interviews with sexual assault survivors. Linda Williams states: "The only way that we can really find out why rape victims do not report to the police is to ask the victims themselves" (Williams, 1984, p.465). To study a rape survivor's decision concerning whether or not to report the assault to legal authorities, validity comes from talking with survivors themselves in a one-to-one personal interview in which a relationship of trust had already been built.

I interviewed seven sexual assault survivors for this thesis. Three different means were used to solicit volunteers to be interviewed. Initially, I posted signs in several places in and around the campus community. Signs were posted in the school counseling center and health center, a local community counseling center which handles sexual assault and in a local domestic violence shelter. These signs read:

> "Academic Research for sexual assault survivors. I have been trained as a counselor for three years and now am conducting research on sexual assault reporting rates. I would like to interview both survivors who have reported and those who have not reported to the police".

Secondly, I wrote a more extensive description of my research again requesting volunteers. I placed this inside an information packet which goes out to sexual assault clients at the counseling center of the school which I attend.

The third tactic I used was to mention my research in a meeting of student volunteers for a university sexual assault crisis center. I told them I was looking for volunteers if they knew of someone who would be willing, or if they were qualified and willing themselves. I then passed around a sheet for volunteers to sign if interested.

These efforts resulted in a sample of seven women, six of whom were volunteers at the sexual assault crisis center. All the respondents were currently active in the struggle to end

violence against women. This sample will by no means be representative and I will be unable to make many generalizations from this sample. However, I believe that the training and experience these women have received in dealing with sexual assault may better equip them to understand their own reasons for reporting or not reporting a sexual assault, and help them to verbalize those reasons. Talking with a few survivors in this manner should still offer some helpful insights and anecdotal data.

After a survivor volunteered to be interviewed, I scheduled a time that was convenient for her to meet. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face with the exception of one for which schedule conflicts prevented us from finding a time we both could meet. That interview took place over the telephone. On average, the interviews lasted about 40 minutes. I began each interview by reading a statement of confidentiality and a voluntary statement. After securing verbal consent I proceeded to ask them questions. I followed the format of the questionnaire almost exactly for each interview. (The questionnaire is given in Appendix A). I had explained to each of the respondents that although I had this list of questions, if they felt other issues were more important, or did not think any of these questions were appropriate for their situation, then we could stray from this format. My previous training as both a counselor in sexual and domestic assault, and my training as a professional interviewer, at The Center for Survey Research, Michigan State University, provided me with excellent background knowledge and skills to acquire personal information from the women I interviewed.

According to Festinger and Katz, these two skills, counseling and interviewing, seem to be the ideal combination for this type of research. These authors claim successful interviewing skills are similar to counseling techniques (Festinger and Katz, 1953). Interviewers need to be able to establish a rapport with respondents and in this situation I think it was especially important to establish a relationship of respect and trust. I was taking the time of some very busy people

to ask them about a personal, traumatic event in their past that they would rather forget. I had to let them know that I appreciated their participation and that they could trust me with this information. Festinger and Katz make three suggestions for successful interviewing: express genuine interest in the women, model an attitude of permissiveness, and establish freedom from pressure. I attempted to employ these suggestions in my interviews.

I have operationalized the affects of situational circumstances, my first factor, on reporting by asking survivors questions about the location, level of acquaintance, level of violence, their race, and the race of the assailant. I then compared these answers, with whether or not they reported, to see if there were differences on these variables among victims who reported and victims who did not.

I asked each of the respondents several questions about to whom, among their family and friends, they disclosed the rape, in order to operationalize the factor, support system. I asked the survivors questions about the responses of people they told, if they were encouraging or discouraging, and if these people had any affect on their decision whether or not to report.

Finally, I had operationalized victim's expectations of the police by asking questions about the police both currently and at the time of the rape. I asked respondents about how sensitively they felt police respond currently, and at the time of the rape, and whether police tend to believe or disbelieve women who report currently, and at the time of the rape.

By asking survivors about the factors that influenced their decision whether or not to report, I hoped to gain some insight into the conscious decision-making process. From the victim's perspective, I hoped to learn what crucial factors are considered and if there are any similar factors among survivors.

They did not seem to have any difficulty answering the question, "what most influenced your decision whether or not to report?" Whatever their decision, respondents felt fairly certain

about following it. Those that did not report, claimed they never felt a desire to, and those that did report, were relatively confident it was the right choice.

As with each of my data collection measures, there are methodological problems with this procedure. The most serious methodological problem has already been mentioned, the unrepresentative sample. I relied on volunteers, who were all women active in anti-rape efforts.

The process of carrying out a research study is a learning experience in itself. I learned something about my stereotyped perceptions of rape scenarios. I believe I had a rape scenario in mind when I wrote this questionnaire and, in hindsight, I can see that the questions reflect this. Given the setting for this study, a college campus, I imagined most of the rapes would have occurred between acquaintances. I expected most of the assailants to be either someone the survivor had been dating or had met at a party or bar for example, but someone with whom she had been building a romantic relationship. Less than half of the survivor's I interviewed fit their experiences into this description, thus some of the questions I had constructed were inappropriate. This is an example of how a study such as this might benefit from a pretest.

If I were to rewrite the questionnaire, I would have had fewer questions about counseling and reporting because so many were not in a position to answer these questions. I would have condensed the section on whether family or friends advised or influenced the reporting, and asked more about general responses from significant others. Few women were influenced by family and friends, in general, on their decision whether or not to report.

I felt all of the interviews went well for both me and the women I interviewed. A few of them mentioned that they felt it was cathartic to relay their story to an attentive and interested listener. This research gives them an opportunity to let their voices be heard and to tell their story while being reinforced for believing what was done to them was wrong.

I knew all of the women in this sample even before I had interviewed them. Quite naturally, the interviews took on a personal tone. The respondents queried about my own life and my motives for conducting this research. I approached these interviews as a two-way communication process. In this regard, this portion of my study may most accurately be described as participatory research. Avoiding, a "detached researcher" approach to interviewing was crucial in building up the trust that would afford me access to the quality information I was seeking. If I did not engage in exchange with the respondents about my life, I would have placed myself in an unequal position with them, and would have done them a disservice (Ann Oakley in Roberts, 1981). By opening up to the survivors and sharing some of my experiences with them I believe I established a greater level of credibility with the women. I was no longer a distant academic, but another woman empowering herself through this research.

Previous feminist researchers have called for this type of involvement from researchers interviewing women. Ann Oakley, claims that when women interview women, they cannot use prescribed interviewing practices, the relationship must be non-hierarchical, the interviewer must invest their own identity into the relationship (Ann Oakley in Roberts, 1981, pp. 41-43). When women are being interviewed, they often ask questions of the interviewer. These questions cannot simply be brushed off for fear of biasing responses and risking validity. Answering respondent's questions as simply as you can builds up a relationship, and improves the quality of information you may get from respondents (Roberts, 1981; Herzog, 1964 p. 44).

Method #2: Interviews with counselors

The second means that I employed in gathering information to test my hypotheses was to conduct interviews with directors of rape crisis counseling centers on ten different campuses in the United States. I think counselors who have worked for some time with sexual assault survivors, have experience which can help them determine victim's reasons for reporting a rape. Many counseling centers advocate for the survivor throughout the entire criminal justice procedure and would have an understanding of what this process involves for survivors. They might also have contemplated a more theoretical approach to the issue of reporting than any given survivor.

Two of the institutions were not selected randomly, but were intentionally selected based on a prior connection I had with the institutions. The remaining institutions were selected randomly. Selecting portions of my sample based on a prior connection may place the validity of my research into question. I had anticipated some difficulty convincing crisis centers to agree to take the time to answer this somewhat sensitive survey. Therefore, I felt I would be much more likely to obtain the sample size I desired, if I used colleges where I may know some of the counseling staff, presumably they would then be more likely to participate. In the interest of time, I felt this was justifiable.

Those colleges chosen randomly were selected from Peterson's Register of Higher Education, which contains an alphabetized list of 3,600 accredited institutions in the United States. I used a systematic sampling procedure to select schools. Those selected were compared with institutions listed in Every Woman's Guide to Colleges and Universities, which lists those institutions that have a rape crisis center. If the randomly chosen school had services on campus for sexual assault survivors, then it was placed into the sample for which I conducted interviews with counselors. If the school did not have services on campus, then it was placed into another

sample set. For these schools, I called only to determine the numbers of rapes reported on campus.

The original sampling resulted in too few schools with centers, so I had to go back to Peterson's Guide and re-sample. There was also one school at which I was unable to contact the director of the center, so I replaced that school with another. After calling, two of the schools that were listed as having services, claimed they did not. These schools were ineligible for the sample and were also replaced.

Defining a rape crisis center, seemed somewhat problematic for some of the schools in my sample. When the school was listed as having a center in the guides listed above, I assumed there was a rape crisis center on that campus and I referred to it as such. Yet, after I called some of the counselors, they did not define their service as a separate 'rape crisis center'. Many rape victim services are housed in the school's counseling center. Few have their own offices on campus. I made the decision that if there was a counselor at the school trained to deal with sexual assault survivors, and had experience doing so, then I included the school in the sample. If not, they went into the sample of schools which did not have rape crisis services available to students. The National Directory of Victim/Survivor Services and Prevention Programs was consulted for the addresses and names of the directors of the centers (Webster, 1989).

After I drew the sample and gathered a few demographic characteristics on each school, I then prepared advanced letters to be sent out to the schools which had rape crisis services. This letter is in Appendix B. Each letter was personally addressed to the woman that was listed in the National Directory of Victim/Survivor Services and Prevention Programs, as the contact person for that center. I began each letter by explaining who I was and why I was writing to them. I explained my research, and listed the variables that I had hypothesized to affect survivor's decisions whether or not to report a rape. I tried to establish my credibility with them by listing

my experience, espousing feminist attitudes and a commitment to empowering sexual assault survivors. I explained why I thought it was crucial for them, personally, to participate in my survey. Then I explained what I would ask of them. I said that I would call them in one to two weeks, and I gave them a description of what types of questions I would be asking them over the telephone. I informed them about confidentiality and consent, made one final pitch for my study and thanked them for their time.

Each of the counselors was then telephoned one to two weeks later. I set up appointments with all of the counselors to call them back and conduct an interview over the phone at a time which was convenient for them. The interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes. Before beginning each interview, I reminded the counselors what I was interested in studying and why I was calling them. I described the types of questions I would be asking them and then read them a confidentiality statement that had been approved by the research ethics committee which reviewed my proposal. A copy of the questionnaire I used can be found in Appendix C.

The interviews I conducted with counselors at each of the schools followed a structured format. I began by asking them when the center began and how many clients they have contact with in an average academic year. These were primarily introductory questions. They offer a measure of how well the center might be established within that campus community, and the level of experience which the counselors can draw upon in answering my questions.

Next, I asked about the types of services that are offered at the center. I listed services one at a time and asked if it was offered at that center. I then asked if there were any other services they offered that I had forgotten to mention.

I asked about the types of programs offered to examine whether a greater level of services offered might be correlated with higher reporting rates. The more services offered at a particular

campus, the more likely victims would be familiar with the program on their campus and its purpose. Then perhaps they would be more likely to report.

Unfortunately this will be hard to determine because there are not many differences in the types and extent of services offered by different centers, it seems if a school has a center they offer services that are very similar to those offered at other schools. This may be primarily because schools often model their programs after existing ones at other schools.

Each program has to function within unique administrations and local communities. The attitudes and support from different administrations may affect the types of services that are offered at different schools, therefore I have also asked about the level of support for sexual assault survivors from various general groups on campus; the administration, faculty, students, campus public safety department, local community, local police department, and the public prosecutor's office.

Many of the counselors expressed difficulty answering these questions because they could not generalize to all the people that comprised those groups. The reactions and level of support among people who comprise these groups vary so much from individual to individual. Therefore, the responses to these questions must be viewed with caution because they are only an approximation to the counselor's general impressions of these groups.

The next set of questions asked about reporting rates at that school. First, I asked how many rapes had been reported to the local police department by a student, which had taken place within the past year. Many schools did not have this information. Next, I asked about how many had reported to campus safety. More could answer this question. Indeed some respondents have said that a victim would be more likely to report to the school campus safety than the local police department. I then asked the numbers having reported to the counseling center. I was looking for a hierarchical pattern. I assumed that students would be most likely to go to the rape

counseling center, then to the campus police, then to the local police. I finally asked about any other places where students might report and what the rates were for these other places. Here the amount of information I was able to gain waned a great deal.

The next section began to deal with the issue of reporting more specifically. I asked counselors about discussing the option of reporting a sexual assault to the police and whether or not they ever encourage or discourage it. These questions were asked to determine how much counselors really discuss the issue of reporting with their clients and if they even have the opportunity to influence this decision.

Next, I asked a set of open-ended questions regarding the counselor's estimates of the three most influential factors in a survivor's decision whether or not to report. I wanted to know what were the first three things to come to mind when asked about factors related to reporting a sexual assault in order to see if the factors that I have hypothesized to influence this decision, were the same factors that counselors would mention. If the counselor mentioned one of the factors in my model, this was interpreted as support for that factor.

The next section represents the operationalization of the three factors given in my model. I operationalized situational factors and measured its effects, according to counselors with the following questions: "How much influence do you think the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?" "How much influence do you think the level of violence has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?" "How much influence do you think the amount of physical resistance the victim used, has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?" "How much influence do you think the location of the assault has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?" "Is this different for stranger and acquaintance rapes?"

I operationalized victim's perceptions of the police response with the following question: "How much influence do you think the victim's perceptions of the criminal justice system has on her decision whether or not to report?"

I operationalized the effects of support systems with the following questions: "How much influence do you think support from family and friends has on a woman's decision whether or not to report?" and "Do you think victims who receive immediate assault crisis counseling, by contacting a center like this one, within a week of the assault, are more likely to report an assault to the police, less likely to report an assault, or neither more nor less likely to report, than victims who do not receive counseling after an assault?"

I concluded the survey with some questions about the counselor's position, and personal contact with clients, again to get an idea of the level of experience which they might draw upon in answering these questions. I then thanked them for their participation and offered to make a copy of the results available to them.

There are methodological problems involved with this data collection procedure. The most serious problem is probably being one step removed from the population I am really concerned with learning about, sexual assault survivors. I am asking counselors to interpret their client's feelings and motivations. Counselors are somewhat trained to do this, yet there is room for misinterpretation in this process, and some might be more adept at interpretation than others. There is no control for this variability.

Another problem involved with this method will become more evident when I present the results of the survivor interviews. Often, a counselor does not have the opportunity to become involved in the decision making process with the survivor. Frequently, survivors make a decision about reporting before they even contact a counselor, thus it may only receive minimal attention in discussions between the two.

A third problem with my particular questionnaire is that it has never been tested. I have no basis for knowing these questions provide reliable data. I asked all of my questions as directly as possible (i.e "What do you think is the most influential factor in a woman's decision whether or not to report to the police?"). Yet, my experience with survey research has taught me that questions really need to be tested on several audiences and over time to determine if they really reap the kinds of information the researcher is seeking in the most efficient manner. I do not have the time and resources to pretest this questionnaire. I did consult with a counselor at a University sexual assault center and a director of survey research about the questionnaire. Each gave me some helpful feedback and I made some improvements on the questionnaire accordingly.

Another notable problem with the questionnaire was the somewhat questionable attempt it made to measure community support for sexual assault survivors. I firmly believe that each of the communities represented in my sample demonstrate varying levels of support for sexual assault survivors, and this affects the likelihood of victims reporting. I have attended four different colleges in my undergraduate and graduate careers, and each has had a different atmosphere in regards to dealing with sexual assault. Yet, when one lives and works in a particular community, it is difficult to "step outside" and evaluate that community in regards to its level of supportiveness (Bessmer, 1984).

It is difficult to assume respondents have a comparison base on which to measure their responses, for example I asked them, "On a scale of one to four, how supportive or unsupportive do you feel the local community is towards sexual assault survivors?" Bessmer claims that people regard certain behavior as normal or natural based on what they are used to seeing. Only deviations from this, are problematic. She assumes that "the structure of people's observations about their world is shaped by their participation in a particular culture" (Bessmer, 1984, p. 357).

So respondents may be too unfamiliar with other communities to know if theirs is relatively supportive or unsupportive, they merely take it for granted.

Contacts with Schools that do not have Rape Crisis Centers

As I mentioned above, I also contacted ten schools in the United States that do not have services on campus for students who are sexual assault survivors. (There may be a variety of reasons why these schools do not have rape crisis services available, the primary reasons likely being small size and lack of funding.)

Two of the colleges in this sample were not selected randomly. With these colleges, I had to call a variety of different offices or departments before I could get the information I desired. I suspected some of these people would not be overly eager to speak to me and release this sensitive information to me. If I was calling someone who knew me, or knew I was a former student, they may be more likely to release the information to me. There are gatekeepers to knowledge, even within institutions of higher education, and I believe we must utilize any inroads or resources we have at our disposal to access this knowledge.

Once in touch with the source most likely to have the information I was seeking, I queried all of the respondents in the same manner. I said, "Hello, my name is Renee De Groot. I am a student at Michigan State University and I am conducting some research for a paper I am writing. I am studying sexual assault reporting rates on different college campuses around the United States. I wonder if you could tell me how many sexual assaults have been reported on this campus by students of this school."

I had no trouble securing answers from the respondents once I was connected with the person who would have that information. Three of these respondents were employees of the campus safety departments, three were Deans of the schools, and the remaining four were employees of the Student Affairs Office.

People did not seem to be concerned about covering up reports of sexual assault on their campus. They were very cordial and cooperative. Many seemed genuinely interested in my

research and excited that someone was doing research in this area. Several requested copies of the results when completed and wished me luck in this endeavor. Thus, I have every reason to believe that the statistics they gave me, regarding the numbers of rapes reported on their campus, are accurate to the best of their knowledge. I believe there is less secrecy around the issue of rape on college campuses. More people are talking about the issue and its consequences for men and women at college.

Method #3: Contact Sheets

Counseling centers that receive government grant money are often required to keep statistics on the number of clients they see and what types of contacts they have with clients. I was able to access these records from the sexual assault crisis center at a large university, that must remain unnamed, by petitioning the University Research Ethics Committee and the counseling center. The contact sheets cover the 1990-1991 academic year. These contact sheets record all the contacts with clients via the crisis telephone line and those who see a rape crisis counselor for counseling after an assault.

These contact sheets contain the following relevant information: whether or not the victim reported the assault to the police, and in some cases, to which police department they reported, the location of the assault (i.e. assailant's home, victim's home, a car or another place) the level of violence used in the assault, and the race of the victim and assailant. I operationalized the factor situational circumstances with these variables from the contact sheets.

It is difficult, at best, to draw many conclusions about the differences between people who report a sexual assault and those who do not, based on this data set. There are many methodological problems with this data set and the manner in which it was collected that make it difficult to say that I will discover any new "truths" about women who do and do not report a sexual assault. I hope only to use this data to compare to the things I have learned from survivors and counselors in the interviews that I conducted with each. By discussing this data, I may also enlighten future researchers as to how they might design studies which will provide data that can more validly tell us what the differences are between women who report a rape and women who do not.

The key variable in terms of my thesis was whether or not the victim reported the assault to the police. Reporting in this data will be operationalized as a report made to the local police

department, another non-local police department, or the campus police. The campus police are included because on this particular campus, the police are deputized, they have the right to arrest on campus and are given all the rights and responsibilities of the local police department. When a report of rape is taken they eventually turn it over to the local city police and if the survivor chooses to prosecute, she must follow all the same procedures she would if she had reported to the city police directly.

There is one field or "spot" reserved in the data set to represent this variable, reporting to the police. The coded responses are; "Y" for "yes victim reported to the police, "C" for "reported to the campus police","L" for "reported to the local police", "O" for "reported to some other police department" and finally, "N" for did not report to the police". The rest of the responses to this question are blank.

The first methodological problem in utilizing this data set is the manner in which the contact sheets are actually used by the volunteers who fill them out, and how this key variable was treated. The sheets are not questionnaires and were not treated as such. These contact sheets are filled out by volunteers who answer crisis telephone calls from sexual assault survivors. The sheets are filled out after the call is completed and the volunteer just records what they recall from the conversation. If the client does not mention whether or not she reported the assault to the police, the volunteer may or may not ask her. Volunteers are trained to, and do, serve the purpose of discussing what the caller needs to discuss, not the answers to the questions on the sheet. Some of these missing values on this variable may represent women who have reported the assault to the police, but did not mention it to the volunteer, and some may represent women who did not report the assault to the police.

Likewise with the other variables, missing answers may actually represent valid responses to the variable, but merely because this was not an interview, and clients were not asked all of these questions, they were not mentioned in the course of the conversation, and were not coded.

There are two ways of interpreting these blank responses. A conservative approach would be to not make any assumptions about these missing values. I have included a frequency table of all the responses to the item regarding reporting of the assault. On this table, we can see how many true "no" responses were given to this variable.

Yet, I have reasons to believe that these blank answers represent negative responses to the question of reporting. Reporting to the police is a major step. It requires time and commitment and courage and it is likely to be a big enough issue for survivors that they would mention it to a volunteer or counselor when discussing the rape. Speaking with survivors themselves about the issue of reporting confirmed my suspicions that these blanks represent negative responses. Two of the survivors that I interviewed did report to the police, and they did so after they contacted a rape crisis center for counseling. Each of them discussed the process of reporting the rape with the counselor that they contacted. Reporting was an important topic in the course of the counseling. They did not simply neglect to mention it.

Thus, I have decided to make a very liberal assumption regarding this key variable. I based my analysis on the assumption that these missing responses, on the reporting to the police variable, represent women who did not report the rape to the police.

There are a total of 361 cases in this data set. On the variable, report to the police, 100 people either answered "yes", "campus", "local" or "other", signifying that the survivor did report to the police, while only 24 negative responses were recorded. This leaves 237 missing cases. There are so many missing cases that it would not be worthwhile for me to examine if I did not make any assumptions about these missing cases. If I add all of the true "no" responses to the

missing cases and assume that all 261 (24 + 237) of these cases represent women that did not report to the police, this would still give a reporting rate of 28% (100 out of 361), and 72% of the women did not report. The FBI estimated that only 10% of all the women who have been sexually assaulted report the rape to the police. So it may be reasonable to assume that these missing cases represent women who did not report to the police since we already have a higher reporting rate in this sample than the national average.

I must stress again that assuming the missing cases on the variable, reporting, represents women who did not report, is a big assumption. Yet, I have argued as to why this assumption might be fair. Interpretations of this data must be viewed with caution however.

When assumptions are made they should be made uniformly. There are also many missing cases on the other variables of interest to me, which I have already mentioned. I can make assumptions only about those variables for which "no" is an obvious possibility for the missing values. The first of these variables is the threat of physical injury. The responses to this variable are only "y" for "yes" and the rest are all missing values. Given that there is no category given for "no" responses, I think it is an even safer assumption that these missing values are "no". Another variable titled threat of death also has only "y" for "yes" responses. Again, I assume the blanks signify negative responses.

The last variable for which I will make assumptions is the variable titled weapon use. Those that are left blank, I will assume represent negative responses. Each of these variables, threats of physical injury, threats of death, and use of a weapon, are all very severe actions that I believe women would mention in an event such as this.

On the remaining variables of interest, responses are not dichotomous, for example victim race, therefore, I felt I had fewer grounds to make assumptions about these missing values. I decided to leave the missing values on the remaining variables as missing values. Thus for many

of the crosstabulations I have run on reporting and another variable, there are less than 361 cases due to the missing cases on the other variables.

With this information, I looked for differences on demographic variables between those who report and those who do not report. Since the sample is not random, and there are so many missing pieces to this data set, I will compare and discuss percentages in the tables but will not offer statistical tests of differences since these would be virtually meaningless.

I recoded the responses to the variables I have used into two categories. I recoded the level of acquaintance variable so that acquaintance and relative are in one category, and stranger and other are in the second category. The reporting behavior of women assaulted by acquaintances and relatives will be compared to that of women assaulted by strangers, and others. For location, I recoded the responses into victim's residence and other. No location is likely to be more familiar to a victim than her own home, even if she does know the assailant. It was hypothesized that victims who are assaulted in a familiar location are less likely to report.

The variable physical violence is a combination of several variables from the contact sheets. Violence exists on a continuum. Threats of violence are a less extreme form of violence, but threats may have the same affect on women as actual acts of violence. Acts of violence and resulting physical injury are on the other extreme end of the violence continuum. I have combined the variables physical injury, threat of physical injury, threat of death, and use of a weapon into one variable called presence of additional physical violence (since rape itself is one form of violence). If any one of these threats or actual acts occurred during the rape, then this was coded as additional violence. If none of these threats or acts occurred, then the response was coded as no additional violence. I have hypothesized that rapes in which additional physical violence was present, are more likely to be reported to the police than rapes in which additional violence was not present.

The final variables are race of victim and assailant. I have recoded the race of the victim as white and have combined all the other categories into "other", in order to test the hypothesis that white women are less likely to report than other women. And finally, the race of the assailant was recoded into black and "other" to test the hypothesis that women who are raped by black men are more likely to report than women who are raped by men of another race.

The results of these contact sheets will be interpreted in light of the other pieces of data I have collected as well as my own theories. I am using three sources of data and the results from all of these can be used together. Alone, any one of them would be inconclusive, at best. But, together perhaps they can bring us closer to an understanding of why so few women report a sexual assault and what might be done to make it easier for more women to do so.

Below, I present the results and a discussion of my interviews with sexual assault survivors, crisis counselors, and finally, the information on client contact sheets.

Chapter 5

Results and Discussion

Results of the Interviews with Survivors

I interviewed seven women who are sexual assault survivors. All of these women are presently active in the struggle to end violence against women by working or volunteering in women's assault crisis centers. They have gone beyond healing from their own victimization experience and have actually used it to empower themselves and other women by educating the public and counseling other survivors. The work that they do requires an acute awareness of the issues related to sexual assault, reporting is one such issue these women had previously considered.

The women in this sample are all white, middle class women who are very well-educated generally, and about rape specifically, thus they were all able to articulate their experiences and thoughts very clearly. In interpreting the information they have given, it is important to keep in mind, these women are not representative of all sexual assault survivors. Due to sampling complications, this is a special group of women.

To reach the stage these respondents are in, one of advocating for other survivors, takes time. There is a long time span between when the assault occurred and when the interview took place for most of these women. The average time span was eight years. There were a few younger respondents who had been assaulted 3-4 years ago, while most of the older respondents had been assaulted around 10 or more years ago. The greatest amount of time elapsed between the assault and the interview was 23 years. All the assaults discussed, occurred while the women were of college age.

Each of the survivors I interviewed had a different story to tell. It is difficult to say, from this sample, that there is any "typical rape scenario". I will try to summarize what had happened

in each of the situations and then present summaries of their responses to the questions which were related to my hypotheses. From this point on, I will use alias names to identify my respondents in order to protect their identity and yet make comparisons across questions possible.

The first survivor I interviewed was Cindy. She was 22 at the time of the assault. Cindy was assaulted four years ago by a 33 year old black man whom she had never previously met. The assailant posed as a maintenance worker in her apartment complex. Once he secured entry into her apartment, he threatened her with a knife, raped her, and left her with bruises and a sprained arm. Cindy's roommate came home and saw the assailant. Her roommate encouraged Cindy to report the assault to the police immediately. But, the assailant had made threats to Cindy if she should report to the police so she was afraid to do so. Her roommate called the police for Cindy, yet once she did, Cindy made the decision to continue with the prosecution process.

Cindy did tell her family and friends about the assault within days after it had occurred, but they were all informed after the rape had already been reported to the police. Cindy claimed that all of her family and friends were supportive of her in general, but they did not have the opportunity to influence her on the issue of reporting because Cindy had already done so by the time she told others of the assault.

Cindy also received counseling shortly after the assault (within a few days) and claimed that it did help to take all blame off of herself and broaden her definition of rape, but she had already made the decision to report and again, the counseling center did not have the opportunity to influence her on this decision. The counseling center had offered to accompany her to legal proceedings, but she declined the offer.

When Cindy realized the police had been called, she never really considered whether or not the police would believe her. She assumed that they would. I quote, "My roommate called the police. I didn't really want her to because I was afraid he would return and hurt me more ...

The police took it out of my control, I never considered dropping it." At the time, she was much more concerned about the assailant returning and harming her further. The initial decision to contact the police was taken out of Cindy's hands, her roommate contacted the police. This is not an uncommon situation for survivors. When the police arrived, Cindy felt they had treated her very well, they were fair and sensitive.

Cindy's interview concluded with a recommendation she made to other survivors to report sexual assaults to the police because it is a necessary step to informing the assailant that what he did was wrong.

Charlotte, had also been raped by a stranger, a black man. This assault occurred approximately 20 years ago, when Charlotte had just begun college. Charlotte had been with her boyfriend at the time, in a car not far from her own home. The assailant abducted her from the car and took her to an abandoned garage and raped her. When she returned to her boyfriend, he immediately ascertained what had happened. Her boyfriend began driving around the neighborhood looking for the assailant. Then, Charlotte was not quite certain if she had made the decision to go to the police station or if her boyfriend had made the decision. Both Charlotte and her boyfriend just assumed that was what needed to be done, since a crime had just been committed.

Charlotte also told her family and friends about the rape after she had already reported it to the police. There were no other people who influenced the decision to contact the police. Her evaluation of the police was rather non-committal. They took a report from her but never found the assailant and the case was dropped. She felt that at this time, 20 years ago, there were far fewer services available for sexual assault survivors. She never received counseling and knew very little about what to expect from the criminal justice system.

Belinda, the third respondent had known her assailant for a few months before the rape occurred, both were students at the same university. Her assailant was a white man. The two had gone out on three prior dates. On the last of these dates, after they had returned to her dorm room, he assaulted her. Within a few hours after the assault, Belinda told her best friend and this friend encouraged Belinda to contact the police immediately. Belinda's friend had a significant impact on her decision to report the assault to the police. Belinda decided to go ahead and contact the police. She said, "I reported to prevent him from doing it again to someone else... I felt apprehensive about reporting. I knew it would vary by the officer I got and it was an acquaintance rape so that brings up a whole new can of worms. We also had some mutual friends which made me more hesitant."

She attempted to follow the case through the criminal justice system but, the prosecutor's office would not accept the case because they felt it could not be won in court due to Belinda's prior relationship with this man.

She wanted to report to the police to keep the assailant from raping anyone else. Her friends and family were supportive of her and assisted her through the legal process. But, Belinda also did not tell anyone else about the assault until after she had made the report. Belinda had been working as a sexual assault crisis volunteer counselor when she was raped. She contacted the center at which she was volunteering and received counseling on and off for the next year.

These were the three respondents that did report to the police. The remaining four survivors in my sample did not report. There seems to be a common thread to all of the above situations. The women who were assaulted were in contact with a very close significant other immediately or very shortly after the assault. In some of the cases it was unclear who had actually contacted the police, the survivor or the significant other, but these other people had a definite influence on the decision to notify the police. Yet, it was only this one other person who

had any influence on the decision. All of these survivors informed the rest of their friends and family after they had already reported to the police. Perhaps just the effect of having someone with you, shortly after the rape to encourage you to call the police (or even call for you) is a predictor of reporting, but the larger social network of family and friends has little influence on the decision to report. The effect of having someone tell the survivor she had been raped and now she needs to call the police, seems a more accurate predictor than merely the support of family and friends.

Talking with survivors who did not report their assault provided even more clues to understanding a predictive model of victimization reporting rates. The remaining four survivors in my sample did not report their assaults to the police. Three of these rapes had occurred an average of 14 years ago. The issue of reporting is less of a concern to these women now, given this large time lapse. Yet, at the time the women seemed rather certain that they did not want to report the assault to the police, and their reasons for this provide some interesting insights.

Betty, the fourth survivor I interviewed had also been assaulted by a stranger 10 years ago in a violent attack that left her with bruises on her body. Betty was 20 years old at the time of the rape, and she was assaulted by a black man in his mid thirties. She was walking in an unfamiliar neighborhood and was attacked by a man on the street. When she returned home, she told a roommate what had happened. The roommate had given her a number of a rape crisis hotline and suggested that she call the police. Yet, Betty never seriously considered calling the police. She was primarily afraid of the assailant harming her again. He made threats in the event that she reported. He examined the contents of her purse and discovered her name, address and phone number. Betty stated, "He threatened to kill me if I reported and he looked through my ID so he knew who I was and where I lived. I think a lot of times the assailant keeps the victim from reporting. The assailant is a real threat and women are in fear."

She also knew she would never report it to the police because of other activities, outside of the rape, which brought her to this area. She felt somewhat disappointed in some of the activities in which she was engaging at the time and thought this would shed a negative light on her if she reported the assault to the police. She never made it clear to me what it was she was doing at the time of the assault, and I felt she preferred to keep this to herself. I chose to respect her privacy and not probe this any further. It is not essential to my analysis to be informed of these other activities.

Betty also had the benefit of immediate contact with a close significant other, her roommate, and yet this did not prompt her to call the police. There may be fine gradations in the levels of encouragement that these people offer which could have an affect on reporting. Betty stated that perhaps if her roommate had been more encouraging, she would have more seriously considered reporting to the police. But, she said any amount of encouragement from her roommate still would not have actually made her call the police. Betty had already made up her mind not to call the police.

I believe then, that having contact with another person may be a necessary (or vital component) but it is not a sufficient predictor of reporting. Women also need to be open to the idea. Betty was not. She thought the police would believe her story, yet she was certain they would still blame her for causing it.

Some time after the rape, Betty had received counseling for other issues in her life and the event of the rape came up during counseling. Yet, Betty claimed that the counseling did not really change her views on the rape, she had received other support from friends by this point who helped her to understand the rape and take the blame off of herself. By the time she received counseling, it had been so long after the assault that reporting was not really a feasible choice, nor

was it a prominent issue in Betty's mind, but she and the counselor did discuss why Betty did not report the assault at the time.

Betty had kept the assault from family and friends until several years after it had occurred. When she did inform friends and selected family members (sisters), they were all supportive and did not discuss the issue of reporting with her, but rather concentrated on Betty's healing process.

Mary, has yet another unique situation. She has had a very difficult past plagued by multiple sexual assaults and incest. She had blocked many of these incidents out of her consciousness for many years. Only in the last 7-8 years has she been able to recall these events. Together, she and I decided to concentrate on the first sexual assault (committed by someone outside of her family) that she could recall. This occurred 10 years ago when she was 21 years old. The assailant, a white man, was her supervisor at her place of employment at the time. She is able to recall little about the nature of their relationship since most of this had been blocked out of her mind.

The assault occurred in her bedroom. When it had resurfaced in her memory she discussed it with her therapist. But, reporting the assault to the police was not an issue at that time and so reporting was not discussed with the therapist. Mary never felt that counseling helped her to better understand the assault, her understanding of sexual assault came from her own education and work experience as a social worker. Mary also told a few friends and family members when she had recalled the rape, but again, reporting it was never a topic of conversation with them.

For Mary, reporting was less of a possibility than it was for any of the other victims. Mary had blocked it out of her mind and still is only able to recall pieces of the event. She had less of an opportunity to make a decision about reporting herself. When asked why she did not

report, she replied, "The fact that I didn't remember it until years later and it is still not a solid or clear memory, I am not sure myself. There is no evidence in this case."

Mary had a markedly more negative view of the police departments and their treatment of rape victims. She also seemed more secure in generalizing about the police departments than any of the other survivors did. She believed that police have made some improvements in their treatment of rape victims, but that they still had a long way to go to deserve a description of sensitive or fair. She feared that police often do not believe women when they report an assault. She understood that the police may be more likely to doubt her story since it still contained many missing pieces and she still carries some uncertainty about it herself.

The sixth person I interviewed, Julie, had been raped 23 years ago. Julie had been dating her assailant for a few months. They were in the home of one of his friends. They had started to become physically intimate when she felt the situation "just got out of control". For a long time afterwards, she blamed herself for being in the situation which she felt led to the assault. Julie never told anyone about the assault until 19 years after it happened. The incident came up in a therapy session in connection with other issues in her life. She felt the counseling had been helpful in removing the blame from herself. Because Julie had initially blamed herself for the rape, she did not immediately understand that she had been raped. For Julie, counseling did more to assist her in understanding the rape as the assailant's responsibility.

Around the time when the rape came up in therapy, Julie also told a female friend about the assault. Julie had been friends with this woman at the time of the assault and rather than being supportive to Julie, her friend was hostile because Julie did not tell her about it when it happened. Only in the last year did she reveal the assault to family members. She told her two sisters. She found them to be much more understanding and supportive.

Julie did not contact the police for "fear of the assailant. I was afraid he would physically harm me again. I didn't really want my family to know, I didn't know what they would do and how they would treat me. I feared the police would not believe me."

She is still skeptical about whether the police believe survivors of acquaintance rape even now. Fear of the assailant also kept her from reporting. She could not predict what his reaction might be if she reported it, but she feared it may be violent. She also feared that her family would blame her for causing the assault.

The last person that I interviewed, Karley, also did not report the rape to the police. Karley was a freshman away from home for the first time at a very large public university. She had been dating a man from an adjoining dormitory for a few months. At a party one weekend, she met her boyfriend's brother. The brother had asked her to come back to his room with him. She was hesitant but did, and there he assaulted her.

Shortly after this assault, other students in the dorm discovered what had happened. Karley told her suitemate who, for the next three weeks, strongly encouraged her to call a rape crisis line. Finally, she did, and the person she spoke with informed her, that she had the option of reporting the assault to the university judiciary. She decided to do this but lost the case. She never reported to the police.

When asked about her decision she said her boyfriend and the assailant strongly affected her decision to contact the university judiciary. "He (boyfriend) didn't want me to report and he was so angry at me and he blamed me. I wanted revenge against the guy I was dating and against the assailant. I wanted to tell him (assailant) that he was wrong. I felt hesitant to report to the judiciary but after talking to the hotline I felt more confident about it. I never considered going to the police because I didn't have any evidence, and it took me three weeks to get a grip on myself."

Karley told her sister about the rape. Her sister supported Karley's decision not to inform the police but to contact the university judiciary, yet Karley felt her sister never really understood the ramifications of the assault. She told her parents about the assault after she had reported it to the school and her parents were not supportive and blamed her for causing the rape. She told a few other friends of hers but none were very supportive of her nor understanding.

Both her boyfriend and his brother, the assailant, blamed her for causing it. She felt she wanted to do something to tell both of them that the assailant was responsible, not her. Reporting to the local police seemed too intimidating and demanding, she was having trouble adapting after the rape. She felt reporting to the university judiciary was the biggest step she could take. Karley had a difficult time functioning from day to day after the assault. She said that she drank alcohol heavily for many days after the assault in an attempt to forget and escape what was going on around her. She did not receive any further counseling for the assault but found that talking with a volunteer over the telephone was very helpful.

In the past three years, Karley has changed her definition of rape. Before she was assaulted, she accepted only the stereotypical definition of rape, but now has broadened her definition far beyond that. The change has come through her own education and exposure to literature from women's organizations.

The first variable in my model, situational circumstances, varied among the survivors in this sample. These women had been raped by people of varying social distance, from stranger, to acquaintance, to date, to boyfriend. Some of the assaults had taken place in the survivor's home, some in the assailant's home, some on the street. And again, varying levels of violence had been used in committing each of the rapes that were represented. Some had been very violent and included the use of a weapon and resulted in additional physical injuries, and others had not

involved any additional physical violence. Circumstances that were more likely to lead to reporting will be analyzed in the discussion of the results.

The second major factor in my model of rape victimization reporting was the expectations of the police. Again, my questions regarding these expectations brought similar responses from the survivors. I had asked the women questions about their perceptions of the police at the time they were raped and presently. Overall, the responses seemed to indicate that respondents in this sample think the police do believe victims when they report an assault, but they think the police will still blame the women. Most of the women I interviewed felt the police response depended on the individual officer. This factor seemed to have less influence on the women in this sample than I had hypothesized it would.

The final factor in my model was the support from others to report the assault. All of those who reported had the benefit of immediate support from a friend to contact the police, one friend even made the call for the survivor. Aside from this immediate source of support, other friends and family members were not informed of the rape until after they had reported and thus had no direct influence on the decision. Among those who did not report, none mentioned the support or lack of support as a factor in their decision not to report.

Discussion of Results of Survivor's Data

I have outlined a model of rape victim's decision-making process in Figure 1. This model contained three factors; situational circumstances surrounding the assault, perceptions of the response from the police, and support from family and friends to report the assault. Figure 2 contains the final predictive model based on the results of my research.

In the results section, a brief synopsis of each of the rape events was presented as well as victim's statements about why they did not report, in their own words.

All of those that did report the assault had contact with a friend almost immediately after the rape, who strongly encouraged the victim to report and in one case, actually made the call for the victim. Those that did not have this immediate source of support did not report the assault to the police. Betty was one exception to this. After she was assaulted, she returned home and told a roommate what had happened. Her roommate encouraged her not only to call the police but also to get counseling. Yet, Betty did neither. Betty was convinced in her own mind after the rape occurred, that she would never report it. This was partly because of a concern over the police department's definition of the event given the circumstances in which it took place. Perhaps, victims must be somewhat open to the idea first, in order for friends to be able to convince them to call the police. Or, perhaps the fear Betty felt for the assailant was a stronger deterrent than the encouragement to report.

Based on these results, the factor which I had titled, support from family and friends, will be modified to include only immediate support or crisis intervention. This is the presence of a close friend who strongly encourages the victim to report very shortly (within a few hours) after the rape occurs. For two of the three reporting survivors, this immediate support came from a female friend. Only this immediate support of a friend right after the rape seems to have an effect on reporting because so often, family and other friends have not been informed about the assault

until after a reporting decision has been made. Thus, based on the results of these interviews, immediate support from a close friend (or possibly a family member) will be included in the final predictive model in Figure 2.

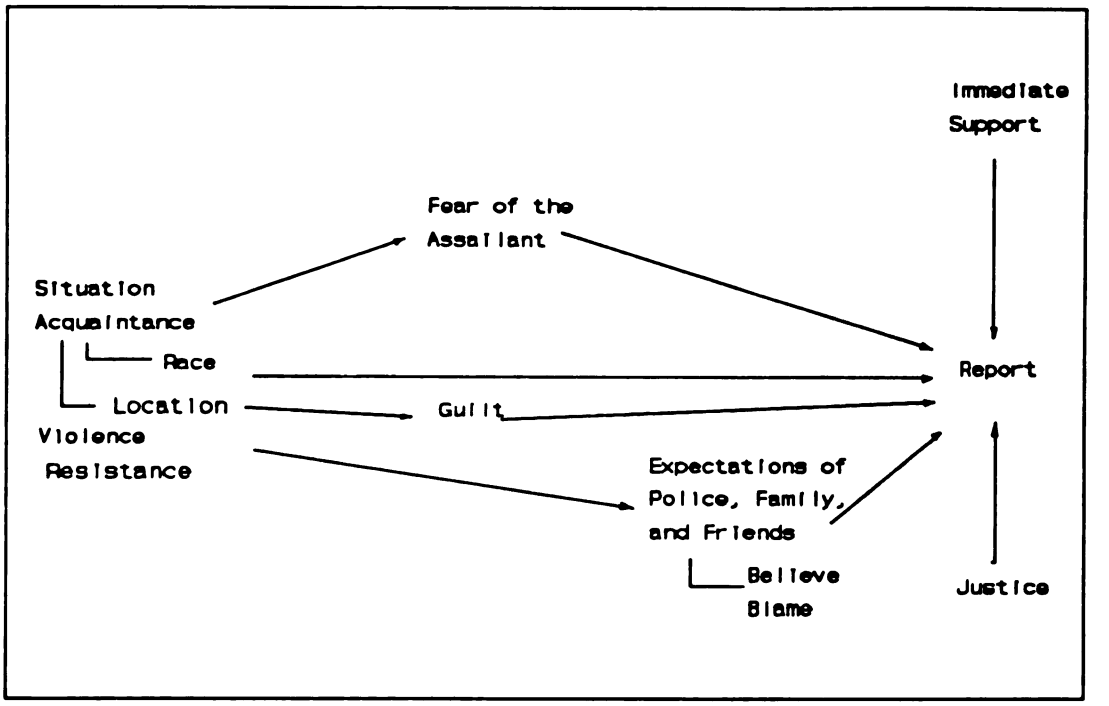

Figure 2: Final Predictive Model of Rape Victimization Reporting

The second reason mentioned for deciding to report a rape was a desire for both retribution and prevention. Belinda said that she wanted to see that the assailant did not rape any one else. Charlotte said she recognized this as a violent crime and something that should be reported to the police. Karley said she reported to the campus judiciary to "tell him what he did was wrong". These survivors wanted to see some retribution for the crime, they wanted to see that social justice prevailed. This is a factor which I had not included in my initial model, yet there seems to be strong evidence for its affects and it would enrich my model so it has been added as a predictive factor to the final model in Figure 2.

The remaining factors which had been mentioned were all reasons for not reporting. Another factor which I had not imagined to be a strong predictor was a fear of the assailant. Betty stated that the assailant, and the threats he made to her, were the main reason why she did not report to the police. She was afraid he would find her and hurt her again if she reported. Although she reported, Cindy was also fearful of the assailant, it was her roommate who called the police. Julie was raped by a man she had been dating for a few months and she was also fearful of him. She suspected his response would be violent if she chose to report to the police. Again, although this was not in my original model, adding this factor would make my model more complete, therefore it also will be in the final predictive model in Figure 2.

After reviewing the circumstances of each of the rapes, it seems that situational circumstances again surfaced as a factor. Two of the three rapes reported were stranger rapes and were relatively violent. Belinda, the only survivor of an acquaintance rape that did report, mentioned a hesitancy about the police response because it was an acquaintance rape. She said because it was an acquaintance rape it brings up a "whole new can of worms." Therefore, again, level of acquaintance and violence have shown up as strong predictors. These will be included in the final predictive model in Figure 2.

The situational circumstances seem to affect the perceived responses from family, friends and the police. Belinda was apprehensive because it was an acquaintance rape, and she was uncertain as to how the police would respond to this situation. She also mentioned a concern over the reactions of mutual friends. Julie said she did not want her family to know at all because she felt their response would be negative. She was raped by a boyfriend. Regarding the police she said, "I feared the police would not believe me." Karley was raped by an acquaintance with whom she had left a party, she said, "I never considered going to the police because I didn't have any evidence".

Situational circumstances seem to have an effect on the expected responses from family and friends and police. Charlotte and Cindy were both raped by strangers and never considered the possibility that others might not believe them. In the final model then, a line will extend from the factor "situational circumstances" to the "expectations of responses to reporting", signifying that situational circumstances affect survivor's expectations which in turn affects the likelihood of reporting.

Two other components in my original model were not specifically mentioned by the survivors, but seemed to follow a pattern in terms of reporting. Two of the three women who did report were raped by black males, while three of the four women who did not report were raped by white males. From this pattern, it would seem that women who are raped by black males are more likely to report. Further evidence from the client contact sheets will be used to specify the nature of this relationship.

The location of the rape was also not mentioned by the survivors as a consideration in the decision to report the rape, yet there also seems to be a pattern between this factor and reporting. Two of the three women who reported were raped in their own home, while three of the four women who did not report were raped in another location, and the one raped in her own home, did not remember the incident for many years. Again results from the interviews with counselors and the responses on client contact sheets will help interpret the relationship between reporting and location of assault.

Results from the interviews with counselors

The counselors that I interviewed came from schools that are very similar in terms of size and types of students. The schools were large and had primarily white, upper middle class students. Over half of the schools in the sample also had a deputized campus safety department or police department to which women could report a sexual assault.

This is recognizably not a representative sample of sexual assault survivors. Yet, this approximates a representative sample of female college students in the United States, and is an important group to examine.

The results are presented in a series of tables. The first table, Table C.1 lists the demographic variables on each of the schools. The schools have arbitrarily been assigned a number, 1 through 10 in order to compare schools across tables.

In Table C.1, I begin with a record of the number of years the center has been in operation. This is given in column two. Counselors that were able to give me this information

Table C.1 Demographic Variables of the schools with rape crisis services

School	# of Years	# of Services	Ratio s/f pop	# of fm. Students	% female	1/4 fm pop
1	16	9	.098	9,162	48	2,291
2	6	11	.070	15,641	45	3,910
3	11	7	.034	20,523	49	5,131
4	12	6	.180	3,331	51	833
5	NA	5	.105	4,744	49	1,186
6	6	7	.230	3,039	60	760
7	4	14	.234	6,014	55	1,497
8	NA	6	.204	2,947	47	1,503
9	NA	4	.095	4,197	50	1,049
10	14	3	.036	8,243	49	2,061

stated that the center has existed for several years. There is a significant variation in the number

of years of operation, but each center seems to have sufficient experience to answer my survey. The counselors from schools 5, 8 and 9 did not have this information and thus they are coded as "NA" for "not available". The number of years of operation ranged from 4 to 16, and the average was 9.9 years.

The third column lists the numbers of different services the center provides to the university community, for example in-person counseling, educational programs, public demonstrations, etc.. This number ranges quite a bit across schools in this sample, from 3 to 14. The average is seven.

The next column gives the ratio of services offered to the female student population. This was calculated by dividing the number of services by the number of female students and then multiplying by one hundred. This helps to give a comparative rate of services offered among the schools. In column 4, it is apparent that school number 7 offers the most services per female student.

The fifth column lists the number of female students at the university. The sixth column gives the percentage of the student population that is female. The percentages average right around 50%, with some schools having more males and some having more females.

The last column in table one is the calculation of one quarter of the female student population. This figure was calculated to show how many rape victims each school could potentially have in any given year. If we assume the rate of one out of four female college students will be raped in four years of college, then approximately one fourth of the female students at each college could potentially make reports of rape to the police. This figure can be compared to the actual reporting rate at each school.

Before presenting the results of the substantive section of the interviews, I wish to mention a difficulty many of the respondents had with the term "rape crisis center". Many of the

schools did not have a separate center for sexual assault victims on campus, but within the school counseling center they had counselors who were trained to see sexual assault victims and regularly did so. If there was a person at the school who was trained to counsel sexual assault survivors and had some experience in this area, then I chose to include them in my sample.

Since so many schools do not have a distinct rape crisis center separate from any other department on campus, it would have been very difficult to find enough schools to interview. Those that would have had a center that fit these criteria would have likely been very different from schools that did not have such a center. These types of schools would likely have been different in terms of size, campus atmosphere towards sexual assault, geographic location and financial resources. As a result of increased restrictions on the definition of sexual assault crisis center, the schools in my sample would have been even less representative of other colleges in the United States and of other sexual assault survivors in the U.S. Half of the schools in the sample claimed that they were not a separate rape crisis center as I had originally defined it, but rather they existed within another center in the university.

The counselors I interviewed consisted of 4 coordinators of the direct services of sexual assault counseling and education programs. There were three directors of sexual assault crisis centers, two staff psychologists and one staff counselor. The average number of years that the counselors have been in their positions was 5.65 and ranged from 16 years to 13 months. These counselors on average meet with 12 clients a month. Many found it hard to clearly specify how many clients they meet with each month because they may conduct a special program or run a special support group and were uncertain as to whether they should include the clients involved in these programs as regular monthly clients. I instructed them to include only the average number of clients with which they usually meet one-on-one, because this is where they are most likely to discuss the individual's reasons for reporting or not reporting a rape to the police.

Table C.2 presents information on the number of clients and the reporting rates at each school.

In the second column, we see that the numbers of clients each center worked with in the last academic year varied from 10 to 1700. The average was 307 clients. The schools with more programs and more university support, as one would expect, had a higher average number of clients. Those that were more hesitant to define themselves as a rape crisis center also had fewer clients than those centers which existed for that specific purpose. Schools with a specific rape crisis center usually had more accurate record keeping methods. One school did not have records for the number of clients they had in the last year and this school only had a general counseling center, so they were not included in the above average.

Table C.2 Sexual assault reporting rates of schools in sample

School	# of clients	Report to Center	Report to city police
1	62	17	NA
2	1,700	90	17
3	224	12	7
4	600	NA	1
5	10	10	2
6	10	NA	2
7	100	12	4
8	52	15	0
9	NA	NA	NA
10	13	3	3

Two of the counselors did not have any information on the numbers of students who reported a sexual assault to the local police, so I obtained that information from the campus police instead. There were two remaining schools that could not give me this information at all. Of the eight schools for which I was able to obtain the numbers of reported rapes to the police, the average was four and a half. These figures are given in column 4 of Table C.2. For all the schools which I was able to get the number of rapes, the numbers remained very low. The

highest was 17, and the lowest was 0. Only a fraction of a percent of the potential victims ever reported to the police at any of the schools. Not surprisingly, the center with the most clients, also had the highest number of rape reports on campus.

The numbers of rapes reported to the center represents how many of the total clients actually called and said they were raped. Sometimes clients call a rape crisis center for other reasons. Three of the counselors however, did not have information on the numbers of students reporting a rape to the counseling center. Of those who did have this statistic, the numbers of reports at the various schools ranged from a high of 90 to a low of 3. The average was 27. The figures are given in column 3.

Table C.3 presents the findings on the level of support counselors find in the academic and surrounding community, and whether counselors encourage or discourage reporting.

Table C.3 Counselor ratings on community support and level of encouragement

School	Sch & Comm Support	Encourage	Discourage
1	1.57	no	no
2	2	no	no
3	2.29	yes	yes
4	2.71	no	no
5	2	yes	no
6	2.14	no	no
7	2.21	yes	no
8	3.14	yes	no
9	NA	yes	no
10	2	yes	no

The second column in Table C.3, school and community support, is a combination of seven questions regarding the level of support towards sexual assault survivors who report a rape on campus, as witnessed by the counselors. The ratings on the level of support in the universities and in the communities came out more positively than I had expected. I trust the responses of the counselors as being accurate and honest because each of these respondents was very friendly and helpful and seemed more than willing to do the interview. None of them acted

as if they had any reluctance in answering any of the questions and were not keeping any information from me. I did not get the impression that counselors were attempting to portray their campus as more supportive than it actually was. I can only expect that these answers reflected genuine impressions of the campus community.

In answering the support questions, I asked the respondents to rate the various populations on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 was very supportive and 5 was very unsupportive, three was neutral. The lower the score the more supportive the community is perceived to be.

Following the questions about perceived campus and community support, I asked counselors whether they ever encouraged and/or discouraged clients from reporting a sexual assault to the police. I have stated the hypothesis that victims who receive counseling are more likely to report. In order to really determine the effects of counseling it would be helpful to know just how much counselors discuss the issue of reporting and how openly encouraging they are to survivors.

Every counselor that I interviewed said that she does discuss the option of reporting the sexual assault to the police with her clients. Although they all discuss this issue and feel it is a very important consideration, four of them make it a practice not to encourage clients one way or the other in making this decision. They believe it should be solely up to the woman to decide and may present the option, talk about the complications and consequences of each, but then they consciously leave the decision up to the survivor and stop their direction before influencing her decision.

Six of the counselors do take the next step and actually encourage survivors to report a sexual assault to the police. There were many reasons stated for encouraging a woman to report. Some take into consideration the facts and evidence available in the case, for example, if the

victim can identify the assailant or has information that could lead to his arrest they would be more likely to encourage her to report it to the police.

Many counselors like to evaluate the pros and the cons of each option and discuss each of these with the survivor. Counselors will speculate as to how the report may be received and they use this to decide whether or not to encourage her to pursue the case with the police. If the process is expected to empower the victim and give her a sense of control again, then the counselors encourage it. If they feel she may just suffer more by reporting it, counselors might not encourage reporting. This depends in part on the victim's personality, past history and her apparent coping ability. The time lapse between the assault and the initial counseling contact is also an issue. As demonstrated in the interviews with survivors, some do not go for counseling until many years after the assault when reporting is far less plausible.

A note should be made here that not encouraging a client to report is not the same as discouraging her from reporting, thus the two separate questions were asked. Not encouraging, may simply be failing to discuss the issue, or, failing to present a well-rounded picture of the options. But, discouraging reporting is definitely a more directive measure. This requires that the counselor offer their own opinion, and take a stronger stand against reporting.

Only two schools had anything to say about discouraging reporting. One of these schools clearly said that they never discourage reporting but that they describe for the client what the process might be like in that particular situation and this can often sound unpleasant, and thus informing them can be construed as discouraging them. The other counselor took a much stronger stance however. This counselor stated, "I think about her feelings. If she is real traumatized and scared, if she is unclear about the facts of the case, or cannot remember clearly, or if she was using drugs or drinking, I might point out the problems. . . If there has been a long delay since

the incident, or if she destroyed all evidence, or if she is less clear about being non-consensual, then I would discourage it."

The next table, Table C.4 presents the factors which counselors felt were most influential in reporting a sexual assault. These questions were asked in an open-ended format. I also asked counselors why they mentioned the factors they did. None of the counselors had any difficultly answering these questions, it was obvious that this was an issue the counselors had considered at length beforehand. Each of them had ideas and concerns about the factors which affect survivor's decisions.

Table C.4: Counselor Ratings on Hypothesized Factors

School	First Factor	Second Factor	Third Factor
1	police will believe	victim definition	situation of rape
2	fear	police will believe	guilt feelings
3	victim definition	police will believe	support system
4	police will believe	guilt feelings	publicity
5	reactions of others	police will believe	support system
6	guilt feelings	guilt feelings	fear
7	situation of rape	situation of rape	support system
8	guilt feelings	police will blame	guilt feelings
9	fear	police will believe	poverty
10	victim definition	situation of rape	situation of rape

In the category of most important factors, the most frequently mentioned factor, was a fear of not being believed by the criminal justice system. This factor had been mentioned three times as the most important.

The remaining responses to the questions about influential factors were pretty well distributed. Two mentioned a somewhat more generalized fear of several things happening as a result of reporting; fear that the assailant would hurt her again, or fear that nothing will happen

to him even if she reports it, or fear that family and friends will respond negatively to her report. Counselors mentioned this factor because they hear these fears expressed by their clients. So often these crimes are accompanied by threats to the women if she reports it to the police. She takes a risk in reporting it because if the man is not found guilty and he is released, she has placed herself in a very uncomfortable position. Even if the assailant does not harm the victim again, the fear that he might can be very debilitating. And, the fact that most often the assailant knows where she lives, and how to contact her, increases the risk that he might harm her again.

Two counselors mentioned that feelings of self-blame and guilt keep women from reporting. One of the counselors elaborated on this. She did not define this as an issue of how the survivor defines the assault, as I have hypothesized. Rather, this factor involves feelings of self-blame that result from believing rape myths that tell women even if it is rape, she is still somehow to blame and did something to cause it. This was mentioned because the counselors claimed that we live in a rape supportive culture in which women are taught to feel responsible for men's actions. They quoted comments from their clients such as; "what did I do?" and "if only I hadn't done this" as examples of this self-blame.

Two counselors mentioned the survivor's definition of the incident as rape. They went on to describe this factor as the victim's perceptions of what has happened, and an assessment of the balance between her feelings of quilt and her feelings of outrage over the incident. First, she must come to the realization that she has been raped, then she must assess her role in the event. Another counselor stated that both of these aspects are crucial. The survivor must realize she was raped, and believe she is not to blame before taking steps towards prosecuting the assailant for it.

One counselor mentioned a situational variable I have formed an hypothesis about; whether or not the victim was acquainted with the assailant. This works as a deterrent because

often public opinion tells women, that if it was an acquaintance who raped them, it was not as serious. Many women integrate this message.

The last comment made about the most influential factor in considering a report to the police, concerned perceptions of possible repercussions of reporting on the survivor's immediate living environment. For example, a woman who was raped by someone on her dorm floor may feel very hesitant to report the crime when everyone who lives around her and the assailant will find out about the incident. The counselor said that victims will sometimes attempt to "test the waters" before reporting. They will tell a few people and then evaluate their reactions. If she receives a negative response, she will be less likely to tell anyone else.

The second time I asked counselors about influential factors the responses were quite similar to those mentioned the first time. The factors that were mentioned again were, belief on the part of the police, guilt feelings by the survivor, situational variables, and survivor definitions of rape.

The third time I asked counselors about factors which influence reporting, some of the same issues came up as well as new ones. The most frequently cited response the final time I asked this question, was having the support from family and friends to report the assault. Those who mentioned this factor said that the assistance of a counselor through the criminal justice system is not sufficient support for the survivor to continue.

A unique factor was mentioned by only one of the counselors. She claimed that because many women are poor, they feel they do not have the money, time and other resources necessary to follow a rape case for its duration. The counselor who mentioned this factor was located at a community college that has more non-traditional students than most of the other schools in the sample. Many of the female students are older, single women with children. This was a factor that I had not previously considered perhaps due to the population I assumed would be covered

in my sample. I was calling primarily larger institutions of higher education which often have students that come from higher income families.

In the last part of the interview, I asked the counselors to rate each of the variables in my hypothesis as to how influential they believed these factors to be in a rape victim's decision whether or not to report to the police. The scale ranged from a score of 1 for a "great deal of influence" to a score of 4 for "no influence at all" thus the lower scores meant greater influence. Table C.5 presents the results of these ratings.

Table C.5 Counselor ratings on hypothesized factors

School	Acquainted	Violence	Resistance	Location	Cr. Just. Sys.	Support
1	2	NA	2	2	NA	NA
2	2	1	2	3	NA	NA
3	1.5	NA	2	2	NA	NA
4	1	2	1	1	1	1
5	2	1	2	3	NA	2
6	1	1	3	NA	1	2
7	1	1	1	2	1	1
8	1	2	1	1	1	2
9	1	1	NA	1	1	1
10	1	1	4	2	1	2
Average	1.35	1.25	2	1.89	1	1.57

The score which ranked the highest in terms of level of influence was the victim's perceptions of the criminal justice system and whether or not the police will believe her. This is consistent with what was said in the open-ended questions. Of those who answered this question (six schools) all of them rated this as having a great deal of influence, they all gave this factor a score of 1.

The level of violence was rated as very influential, with a score of 1.25, but it was difficult for counselors to answer this question. Many of them commented that a great deal of

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violence inflicted during a rape can have two differing affects on a survivor. It can make her feel more outraged and justified in reporting. Violence can also provide evidence of the assault to back up her story. A great deal of violence however, can also frighten the woman out of reporting. If the assailant makes threats and proves he is capable of carrying them out, this can make a victim too frightened to report the assault.

The next highest score in terms of influence, was the social distance between the victim and assailant. The average score on this variable was 1.35. This is somewhat inconsistent with the responses to the open-ended questions, since this factor was less frequently mentioned in the open-ended questions.

The amount of support the victim receives from family and friends is the next most influential factor. The average score on this factor was a 1.67. One counselor expanded on her response by stating that this may influence a victim but will not always be a deciding factor. Women will report against the wishes of their families and will also not report even if their family wishes that they would. There is still an appreciable amount of self-determination involved in this decision.

A question about the location of the assault was responded to in a mixed manner. It seems that if the victim is acquainted with the assailant and the assault occurs in a familiar place (for example in her home and she invited him there, or his home and she went willingly) then the location becomes an influencing factor. But, if the assault takes place in a familiar location and she does not know the assailant (especially if he secured entry illegally or under false pretenses) then the location of assault is much less of a consideration. So this factor depends upon how well the victim and assailant are acquainted. The overall score for location was 1.88, but this statistic was calculated without the differentiation made between stranger and acquaintance rapes.

The amount of physical resistance the victim showed was rated as the least influential. It received an overall score of 2. Counselors seemed to believe this matters less to women. One counselor said that women come to an understanding that they did all that they could and survived, and their level of resistance is not really an issue for them.

Overall, counselors felt that receiving rape crisis counseling would make women more likely to report a rape to the police. One counselor mentioned that if women come in for counseling, only then do counselors have the opportunity to address the debilitating myths women hold about sexual assault, and eradicate them. However, some counselors were eager to point out that the counseling does not necessarily cause women to report the assault. So often women do not contact the counseling center until after they have already reported to the police. Then, the counseling center does not even have the opportunity to influence clients on this issue.

One final note regarding an important methodological consideration should be taken into account when conducting research on sexual assault survivors. These counselors are basing their responses on victims who have contacted their center for counseling. Yet, there are many survivors that do not contact a center for counseling. In fact, it is very possible that women who contact a rape crisis center for counseling are in many respects similar to women who report a rape to the police, but both groups are likely to be very different from women who do not contact either the police or a counseling center. There is still a significant population of survivors about which we know very little.

Discussion of Interviews with Counselors

Tables C.1 through C.5 summarize the results of the interviews I conducted with counselors at the various schools in my sample. The schools in this sample are primarily larger institutions. The total numbers of students ranged from 4197 to 41,897, the average was 15,575. It is difficult from this small sample to determine whether there is a relationship between the numbers of students, percentage of student population that is female, numbers of services, and years of operation. It seems from Table C.1 that schools 6 and 7 which have a higher ratio of services to female students also have a higher percentage of female students. However, school number 8 in Table C.1 also has a high ratio of services but a relatively lower percentage of female students. I would have expected a much clearer relationship between services and female students. There may be several reasons for why there is not a clear relationship between these variables.

First, the lack of a relationship may be due to the small sample size that I have used. A second possible explanation might be that the political atmosphere on various college campuses affects the extent to which rape crisis services are offered, aside from the size of the student population. Moreover, shifts in political atmosphere and concerns about rape on campus may cause an increase in the numbers of services that are offered. A well-publicized rape may cause a temporary increase in services to female students, at the time of the interview (Amir, 1971). This was the case in school number two.

Table C.2 again uses the same system of enumeration of schools that is used in table C.1. The second column lists the number of clients each of the centers served in the last academic year. These clients are not all rape victims. Sometimes family or friends of a rape victim call for information. Other students may call for crisis intervention, counseling, or just for information. The numbers do reflect the numbers of individuals who have contacted the center however. Some

clients call or have more than one appointment but these numbers only represent the actual number of clients, not the number of contacts.

One center stands out above the rest with 1700 clients. This center began out of special circumstances within the university. The idea for such a center grew out of campus concern for women's safety. A woman's group made a petition for changes to be made on campus to make it safer, and less discriminatory against women. The idea for funding to start a rape prevention and counseling center was thrown into the language of the petition as a bargaining chip. The authors had with no real intentions of successfully gaining these funds to start the center. To their surprise, the administration conceded to the budget proposal and granted the funds to start the center. It now serves as a model to many other schools.

The other school that seems to stand out for its large number of clients is school number four. This counselor mentioned specifically that this figure of 600 contacts included students who were calling for information on papers they were writing on rape. So, this may be an inflated number given the size of the student population.

School number seven also has a proportionally large number of clients. This school had been awarded special grant money to reach out to male sexual assault survivors, and incest survivors, and they had funds to try three alternative forms of healing; outdoor, art, and movement therapy. With the additional services they could offer, it would be expected that they would have more clients.

The center at school number one on the other hand, has a relatively small number of clients for its population. This may be a result of the nature of this center and their specific purpose at that campus. The counselor referred to this program as an advocate team, not a counseling center. They were housed in the office of women's studies and were primarily a prevention oriented program. They do offer all of the services I was looking for in a rape crisis

center and do counsel victims, perhaps their limited clientele is due to the name they use, an "advocate team", in the women's studies department. This title might discourage some rape survivors (some who might not consider themselves feminists) to contact this center. It would be even less likely to encourage men to contact the advocate team.

The rate for school number three also seems particularly low. They also see a smaller number of clients than might be expected given the size of the school. This program is a separate rape crisis counseling program but is housed in the university counseling center. Perhaps it suffers from a lack of visibility in the campus community.

The third column contains the numbers of rapes reported to the rape crisis centers which had occurred within the last year. This figure in most cases, is much lower than the total numbers of clients that each center had seen. These figures represent the number of calls received by the center from a woman stating that she was raped. As expected, the school with the largest number of clients also had the largest number of reports taken at the center. In general, the schools seem to follow the pattern of the more clients the center has, the more survivors who report a sexual assault to the center.

The fourth column in Table C.2 contains the numbers of sexual assaults that were reported to the police by the students of each of these schools. Not all of the students who reported to the police may have been clients at the centers. All of the police reporting rates were lower than the center reporting rates, but both are low compared to the potential pool of victims.

The schools with the greater number of clients and greater number of services to students also have the greater number of reports to the police. I have operationalized counselor support in part by the total number of services offered to sexual assault survivors. The results show that schools which offer more services tend to have higher reporting rates. But, the evidence is not

strong. This finding does offer some support of my hypothesis that outside support (from counselors) increases the likelihood of reporting.

Although it is a still a low rate, at school number 10, all of the clients who reported to the center also reported their assault to the police. This counselor said that she always discusses the issue of reporting with her clients and will encourage them to report. There is too little evidence to clearly determine what affects this counselor has on the clients, but she was also the only counselor that admitted to making attempts to invoke a sense of responsibility in the clients to stop the assailant from raping anyone else.

The impact of counselors on survivor's decisions was also operationalized by four questions concerning whether counselors ever encourage and/or discourage clients from reporting and under what conditions they would do so. Six of the counselors said that they would encourage clients to report. However, these schools do not seem to have higher reporting rates as a result of the counselor's encouragement. Only one of the counselors mentioned ever discouraging a client from reporting, yet the actual police reporting rate for this school is not comparatively low. The results of the interviews with survivors demonstrates that counselors do not actually have a great deal of impact on survivor's decisions regarding reporting. And, the evidence from the interviews with counselors does not strongly suggest that counselors have any influence on whether or not the victim decides to report the assault to the police. Therefore, the path which suggests that counselor support leads to a greater likelihood of reporting will be dropped from the model.

The Table C.4 gives the first, second and third most influential factors that affect a woman's decision whether or not to report a rape to the police according to the counselors that I have interviewed. These responses signify the test of my predictive model. If the counselors

mention the same factors that I have hypothesized to influence survivor's decisions, then this can be interpreted as support for these factors.

The most frequently cited responses were victim's feelings of guilt and fear that the police (or other's) will not believe that they have been raped. If a survivor feels she is somehow to blame for the assault then naturally she is concerned that others will not believe she was innocent either. These feelings are fed by the myths the media portrays about rape victims according to most of the counselors. They claim that there are still many myths about rape and that victims buy into these myths. The responses to these open-ended questions provide strong support for the effects of expectations of police response and victim's guilt feelings, therefore these two factors will be included in the final predictive model.

Another important factor which showed up was the situational circumstances in which the rape had taken place. Counselors listed such things as whether or not the victim and assailant were acquainted, whether or not the victim was drinking at the time, whether or not there was any physical evidence of the rape, or if another crime was committed in conjunction with the rape. This factor, situational circumstances, was cited five times by the counselors. This factor again seems to be related to the above two. Counselors estimated that the women who are raped by someone they know, after they have been drinking are more likely to feel that they are responsible for the rape, because public opinion tells them they are responsible. As we make our way through this data, we see ever more clearly that the factors which affect women's decisions are integrated. It is not always one variable which affects a woman's decision whether or not to report, more often various factors work together to influence each other. The effects of situational circumstances on the likelihood of reporting have been supported by the survivors and counselors, and also by the contact sheets to be discussed below. This factor will also form a path in the final predictive model.

The final notable factor which has been mentioned in this section is fear. Victims are fearful of retribution from the assailant, fearful of the prosecution process, and fearful of reactions from others in general. They were fearful that others would blame them. Perhaps the victims referred to in these responses did not have the benefit of immediate support from a close friend that some of the survivors I interviewed had. The survivors also provided evidence for the effects of fear on their decision therefore it will be included in the final predictive model.

In the next section, I asked the counselors to rate each of the factors that I have hypothesized to influence reporting rates. These factors were rated on a scale of 1 to 4 where 1 equals a great deal of influence and 4 equals no influence at all. There is no neutral category. The lower the score, the more influential the factor was rated. The averages for each factor are given on the bottom of Table C.5.

The highest score, and thus the least influential was the level of resistance the woman offered. However, this factor received an overall of rating of "2" which is still "somewhat influential" and thus it should remain in the final model with the understanding that it may not be quite as influential for women in this sample, than some of the other factors in the model.

The next highest score is the location of the rape. I asked a follow-up question to this one in which I questioned whether the location of the assault had a different affect with varying levels of social distance between the victim and rapist. Seven of the ten counselors said yes, location has a greater likelihood of discouraging women from reporting when there is less social distance. The factor "location" received an overall rating of 1.89 on a scale of 1-4. This variable is somewhat influential according to this sample of counselors, and among the sample of survivors, this variable also seemed to have a relationship to reporting, therefore it also deserves consideration in the final model.

The support from family and friends also seems to be a predictor of reporting, yet again it is one of the weaker predictors. Support in this questionnaire was defined as long-term support which would follow the victim throughout the entire prosecution process. However, the survivors seemed to be much more influenced by immediate crisis intervention than any type of long-term support, therefore, support will be included in the final model but it will refer to only immediate support, not long-term.

Factors which are even more strongly supported by the counselors are the level of acquaintance, the level of violence, and the expectations of the criminal justice system. These were given average scores of 1.35, 1.25 and 1 respectively. These three factors will also be included in the final model. The level of acquaintance, location, level of resistance, and the level of violence are components of the situational circumstances and will be listed under this heading.

I would have liked to rely more on the responses from the survivors that I interviewed in forming a predictive model of rape victimization reporting. However, there are methodological issues which make that approach questionable. First, I have a nonrandom sample of survivors, they are all volunteers. Second, it may be very difficult for a survivor to assess all of the factors which influenced a very difficult decision. Due to their training, counselors may be more adept at recognizing these factors. Finally, these survivors are not fully aware of the variation in rape situations. They were referring to only one specific incident of assault, they are unable to say whether the same factors would influence them in the same manner, in another rape scenario.

To test whether the presence of rape counseling services increases the likelihood that rape victims will report an assault, I also called ten schools that do not have such services, and asked about rape reporting rates at these schools. Below, the results of these interviews are given.

Reporting statistics of schools that do not have rape crisis centers

After calling schools that do not have sexual assault services on campus for students, I found that for the most part, these schools do not have records of reported rapes. Most likely, not only are women very unlikely to report a sexual assault at these schools, but even if they do, the school is less likely to keep a record of it because they do not have the resources on campus to do so. There is no single department that keeps track of these reports and the rates I have gathered are primarily from various offices that have remembered certain instances.

I would expect the rates of sexual assault reporting to be much lower at schools that do not have rape crisis services than at schools that do, for several reasons. These reasons primarily have to do with demographic differences between the schools that have centers and those that do not. Those that do not provide services are primarily smaller schools, often commuter colleges or community or junior colleges. There are likely to be many differences in reporting rates for commuter and junior colleges, compared to large 4-year institutions, that are unrelated to the primary variable being tested - counseling affects on likelihood of reporting a sexual assault. The students may be less likely to report a sexual assault to a commuter college than to a college where they live. Smaller, commuter colleges, rarely have a deputized campus police with the legal jurisdiction to arrest an accused rapist.

There is a second characteristic of the schools in this sample that may affect the number of sexual assaults reported on campus that is unrelated to the lack of counseling services. These schools, being primarily commuter colleges and community colleges, tend to have a higher ratio of females than the larger, more expensive four year colleges. With fewer men on campus, there is a smaller pool of potential assailants, so the rates are likely to be lower.

With all the complications in generalizing this data, the comparison between schools that do not have centers and those that do was decidedly downplayed. I felt it did not offer as much valuable information as the other sources of data I have obtained in this study.

Despite the problems with this data collection procedure, we can still infer from these rates that reporting is very low among this population, college students. Many of the people I spoke with stated that the local police departments do inform the school when a student has reported a rape to the police. (Police departments usually provide information on the report only, not the student's name). The schools then record these incidents and relayed them to me.

I will report only relevant demographics of both the schools and the individuals in my study. I pledged confidentiality to all those involved in this study and thus any identifying information will not be reported.

There were two universities in this sample. One of these schools had a total of 5,960 students enrolled. Separate figures for the number of men and women were not available. One rape had been reported in 1987 and none before or since.

The other university in the sample had far more women enrolled than men. There are 892 women registered full-time and 345 registered part-time. Men comprise 447 of the full-time students and 80 of the part-time. This school had no reported rapes. The respondent I spoke to at this school claimed that the local police department informs the school of rape reports, and therefore she was confident that there had been none.

There were three, four year institutions in the sample, all of which had residence halls on campus. I mention this fact because students that are living on campus away from home may increase the incidence of rape on campus.

One of these four year colleges had 966 full-time and 985 part-time female students. Again, there are significantly fewer male students with 707 attending full-time and 568 attending part-time. There has never been a report of rape recorded at this school.

Another of the four year colleges had 554 full-time women and 23 part-time, 500 men full-time and only 10 part-time. One date rape had been reported in 1990 but the respondent claimed the woman did not title the event as a rape herself. In 1986, there had been a report of rape but when it was investigated it was unfounded. The respondent at this school claimed to be particularly aware of the numbers of reported rapes on campus because she meets with each one of the female students that live on campus at the beginning of the school year. She said students at this school are not hesitant to talk about rape. She claimed to have an excellent rapport with both the students and the police department and open channels of communication with both groups around the issue of rape. The police inform her of any reports of rape by students of the school. If, for any reason, the police did neglect to inform her of any reported rapes, a printout of police records appears in the newspaper everyday and there she would see the incidents recorded. This school also did provide some educational programs on campus regarding sexual assault, but no counseling services.

The third 4-year private college had 2156 full-time and 174 part-time women enrolled. There were fewer full-time men, 1822, but the same number of part-time men students. Two years ago a student reported a rape to the local police department and the police informed the school, then the woman decided not to prosecute.

The sample contained one four year commuter college. This school had 700 full-time and 50 part-time women and 600 full-time and 50 part-time men. This school had 0 reported rapes.

Finally, there were three schools that were two year commuter colleges. The first school had 2000 female students and 1,987 male students. This school had one report of rape which occurred in 1988.

The second of these commuter colleges had, 1200 students in total, 80% of which were non-traditional students, primarily middle aged women returning to school after having a family. There were no reports of rape at this school.

The last of the schools was a 2-year commuter college for which I do not have the numbers of students enrolled but the school had 2 reports of rape in the last three years. I had gathered these rates from the school's campus safety department. This department claimed to have knowledge of all the reported rapes since the counseling center and the local police department would inform the campus safety department of any reported rapes.

None of these schools come close to approximating a 1 in 4 reporting rate. The respondents expressed a level of confidence in the rates they had given me which was greater than I had expected. For the most part, these schools do not have records of rapes occurring on campus, women are not reporting it and the school is not recording it. Or, there is always the hopeful, yet unlikely possibility that rape is very infrequent at these schools.

The rates of rape reporting are lower for these schools, than for the schools that do have rape counseling services. Yet, at this point, it is difficult to say whether the differences in reporting rates are due to the presence of counseling services, differences in the recording of rapes that occur, or some other factor. At this point, it is interesting to note that there does seem to be a difference in reporting.

Another explanation might be that schools set up rape crisis centers in response to a high incidence of rapes on campus, and lack of services could potentially reflect a lower incidence of rape on campus.

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Results of contact sheets from a sexual assault crisis center

The final source of information I used to test my hypotheses was client contact sheets from a sexual assault crisis center. The variables on the contact sheets can only be used to test the influence of certain situational circumstances and demographic characteristics of the victim and assailant. I am not able to test the other two factors in my model; expectations of police, and support from family and friends, because there are no variables which ask about these areas on the contacts sheets. In a crisis telephone call with a survivor, it is unreasonable to query about definitions of rape in a manner that can be recorded in one blank spot on a form.

Yet, there are useful pieces of information that I can get from these contact sheets that cannot be obtained from any other source. Although these contact sheets do contain many missing responses, they are filled out based on contacts with 361 people, a sample much larger than any of my other data sources. This data set contains information on whether or not these victims reported to the police, this is my key variable. With this data set I am able to examine crosstabulations of selected variables by whether or not they reported to the police. I can test statistically whether certain groups of women or certain situations are more likely to result in a report to the police. For example, are women who suffer additional violence during a rape, more likely to report than women who do not suffer additional violence? I am not able to test statistically this type of relationship based on the interviews with counselors or survivors. Any impressions they had about these relationships would only be speculation. This data set provides a little more accuracy than mere speculation.

I have run crosstabulations on the variables of interest to my thesis which are present on the contact sheets. First I will present a frequency distribution of the responses to the key variable, whether or not the victim reported the rape to the police, this is the distribution of uncoded values, so it is clear where each victim reported. The results are given in Table S.1.

Some clients responded with the particular department to which they reported and some merely replied "yes" to indicate that they had reported. These responses were combined into "yes" and "no" responses for the crosstabulation. "Campus", "local", "other" and "not specified" were all placed into the "yes" category, while "did not report", and "left blank", were placed into the "no" category.

Table S.1: Frequency of police reports, missing values left as missing values

Value	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Campus	18	5%	5%
Local	15	4.2%	9.1%
Other	21	5.8%	14.1%
Not specified	46	12.7%	26.8%
Did not report	24	6.6	34.2%
Left Blank	237	65.7%	100%

From Table S.1, we can see that of all those clients that contacted this center in the last academic year, 26.8% reported the assault to the police, this reporting rate is higher than the national average which states that 10% of rape victims report to the police. The frequency column contains the numbers of clients that have reported to various police departments; campus, local, other, or a non-specified category in which the client stated that the victim reported, but the volunteer who filled out the sheet only recorded a "yes" for reported to the police. The percent column contains the percentages of the whole population of 361. And, finally the cumulative percent column contains the cumulated percentage of all the previous frequencies. This column will always total to 100%. From this table for example, we can see that 18 clients, or 5% of all the clients reported their assault to the campus police. Of the women who did report, the largest percentage reported to an unspecified police department, 12.7%.

In the subsequent analysis, I have condensed all the variables into two categories in order to compare the variables more easily.

Variable #1: Level of Acquaintance

The first variable of interest was the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant. "Relative", "boyfriend", and "acquaintance", were all grouped into the "acquaintance" category. "Stranger" was coded as the "other" category. There are 120 missing values.

I have hypothesized that women who are acquainted with their assailant, are less likely to report the assault to the police. Table S.2 presents the crosstabulation of acquaintance and reporting status.

Table S.2, indicates that more women are raped by an acquaintance than a stranger, 67.6% versus 32.4%. Above, I had mentioned that I had probably made this assumption when I wrote the questions to the interviews with survivors, perhaps this assumption was not altogether unjustified.

		Level of acquaintance		
Report status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Acquaintance A	Other O	Row Total
No Report	N	120 / 73.6	32 / 41.0	152
Yes Report	Y	43 / 26.4	46 / 59.0	89
	Column Total	163 / 67.6	78 / 32.4	241 / 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 120

Table S.2: Crosstabulation of report status and level of acquaintance

The table also indicates that those women raped by a stranger were over twice as likely to report (59.0%), as were those raped by an acquaintance (26.4%).

Variable #2: Location of Rape

The next situational characteristic in my model was the location of the rape. "Victim's residence" was placed in one category, while all other locations were placed into an "other" category. I have hypothesized that assaults which take place in the woman's residence are less likely to be reported than assaults that take place in another location. Table S.3 contains the results of a crosstabulation with reporting status and location of assault. There are 101 missing values.

From Table S.3 we can see that more assaults are likely to take place in a location other than the victim's residence 64.2% versus 35.8%. Table S.3 also indicates that of those women who were raped in their own residence, 37.6% reported the rape to the police, compared to 24.6% of those raped in some other location.

Report status	Location: Other O	Location: Victim residence V	Row Total
No Report (N)	126	58	184
	75.4	62.4	
Yes Report (Y)	41	35	76
	24.6	37.6	
Column Total	167	93	260
	64.2	35.8	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 101

Table S.3: Crosstabulation of reporting status with location of assault

Many of the counselors that I interviewed mentioned that the location of the rape is more likely to have an effect on reporting of the rape when the victim and assailant are acquainted than when the victim and assailant are strangers. I ran a crosstabulation of reporting and location of assault controlling for the level of acquaintance to determine if the relationship between reporting and location remains the same when level of acquaintance is controlled. The results of this crosstabulation are given in Table S.4.

The results in Table S.4, display an interesting change in reporting patterns. In the first two-by-two table, when the assailant is an acquaintance, those who were raped in their own residence are now less likely to report to the police, 22.7% compared to those raped in another location, 32.2%, whereas, in the above crosstabulation of location and reporting status, those raped in their own residence were more likely to report. In the second two-by-two table, the relationship has reversed. When the assailant is a stranger, those raped in their own residence are more likely to report, 80.0%, than those raped in another location, 45.2%. This is a relatively large difference in percentages.

Assailant is acquaintance
Location of assault

Report Status		Other O	Victim resid. V	Row Total
No Report	N	40 67.8	51 77.3	91
Yes Report	Y	19 32.2	15 22.7	34
Column Total		59 47.2	66 52.8	125 100.0

Assailant is stranger
Location of assault

Report Status		Other O	Victim resid. V	Row Total
No Report	N	23 54.8	5 20.0	28
Yes Report	Y	19 45.2	20 80.0	39
Column Total		42 62.7	25 37.3	67 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 169

Table S.4: Crosstabulation of reporting status and location of rape controlling for relationship to assailant

These findings disagree with the responses from the counselors. Counselors felt that location of assault would be more highly related to reporting when the victim and assailant were acquainted and less predictive when they were strangers. There is one possible explanation for the above finding. Perhaps in the assaults which took place in some other location, the victim had willingly gone to the location with the assailant, and thus placed some blame on herself, while in

the assaults that took place in the victim's residence, the assailant went into her territory, making her feel more invaded and more justified in reporting.

Variable #3: Presence of additional violence

The next element of the situational circumstances factor was the level of violence used in the assault. I have made the hypothesis that those who suffer additional violence or threats of violence during the assault, are more likely to report than those who do not suffer additional violence. In order to test this path in the model, I have combined several variables: occurrence of physical injury, threats of physical injury, threats of death and the use of a weapon. These are combined into one variable called violence. If any of these threats or occurrences took place, violence was coded as a "yes", if none were present, it was coded as a "no".

Table S.5 presents the results of the crosstabulation of report to the police and violence. Once again, in Table S.5 we can examine the rates of violence present in assaults. The majority of assaults 76.7% did not involve additional violence. This does correspond with the stereotype of common rape scenarios that I had in mind when designing this study.

Report status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Violence: No (N)	Violence: Yes (Y)	Row Total
No Report	N	214	47	261
		77.3	56.0	
Yes Report	Y	63	37	100
		22.7	44.0	
	Column Total	277	84	361
		76.7	23.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table S.5: Crosstabulation of report status by presence of additional violence

In Table S.5, women who experienced additional violence were nearly twice as likely, 44.0% to report to the police than women who did not suffer additional violence, 22.7%.

Once again, I have controlled for the effects of acquaintance to determine if the relationship between violence and reporting holds constant for differing levels of acquaintance. These results are given in Table S.6.

Assailant is acquaintance
Presence of additional violence

Report Status		No	Yes	Row Total
		N	Y	
No Report	N	90	30	120
		80.4	58.8	
Yes Report	Y	22	21	43
		19.6	41.2	
	Column Total	112	51	163
		68.7	31.3	100.0

Assailant is stranger
Presence of additional violence

Report Status		No	Yes	Row Total
		N	Y	
No Report	N	22	10	32
		41.5	40.0	
Yes Report	Y	31	15	46
		58.5	60.0	
	Column Total	53	25	78
		67.9	32.1	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 120

Table S.6: Crosstabulation of reporting status and violence controlling for relationship to assailant:

The results in Table S.6, again reveal interesting conditions under which additional violence is related to reporting. When the assailant is an acquaintance, those women who suffer additional violence are twice as likely to report, (41.2%) than those who do not suffer additional violence, (19.6%). Yet, when the assailant is a stranger, there is negligible differences in the reporting behavior of women who experience additional violence and those who do not, 60.% and 58.5% respectively. It seems, the rape itself is a sufficient act of violence to trigger reporting when the victim and assailant are strangers. The additional violence, however, may be necessary, in some cases, to trigger reporting when the assailant is an acquaintance.

Variable #4: Race of Victim

Another hypothesis offered was that white women were less likely to report than women of color. I have combined all racial ethnic groups other than white into an "other" category and compared them to white women on their reporting behavior. Table S.7 presents the results of this crosstabulation.

In the population from which this was gathered, 85% of the student body is white. Other racial ethnic groups make up only 15% of the population. Yet, in Table S.7 we can see that 37.7% of the clients, who mentioned their race, were not white. Women of color are overrepresented in this sample. From this data, I cannot determine whether this is because women of color are more likely to be raped, or are more likely to contact a counseling center. Future research might examine this relationship.

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Race: White (C)	Race: Other (O)	Row Total
Report Status: No Report (N)	97	82	179
	59.9	83.7	
Yes Report (Y)	65	16	81
	40.1	16.3	
Column Total	162	98	260
	62.3	37.7	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 101

Table S.7: Crosstabulation of reporting status and victim's race

White women were more than twice as likely (40.1%) to report than other women (16.3%). This finding is in disagreement with my model.

Again, I controlled for level of acquaintance to determine if race maintains a similar relationship to reporting under all conditions of acquaintance level. Table S.8 contains the results of the crosstabulation of reporting and victim's race controlling for relationship to assailant.

In the first two-by-two table in Table S.8, the relationship between reporting and victim's race is reversed, when the assailant is an acquaintance, women of color are more likely to report than white women, 40.0% versus 25.7%. However, when the assailant is a stranger, women of color remain just as likely to report, but white women become much more likely to report, 72.9%, Table S.8. This is an interesting finding which much of the literature does not address. It was also not mentioned in the interviews with sexual assault counselors.

Assailant is acquaintance
Victim's Race

Report Status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	White C	Other O	Row Total
No Report	N	75 74.3	15 60.0	90
Yes Report	Y	26 25.7	10 40.0	36
	Column Total	101 80.2	25 19.8	126 100.0

Assailant is stranger
Victim's race

Report Status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	White C	Other O	Row Total
No Report	N	13 27.1	6 60.0	19
Yes Report	Y	35 72.9	4 40.0	39
	Column Total	48 82.8	10 17.2	58 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 177

Table S.8: Crosstabulation of reporting status and victim's race controlling for relationship to assailant

Variable #5: Race of assailant

Finally, I have examined the assailant's race. Russell has claimed that all women, white and women of color, are more likely to report rape by a black man than by a man of another race. I compared the reporting behaviors of women raped by black men to those raped by men of all other races. This crosstabulation is presented in Table S.9.

There are more missing observations in this table, so the results must be viewed with caution especially since one of the cells has only 7 respondents. The missing values are more likely the result of neglecting to mention this variable on the part of the client rather than not knowing this information. Most of the assailants, 85.5%, are white. The race of the assailant seems to more closely model the proportions in the population.

Assailant's race

Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Black B	Other O	Row Total
Report status			
N — No Report	7	110	117
	28.0	74.3	
Y — Yes Report	18	38	56
	72.0	25.7	
Column Total	25	148	173
	14.5	85.5	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 188

Table S.9: Crosstabulation of report status by assailant's race

Among those women who were raped by a black man, 72.0% reported, while only 25.7% of those raped by a man of another race reported to the police. Those raped by black men were far more likely to report.

In Table S.10, level of acquaintance was controlled and the relationship between assailant's race and reporting was reexamined. When the assailant is an acquaintance, women are nearly three times more likely to report a rape by a black man. In the top two-by-two table, 66.7% reported a black rapist, while only 22.7% reported a rapist of some other race. Yet, when the assailant is a stranger, race of the assailant does not seem to matter, 75.0% reported a black rapist, and 70.8% reported a white rapist.

Assailant is acquaintance
Assailant's race

Report Status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Black (B)	Other (O)	Row Total
No Report	N	3	68	71
		33.3	77.3	
Yes Report	Y	6	20	26
		66.7	22.7	
Column Total		9	88	97
		9.3	90.7	100.0

Assailant is stranger
Assailant's race

Report Status	Count / Row Pct / Col Pct	Black (B)	Other (O)	Row Total
No Report	N	4	7	11
		25.0	29.2	
Yes Report	Y	12	17	29
		75.0	70.8	
Column Total		16	24	40
		40.0	60.0	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 224

Table S.10: Crosstabulation of reporting status and race of assailant controlling for relationship to assailant

Discussion of the results from the contact sheets

The first table presented in the results of the contact sheets was the frequency of reporting rates for several different police departments to which a survivor might report; campus, local, other, and non-specified. Although those not specified may have reported to the campus or local police, it seems the reporting rates to these particular police departments is low, 5% and 4.2% respectively. Efforts targeted at increasing the reporting rates to these two police departments may be well spent.

The next table that was presented was the crosstabulation of level of acquaintance and reporting. The level of acquaintance is an extremely strong predictor of reporting sexual assault. The large differences in percentages of survivors who have reported, based on their level of acquaintance with the assailant, agrees with the results of the interviews I had conducted with counselors and to a lesser extent the results of the interviews with survivors. This will remain the initial variable in the predictive model. The level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant influences all of the remaining predictors in the model of sexual assault reporting.

In the initial crosstabulation of reporting and location of assault, there was a relatively small difference in percentages reporting on the different categories of the independent variable, 24.6% and 37.6%, Table S.3. The next table, Table S.4, controlled for the relationship to the assailant. In this table, those women assaulted by an acquaintance did not have large differences on their reporting behaviors based on the location of assault. While, for those women raped by a stranger nearly twice as many women raped in their own home reported compared to women raped in another location. Therefore, when the assailant is a stranger, location becomes a stronger predictor. One potential reason for this finding could be that when a rapist invades not only one's body, but also their home, there may be a greater desire to reestablish some sense of control and safety by contacting the police. The results of the interviews with survivors seemed to indicate

that women raped in their own homes may be more likely to report. There seems to be enough evidence from all three sources of data to include location in the final predictive model.

The next factor which was tested with the data from the contact sheets was the influence of violence on reporting behavior. Again, in the initial crosstabulation of violence with reporting there is a significant difference in percentages reporting along different categories of the independent variable, Table S.5. Those suffering additional violence were twice as likely to report. When the level of acquaintance is controlled for, we see that only in the situation of acquaintance rape does level of violence yield different reporting distributions, Table S.6. This crosstabulation has revealed a condition under which violence seems a predictor to reporting.

Additional violence in rape seems to have a complicated and different affect on different women. Some victims may be more frightened by the violence and accompanying threats and feel they should not report to protect themselves from further assaults by the assailant. Survivors mention fear of the assailant as a reason for not reporting, this fear often came from threats made by the assailant (a form of violence). Counselors also rated the presence of additional violence as a strong predictor to reporting, on a scale of 1 to 4 it was rated a 1.25 with low scores representing stronger predictors. Yet, in the results from these contacts sheets, it seems that violence is more likely to trigger reporting in acquaintance rapes, but it is not necessary to trigger reporting in stranger rapes. It is conceivable that violence may both encourage and discourage reporting, depending on the survivor. Violence will remain in the final model because it seems to be confirmed in each of the three data sources.

The next factor which I examined was the race of the victim. The initial crosstabulation revealed that white women were more than twice as likely to report to the police than women of color, Table S.7. When the level of acquaintance was controlled, in the case of acquaintance rape, women of color were much more likely to report than white women. Women of color remained

just as likely to report when the assailant was a stranger, while white women became much more likely to report, 72.9%, Table S.8.

There are many interesting relationships taking place in regards to race of victim in this data set. First, in the initial crosstabulation of race and reporting, Table S.7, it seems women of color are overrepresented in the clientele of this center, but underrepresented among those women who choose to report. Women of color may feel less secure in making a report to the police departments. However, level of acquaintance does not seem to be a factor in deciding whether to report, for women of color. They are just as likely to report regardless of level of acquaintance, Table S.8. The numbers in Table S.8 are very small and must be interpreted with great caution, again more research with a more reliable data set is needed to reexamine the relationship between victim's race and reporting, but suffice it to say at this point, women of color do not seem to consider the race of the assailant when deciding whether or not to call the police. This variable will be included in the model as a conditional variable, race is only predictive of reporting for white women under varying levels of acquaintance.

The final situational variable examined in the contact sheets was the race of the assailant. In the initial crosstabulation of this variable with reporting, black rapists were nearly three times more likely to be reported to the police, Table S.9. This remains the case in acquaintance rapes, but there is very little difference in reporting behaviors when the assailant is a stranger, Table S.10. It seems that when the assailant is an acquaintance, women use the "myth of the black rapist", to their advantage and decide more often to report. Perhaps believe they may have a better chance of getting a conviction (Brownmiller, 1975). But, when the assailant is a stranger, the mere fact that he was a stranger provides enough support for the victim's claim that she was raped and the race of the assailant, perhaps becomes less crucial to her claim of rape.

The assailant's race will also be included in the final predictive model with the conditional term that the assailant is an acquaintance.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Integrated summary of results

I have presented the results and a discussion of each of the three sources of information. It would now be helpful to pull the discussion from all three of these areas together into one final predictive model of rape victimization reporting. Figure 2 presents this final path model based on the results of this thesis. The model is presented again presented below for review.

The most influential predictor which surfaced in all three areas of data collection was the situational circumstances of the rape. These situational circumstances include only, the level of acquaintance and the level of additional violence which occurred in conjunction with the rape. Survivors who were raped by an acquaintance mentioned this factor as a deterrent to reporting, and in fact only one of the survivors who did report was raped by an acquaintance. Counselors also mentioned this characteristic of rape as a deterrent and rated it very highly in terms of influence on the victim.

Finally, this factor was found to be a significant variable in the data analysis of client contact sheets. It not only had one of the strongest relationships to reporting, when this variable was controlled for, the relationships of other variables and reporting changed.

It seems public opinion and victims, have not yet reached an understanding of acquaintance rape. It remains very difficult to accept that men rape women they know and pretend to care about. I feel that the level of acquaintance remains the strongest predictor of reporting. It is the one variable which affects all of the other factors. It affects the guilt the survivor feels, her expectations of other's responses, her fear of the assailant, and directly affects her likelihood of reporting. Therefore, there is a direct line extending from the situational variable to reporting to demonstrate the direct relationship social distance has on reporting. There are also

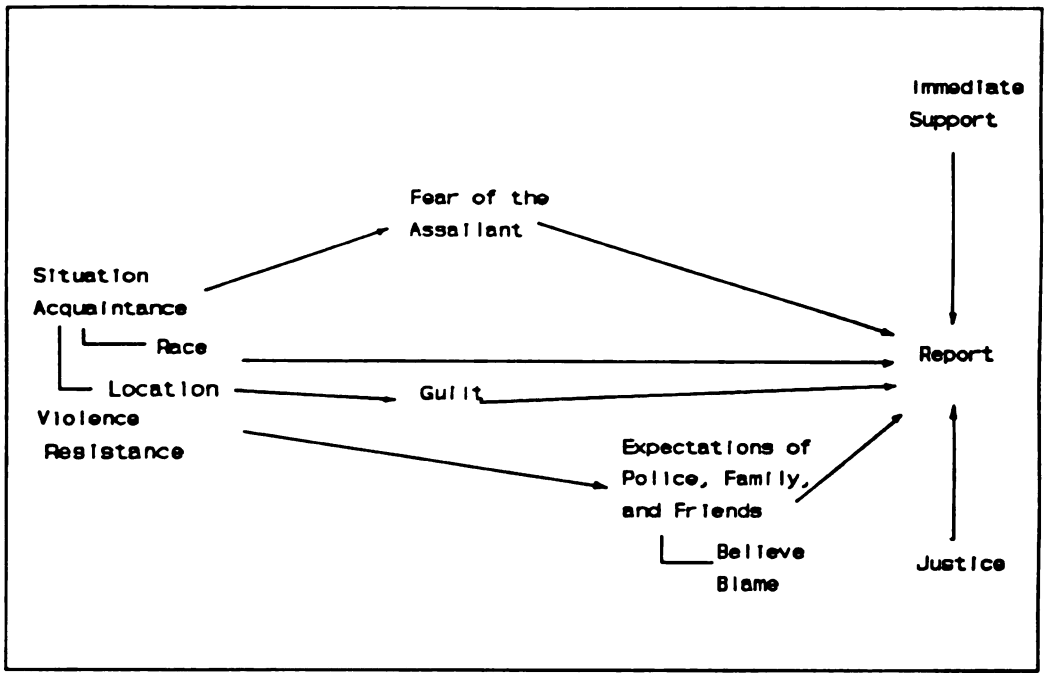

Figure 2: Final Predictive Model of Rape Victimization Reporting

lines connecting guilt, expectations, and fear of assailant to demonstrate the indirect relationship social distance has on reporting.

The second component of the situational variable is the level of violence. This variable has been discussed in the rape literature as simultaneously having two contradictory affects on reporting. The data confirm that interpretation. Violence can either frighten the victim out of reporting, or give her a sense of outrage which makes her feel more justified in reporting. There is no clear evidence, yet, as to why violence affects certain survivors differently or how to predict its affects. With these contradictory results, it is recognized by survivors and counselors and supported by the data from client contact sheets that, whether or not encouraging or discouraging, violence has a strong impact on reporting.

Location and level of resistance were also rated as "somewhat influential" by the counselors that I interviewed. From the interviews with survivors there seemed to be a correlation

between reporting and location. Those raped in their own homes were more likely to report. This was also confirmed by the client contact sheets. Location seems to have a stronger relationship to reporting when the victim and assailant are acquainted, so location will be listed under acquaintance in the final model to reflect this conditional relationship.

The level of resistance was not directly tested in the interviews with survivors nor in the client contact sheets. However, it still received a fairly high rating by counselors in terms of influence, therefore it will be retained in the final model, with the recognition that it may not be as influential as some of the other variables in the model. All of the above factors, acquaintance, level of violence location and level of resistance are all considered components of one factor, situational circumstances.

The effects of race were very complicated. Race was found to be influential under certain conditions, for example when the victim was white and the assailant black. Race as a predictor to reporting, was not specifically asked in the interviews, so there is little evidence for this variable from the interview data. Yet, it seems to have very interesting affects on reporting within different levels of acquaintance and I feel this is a relationship which needs further examination. I wanted to point out the influence of this variable and felt the evidence from the contact sheets was strong enough to include it in the final predictive model.

The next factor according to the survivors and the counselors (this factor was not testable with the client contact sheets), was the expectations of others' responses. On this factor I have combined the expectations of family, friends and police responses. The effects all three groups have on survivors is similar. The counselors rated this factor as higher than any other factor in terms of influencing victims. In the open-ended questions several of the counselors mentioned concerns over family and friends' reactions to the report as a strong influence on victims.

Five of the seven survivors that I interviewed mentioned a concern over the responses from all three of these groups. The concerns centered around whether others would believe the victim and understand that she was raped, and concerns over whether others would blame the victim for initiating the rape. Police officers may be the first significant and judgmental contact the victim has after the rape. It can be very intimidating to report to police officers, and women are aware that victims in the past have been mistreated by the police.

Family and friends may have a greater impact on the victim's interpretation of the rape and her role in it, since family and friends are stronger reference groups for the victim. The victim must go on living with these people so if she feels they are likely to treat her differently after hearing of the rape, she may opt to keep the news to herself.

There is a direct line drawn from expectations of other's responses to reporting to demonstrate the direct relationship between this variable and reporting. There is also a line extending from situation to expectation of responses. The survivors who expressed concerns over other's responses were those who were raped by acquaintances, not the victims assaulted by strangers. In fact, Cathy, who was violently abducted and raped by a stranger, said she never even considered that others would blame or disbelieve her. It seems that those who are raped by an acquaintance are more likely to fear other's responses, and those who suffer additional violence are less likely to fear other's responses. The situational variable has an indirect relationship to reporting through the victim's expectations of other's responses.

The third most influential factor is the fear of the assailant. The rape literature does not discuss this factor at any great length. The counselors also did not mention this factor as often as some others. Although, it was mentioned three separate times, twice as a primary predictor. Yet, all of the survivors were fearful of the rapist after the rape. Three of the four respondents who did not report, mentioned fear of the rapist as a reason for not reporting. Cindy, whose

roommate actually called the police, initially objected to her roommate calling the police because she was so fearful of the assailant. Perhaps this is a variable which remains overlooked in the rape literature and among the counseling community. We cannot ignore the voices of victims. They are expressing fear which needs to be addressed because it is keeping women from reporting an assault.

The variable fear is directly related to reporting, and thus a line is drawn from it to reporting. The situational circumstances are also indirectly related to reporting through the variable fear. It seems logical to assume that the presence of additional violence is likely to increase the amount of fear the victim feels. In fact this was the case in the interviews with survivors. Cindy and Betty were victims of very violent rapes, and both mentioned a fear of the assailant which they felt subsequent to the rape. The more violence, the more fear. Acquaintance rape seems to cause less fear in survivors. Only one of the victims of acquaintance rape mentioned a fear of the assailant. Although an acquaintance is more likely to know how to reach the victim, she may be less likely to feel he will return to harm her physically when she had a prior acquaintance with the assailant.

Guilt feelings is the fourth influential variable. Many of the counselors mentioned this variable. Upon six separate occasions it was mentioned in the open-ended questions. Although survivors did not mention this factor, I still felt it was influential given the counselor's responses. Perhaps this is more difficult for survivors to articulate. Counselors are trained to hear what clients are feeling but not saying, and they may be more perceptive in picking out these feelings. It is also possible that since the survivors that I interviewed had been raped an average of 10 years ago, and many had received counseling since then, they have worked through any guilt feelings they had and neglected to mention these as factors. Therefore, I have chosen to include this

variable in the model because the evidence to back it up seems sufficient. A direct line is drawn from guilt to reporting.

I believe that women who are raped by acquaintances and experience a lesser degree of additional violence are more likely to feel guilt, based on what the counselors have told me about this variable. Therefore there is also a line from situation to guilt demonstrating the indirect affect that situation has on reporting through the variable guilt.

Finally, there are two additional factors, which were obvious sources of influences to the survivors that I interviewed. All of the survivors who did report had the benefit of immediate contact with a friend after the rape, who strongly encouraged them to report to the police. This is not a long term commitment by significant others to support the victim through the prosecution process, victims might not think that far ahead. But, immediate crisis intervention seems to be very encouraging to survivors.

One final factor is mentioned by survivors. The three women who did report mentioned the criminal nature of the event, and the desire to see justice done. They felt not only that it was important to inform the rapist that what he did was wrong, but more importantly, the survivors wanted to prevent him from raping any other woman. This factor is also drawn with a direct line to reporting.

This model should be interpreted with caution and the understanding that it is just a beginning attempt to understand why so many women do not report a rape. It is quite possible that there are many other factors, which I have not even examined which also have an influence on sexual assault survivor's decisions whether or not to report an assault.

Policy Implications

I hope to take this thesis and the results I have found, a step further by making a few policy recommendations based on the factors which have surfaced as strong predictors of sexual assault reporting. In this manner, this thesis will become a more applied sociological piece. In the introduction to this thesis, I mentioned several personal and collective reasons for why it is important for sexual assault survivors to report an assault to the police despite all the difficulties this may entail for the survivor. Because I feel it is so important for women to report a sexual assault, I am offering policy recommendations to facilitate that process.

I interviewed Dr. Jayne Schuiteman Director of Michigan State University (MSU) Human Resources Department. She has worked for many years with the MSU community on safety and self-defense measures and has advocated for sexual assault survivors with the upper administration of MSU. Recently, Dr. Schuiteman has begun an ambitious study in conjunction with the MSU Department of Public Safety (DPS) to evaluate the results of a police-initiated program to increase the number of student sexual assault victims who report the rape to DPS. She will measure reporting rates before the program goes into affect, while it is taking place, and after it has run a course, in order to determine if the program is able to increase the numbers of victims who report the rape. Her study serves as the ideal follow-up to my own. We discussed several possible policy recommendations that might follow from the results I have found in this thesis. These recommendations are presented below.

The strongest predictor of rape victimization reporting seems to be the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant. Those who are more acquainted with the assailant are less likely to report. This seems to be a result, according to many of the counselors that I interviewed, of the rape myths perpetuated in the media which blame women. It is difficult and frightening to accept that men hurt women they know. The public wants to believe the victim did

something to deserve it, that she was in some way a bad person and thus this act was justified.

Currently, there are efforts to change these attitudes, and my recommendations would be to continue the efforts being made in this area. The most important effort being made is, perhaps, educational. There must be a renewed commitment to fund and support educational efforts in schools, within the criminal justice system, and in the community in general (Koss and Harvey, 1991).

Women's groups have been working in schools and have made some inroads. Since my study was based on only the college student population, my recommendations will be made for this population. However, I believe there may be some insights gained in this study that could be generalized to other groups.

Within the university setting there are a variety of programs that seem to be helpful in eradicating rape myths which keep women from reporting a sexual assault. Some schools with dormitories provide education and training to resident assistants to deal with sexual assault survivors that live in their dorms. These training programs should include information on the motivations and myths of rape and the steps a survivor must take if they choose to report it.

Another important educational need involves freshman orientation. This is the initiation into the college setting for most freshman and a crucial time for both men and women to become aware of the dangers. This is a time when young women should be told that it is okay to say "no", and men should be told that no means no. Currently, the MSU Sexual Assault Prevention and Education Program has tried, but has not been allowed the time to speak to Freshman at orientation. This is a crucial time to reach out to an "at risk" population and the MSU community could benefit by giving the sexual assault center some time to speak at orientation.

Many schools also sponsor more informal programs throughout the year. Special lectures and discussions are provided throughout the year. Tables are set up in well-traveled areas on

campus with literature on the topic of rape. Men as well as women can be involved in these efforts. In one university, a male graduate student just recently has been very successful in gaining access to exclusive, all-male groups such as athletic teams and fraternities to heighten awareness on the issue of rape.

The policy recommendation that flows from all of this is not to necessarily create any new programs, but rather to continue supporting and funding existing programs. There is one caveat to this recommendation. The programs must be of a high quality. Merely having a program on rape may not be helpful in itself. There must be some quality control measure of the programs that are employed and supported. And, women must be the judges of quality.

The other area which remains in need of educational efforts are police departments. The expectation of a negative police response was also a strong hinderance to reporting. Again, there have been programs conducted within police departments. And, some of them have been good. Yet, it is the sentiment of Dr. Schuiteman, as well as others working with survivors, that one program "is not enough". Women still fear the police department's response to their report, and officers still subscribe to rape myths which blame the victim. Programs on how to deal effectively with a rape victim and not blame her should continue to be presented to the police departments and again, monitored for quality control (Koss and Harvey, 1991).

Another influential factor in the decision of whether to report a rape is the level of additional violence which occurs during the rape. It has been recognized that this factor may have two different effects. For some women, violence frightens them out of reporting, for some it provides just enough outrage and anger that they do report. This factor directly affects the level of fear that women feel for the rapist and thus the recommendations will be the same for both factors, fear and violence.

For the survivors in which the violence is a hinderance to reporting, increased security measures may be helpful. Women who report a sexual assault should be able to secure the benefits of a witness protection program, if they desire.

On the campus setting, survivors may be living in close proximity to the assailant, if they choose, resources should be made available by the university to assist them in changing residence with ease. In addition, police officers should offer to make regular rounds to check on the residence of rape victims to insure that she is still safe. This could occur in the community or on campuses and may help women feel a greater sense of security (Schuiteman, 1992).

Another option to help women feel safer in reporting may be the issue of restraining orders to men accused of rape. A restraining order is a court order that the man cannot come within a certain distance of the woman (distance is specified by a judge) or he will be arrested. There are problems with restraining orders however. The most serious problem is that they may give women a false sense of security. A restraining order is a piece of paper, it cannot really prevent a man from contacting or further assaulting a woman. Restraining orders tend to be more effective with men who do not have a criminal record and are fearful of being arrested. When used, restraining orders should be fully explained to women so they are aware that they do not insure complete protection (Schuiteman, 1992).

The efforts geared towards increasing women's safety unfortunately often serve only to place added restrictions on her life. Women are told not to venture out alone at night in order to avoid rape. We must be careful not to put the onus of responsibility on women for preventing rape, women do not cause rape. Any recommendations for securing women's safety must examine what men, as well, can do to make women feel safer.

According to the counselors that I interviewed, guilt feelings prevent many women from reporting a sexual assault. Once again, there are measures in place for helping women to

overcome these guilt feelings. I found many schools do have rape counseling services available on campus. Counseling is the best measure for eradicating guilt feelings. Victims also subscribe to rape myths and trained counselors can work on changing those myths in an empathic and supportive environment.

It is difficult for some women to seek counseling. There is an unfortunate stigma attached to counseling. Perhaps if campus rape crisis centers were separated from the school counseling center, had its own office, and had the term "education" stressed in the title of the office, then victims may feel less self-conscious about reporting (Schuiteman, 1992).

Some counseling centers have volunteer advocates that can assist women when they go through the various steps of the criminal justice system. This can be a tremendous source of support, not only to inform the survivor of the necessary steps she must take, but to assist her in taking these steps. The volunteer advocate can let the victim know what her rights are and can combat victim-blaming attitudes when they are encountered, so that survivors are not reinforced for blaming themselves.

There were two factors which encouraged women to report. The first was the immediate support from a close friend (although it may be possible for a family member to fill this role, I did not encounter this case) and strong encouragement to contact the police. The second was a desire for justice, survivors wish to tell the assailant he was wrong and prevent him from doing it again.

The long term support of family and friends did not seem to have as much influence on survivors, but all of those survivors in my sample that did report the assault, had a close friend within one or two hours that strongly encouraged her to report to the police. Rape crisis centers can also provide educational services to the community on what to do when a friend is raped and how to respond. Centers can also provide services to significant others to assist them in dealing

with the assault as well. This type of service may help friends of a survivor to provide the appropriate encouragement to call the police. These efforts are put forth by many centers already. They only need continued support.

The last factor is quite remarkable when considered. In the midst of acute trauma, survivors are able to consider the long term social consequences of a failure to report the rape. Almost half of the survivors that I interviewed stated a concern for the safety of other women. They also wanted to tell the assailant that what he did was wrong. It may be manipulative to encourage women to consider the future safety of other women if she neglects to report. I would not advise this. But, the message sent to men who rape deserves consideration. In the introduction, I mentioned one of the greatest problems with the low reporting rate is the fact that men are never told that rape is wrong. It is important that every rape is reported to the police and all rapists are held accountable. Actions will not change unless they are perceived as problematic and rape myths which keep women from reporting will not be eradicated unless the violence of men against women is reported.

There are two steps which seem necessary before any of the above recommendations could be effective. Both of these recommendations are particular to the college at which this research was conducted, yet the steps may provide helpful suggestions to other settings as well.

The first step involves the methods of data collection on sexual assault reporting rates. I had used client contact sheets as one source of data for this thesis. There were many missing values on these sheets and the manner in which the data were coded and entered was extremely difficult to interpret. This seems to be a problem at other schools as well. All of the schools in my sample seem to have some difficulty obtaining accurate estimates of the numbers of students who have reported a rape. Rape crisis centers work with very stressful conditions and often the staff either is not trained or does not have the time to devote to data collection measures. The

data collection on rape statistics may be handled better by someone outside of the rape crisis center. This would involve the second necessary step.

Dr. Jayne Schuiteman suggested that this campus could benefit from some type of Women's Resource Center which would have the task of collecting data on rape statistics and making them available to the entire university. Because this Women's Resource Center would not have the task of handling daily crises, which a rape counseling center encounters, it could devote more energy to accurate data collection measures. It could also hire and train methodologists rather than counselors, who would have the skills to gather and interpret accurate statistics. This is a service which could benefit many other departments on campus. For example, the Department of Public Safety, the Rape Crisis Center, the Student Affairs Office, even the Women's Studies Department, could all better direct their services to the populations in need.

Yet, even more important than providing accurate data, the services that are available need to be coordinated. As it stands, on this campus there are a variety of services available to victims of rape and others in the community interested in learning about rape. But, according to Dr. Schuiteman, these services are not well-coordinated and communication between providers of the different services is minimal. Without communication, it is difficult for the different services to facilitate each other's efforts. If there was one centralized source on campus which had information about all of the other services, it could serve as a convenient referral source for whatever related needs women have. The Women's Resource Center could also perform the function of quality control over the various programs offered on campus which was discussed earlier.

One more related need this Women's Resource Center could fill is the need for advertisement of services. Those that provide the services, for example, a crisis counselor, seem so busy with their work that they assume members of the community are aware of the services

that they offer. They may falsely make the assumption that a survivor would know where to go to receive counseling, or report a rape to the University Judiciary. Yet, there are students who do not know how to access this type of assistance or are afraid to. A Women's Resource Center could assist the other offices on campus in advertising their services to the university community and help to make them more accessible. The programs and recommendations mentioned above will not be effective if survivors and others in the community do not utilize them.

The suggestion of a Women's Resource Center is one that encourages centralization of this organization. Organizations, it seems, fluctuate between periods of centralization and decentralization. According to Dr. Schuiteman, this seems to be a period in which MSU needs to move in the direction of greater centralization of women's services to effectively serve the community. The existing services are not able to communicate among themselves to meet all of the survivor's needs.

All of the suggestions above have been made by others in the past and many of them probably actually do achieve the changes they are intended to make. But, they all seem to focus on what women can do to avoid rape. Yet, it is men's attitudes regarding rape that must be changed before the reporting will increase and incidence will decrease. Until the higher levels of administrations verbally and noticeably take a stand and profess a commitment to women's safety, violence against women on MSU campus will never be eradicated, (Jayne Schuiteman, personal interview, 1992). I would suggest that public figures in this university, (i.e. the president, the provost, deans of colleges, etc.) need to speak to men and tell them that forcing a woman to have sex is unacceptable in any situation and it will be dealt with severely by the university. This can be done by holding well-publicized public forums on the issue of rape, or having administrators visit large classes to speak to all the students in the class about the definition of rape and the university's response to its occurrence. Men learn their behaviors from other men and if male

college students see their role models publicly professing a commitment to women's safety, this may have a stronger influence on their actions than any Freshman Orientation or other related educational program.

The university system must unitedly come out against violence against women. It seems men and women still operate on the notion that men are aggressors and women are in positions to accept or refuse men's advances. This concept must be reshaped to a more equalized view and men and women's relationships, where the fundamental principle is one of mutual choice and consensus. These ideas can be expressed and enforced by the upper administrative levels in this university. Changing attitudes and responses to violence against women can be made through top-down changes beginning with public figureheads. It seems more desirable to suggest grass-roots level changes, but if there is no perceived need for such changes and no backing from groups that hold power in the community, then the changes are not likely to occur. I am suggesting a top-down change which begins with demonstrated commitment by university administrators.

This thesis will hopefully never actually conclude. It represents only a step in a continuous struggle to learn more about rape, why it occurs and how to stop it. This is no final authority, it merely represents ideas. It is my hope that others will build upon these ideas. Already this process is happening. Dr. Schuiteman's research mentioned earlier carries ideas discussed in this thesis a step further and evaluates them.

We need to continue to do research on all aspects of the rape experience - the causes, the treatment, the myths, and the reporting of rape. The real answers to research questions come from the survivors themselves. It is difficult to access a random sample of survivors and obtain the time and money to conduct quality personal interviews with each one of them as I have described in the methods section. Yet, this may be required to find the information needed to make changes which benefit survivors.

I have discussed some of the reasons why a woman might choose not to report a rape to the police, yet, I began this thesis by mentioning why it is important for women to report. Although it may not seem altogether beneficial to women personally to report, I have argued that for the collective good of all women, it is important that individual women report to the police. The first reason I mentioned for reporting was to tell the assailant that his actions were wrong. The policy recommendation I have offered that upper administrative officials in university systems take a stand against rape and follow through on sanctions against rapists will not be effective nor enforced if women do not report. This recommendation relies on individual women reporting.

The second reason for reporting was to alert communities to the prevalence and problem of rape. Through this research, I have found that survivors may avoid contacting the police because they fear reactions from members of the community. Victim-blaming attitudes which keep women from reporting will only change if women do report. It is a vicious cycle, but it can be broken.

Finally, there are two personally beneficial reasons for survivors to report. Reporting may help survivors to regain a sense of control over their lives. Fear emerged as a strong predictor to reporting. Perhaps actually making the report and potentially seeing the assailant convicted, (although this may not be the case) can alleviate some fear and reestablish a sense of control.

The second personally beneficial reason offered to report was to insure that survivors would receive state funded, financial, victim assistance benefits. These benefits involve medical and legal assistance and can assist women in healing their bodies and might not otherwise be affordable to women.

Rape remains a difficult issue for many people to discuss. However, if we continue to publish research and work on college campuses and in communities, it will eventually become easier to discuss. Open communication around rape will destigmatize it and may make it easier for women to report. This open discussion can facilitate our research and learning, and help us to discover changes that need to be made to end rape.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE TO SURVIVORS

The first set of questions are about when the assault occured and to whom you reported the assault:

1) How long ago did the assault occur?

2) Did you tell anyone about the assault? -----> If no, go to #7

3) How long after the assault did you tell anyone?

4) Who did you tell first about the assault?

5) Did you report the assault to the police? ---> If no, go to #7

6) How long after the assault did you report it to the police?

The next several questions are about any counseling you might have received after the assault:

7) Did you contact a counselor (someone trained to counsel individuals) after the assault, to discuss what had happened?

----> If no, go to #15

8) How long after the assault did you first contact this counselor?

9) For how long did you receive counseling for this assault?

10) Did the counseling change your perception/interpretation of the assault? If so, how?

11) Did the counseling center you attended give you advice about whether or not to report the assault? ---> If no, go to #14

12) What did the counseling center recommend or advise you to do in regards to reporting the assault?

13) Did the counseling center's advise influence your decision?

If she reported:

14) Did the anyone from the counseling center accompany you to legal proceedings?

The next set of questions are about the assailant:

15) Had you ever met the assailant before?

16) How well acqainted were you with the assailant?

17) How long have you known him?

18) Did the assailant otherwise physically injure you during the assault, (aside from the act itself)?

19) Did the assailant leave any bruises on your body?

20) Did the assailant threaten to use a weapon against you?

21) Did the assailant use a weapon?

The next questions are about the location of the assault.

22) Where did the assault take place?

23) Had you ever been in this location before the assault?

24) How familiar were you with the location of the assault?

The next set of questions are about the reactions your family and friends had to the assault.

25) Did you tell anyone in your family about the assault?

---> If no, go to #29

26) Who is the first person in your family that you told about the assault?

26a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

26b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

27) Who is the second person in your family that you told about the assault?

27a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

27b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

28) Who is the third person in your family that you told about the assault?

28a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

28b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

29) Did you tell any of your friends about the assault?

---> If no, go to #33

30) Who is the first friend that you told about the assault?

30a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

30b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

31) Who is the second friend that you told about the assault?

31a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

31b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

32) Who is the third friend that you told about the assault?

32a) Did this person encourage or discourage you from reporting the assault to the police or did they remain nuetral?

32b) Did this person have any influence on your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police?

The next questions are about how you felt about reporting the assault to the police.

33) In general, how sensitive do you think police departments are these days to women who report a sexual assault?

34) In general, do you think police departments believe or disbelieve women who report a sexual assault?

35) Now, considering just the police department to which you would have (or did report) the assault, how sensitively did you think they would treat you when you reported the assault?

36) Did you think your local police department would believe your report or not believe your report?

The next questions are about the reasons for your decision whether or not to report the assault to the police.

37) What do you think most influenced your decision whether or not to report?

38) Did you feel any apprehension to reporting, or did you feel confident about reporting?

39) What would you recommend to other survivors, that they report or not report? Why?

Next, I would like to ask you some general questions about rape. These questions may be difficult for you to answer, but I am trying to get an idea of your definition of rape, thus these are very essential questions.

40) Under what conditions do you think sexual relations are rape?

41) Did you always define your assault as a rape?

42) Under what conditions do you think sexual relations are not rape?

43) Do you think a rape might ever be justified?

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself and the assailant, so I have a general idea of the people I have interviewed.

44) What is your racial or ethnic group?

45) What is the racial or ethnic group of the assailant?

46) What is your age?

47) What is the age of the assailant?

48) Were you a student when the assault occured?

49) Was the assailant a student when the assault occured?

That is all the questions I have for you. I want to thank-you for your time and cooperation in answering these questions. It takes a great deal of strength on your part to talk about these issues with me. I expect that your responses will provide me with valuable information about reporting sexual assaults from the survivor's perspective that I will be able to pass on to others. Thank-you again for your time.

APPENDIX B

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY BERKEY HALL EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN, 48823

TELEPHONE (517) 355-6640

September 21, 1991

Dear Counselor,

I am a graduate student at Michigan State University conducting research on sexual assault reporting rates of survivors who receive counseling after an assault. I have hypothesized that many factors may influence a woman's decision whether or not to report a sexual assault. These factors include, demographic and situational circumstances surrounding the rape, the survivor's own definition of rape, society's definition of rape, and the perceptions counseling centers have concerning the treatment that rape victims receive from the criminal justice system when they report a rape.

I have volunteered as a counselor, and public advocate in several women's centers, both rape crisis and domestic abuse centers, and my work there has led to my interest in studying factors which are related to sexual assault reporting rates. I realize the negative effects reporting a rape can have for individual survivors. I believe this decision should be made by the survivor herself and she should be supported in whatever decision she makes. Yet, I also feel that an increase in sexual assault reporting rates may broaden society's definition of rape and change the way such reports are handled in the criminal justice system.

College campuses provide the ideal setting for such a study. Sexual assault may be more prevalent during a college career than at any other time in a woman's life, and colleges are one of very few institutions that provide rape crisis counseling to its members. And, more importantly, I believe you have a wealth of knowledge to share on this issue given your experience working with survivors, and your position in an educational institution.

Therefore, I would like to call you in the next week or two and ask you a few questions over the phone. I will ask you questions about the types of services this center offers, the level of support you perceive on campus and in the surrounding community towards rape victims, the number of sexual assaults on campus that are reported to your center, to the school safety department and to the local community, and your perceptions of factors that influence a survivor's decision whether or not to report a sexual assault. I also hope to more clearly explain my theories to you at that time and gather your impression of these theories.

This school was randomly drawn from a list of all colleges in the United States. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. All of the information you give me will be kept completely confidential. I will not report your name, the name of this center, or the name of this school in the study. I will also secure all of the information I collect and delete any identifying characteristics about this center and school from the data.

The results of this study may provide some useful insights to your center. I will send a copy of the results to your center in the early part of the year 1992.

I am working under the direction of the Michigan State University Sexual Assault Crisis Center and Dr. William Ewens, Professor of sociology at Michigan State. Should you have any questions about this study, please feel free to call either Dr. Ewens at (517) 353-9555, or myself at (517) 351-4561.

I would like to thank-you very much for your cooperation with this study.

Renee De Groot

Dr. William Ewens

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE TO COUNSELORS

Hello, my name is Renee De Groot, I am a graduate student at Michigan State University. I contacted your office a few weeks ago concerning some research I am conducting for my master's thesis. I am asking sexual assault crisis counselors some questions about sexual assault reporting rates on college campuses. At that time I mentioned that I would like to ask you a few questions about the types of services this counseling center offers, and about the general atmosphere on campus towards women who report a sexual assault.

From what I have read in the literature, it seems reporting rates of sexual assault remain low compared to the incidence levels and I think there are many complicated reasons for this. One theory I have is that receiving counseling affects a woman's decision whether or not to report, and thus, as a counselor, I think you would have some extremely valuable insights into this issue. In turn, my analysis of reporting rates at different counseling centers may provide useful information to you.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your answers will be kept completely confidential. I will report neither the name of this school nor your name. Your answers will not be linked to this school or you individually. If we come to a question that you don't want to answer, we can skip it and go on to the next question. I will be typing your responses into a computer as we go.

The first set of questions are about this assault crisis center and the types of services that are offered.

1. How long has this school had a rape crisis center on campus for the students?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

2. How many clients contacted this center for counseling, crisis intervention, or just for information in the last year?

clients

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

3. Does this center provide referrals to any community services (such as: religious, medical, legal or counseling services etc.) that a survivor may need after an assault?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

4. Does this center offer crisis intervention counseling to sexual assault survivors over the telephone?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

5. Does this center offer one-to-one counseling in person, to sexual assault survivors?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

6. Does this center offer support groups, or mutually supportive gatherings for a group of survivors?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

7. Does this center offer orientation programs to incoming students to provide information about sexual assault on campus?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

8. Does this center sponsor any public demonstrations including rallies, marches, or protests etc., which are meant to heighten public awareness about the issue of sexual assault?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

9. Does this center directly advocate for sexual assault survivors in the legal system, for example by attending hearings or court trials with survivors?

1. YES
2. NO

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSE

=>

10. Does this center offer any other services to sexual assault survivors that have not already been mentioned?

1. YES
2. NO ----------> [go to 11]

8. DON'T KNOW ---> [go to 11]
9. REFUSE -------> [go to 11]

10a. What other services does this center offer?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

Next, I would like to ask you a few questions about the general atmosphere on campus and in the surrounding community towards sexual assault survivors and the reports of rapes on campus. Please answer these questions based on your experience at this school as an assault crisis counselor. Please respond according to how you feel most of the time.

I am defining sexual assault asthe legal definition of rape for this state.

11. On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the administration of this school is towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the administration encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

12. On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the faculty of this school is towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the faculty encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

13. (On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me) in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the students of this school are towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. do the students encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

14a. Does this school have a public safety department located on campus (i.e.a campus police force which would take reports of sexual assault?)

1. YES
2. NO ----------> [go to Q15]

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

14. (On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me) in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the department of public safety or the school security is towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the department of public safety encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

15. (On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me) in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the local community is towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the local community encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

==>

16. (On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me) in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the local police department is towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the local police department encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

17.(On a scale of one to five, where one equals very supportive and five is very unsupportive, please tell me) in general how supportive or unsupportive you feel the public prosecutor's office is in this community towards sexual assault survivors?

(Probe if necessary, i.e. does the public prosecutor's office encourage educational awareness on campus, counseling services for survivors, encourage reporting and advocating for survivors when they report?)

1. VERY SUPPORTIVE
2. SUPPORTIVE
3. NEUTRAL
4. UNSUPPORTIVE
5. VERY UNSUPPORTIVE
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about reporting rates in your community and at this school.

18. In the past year approximately how many students reported a sexual assault to the local police department which took place within that past year?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

19. In the past year, how many students reported a sexual assault to the campus police/safety which took place within the past year?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

20. How many students reported a sexual assault to this counseling center which took place within the last year?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

21. Are there any other places where students might report a sexual assault?

1. YES
2. NO ----------> [go to Q24]

8. DON'T KNOW ---------> [go to Q24]
9. REFUSED----------> [go to Q24]

=>

22. Where else would a student report a sexual assault?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

23. How many students have reported a sexual assault to this department which took place within the last year?

_____ Students

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

24. Do you ever discuss the option of reporting the sexual assault to the police with your clients?

1. YES
2. NO ----------> [go to 29]

8. DON'T KNOW ------> [go to 29]
9. REFUSED ---------> [go to 29]

=>

25. Do you ever encourage your clients to report a sexual assault to the police?

1. YES
2. NO----------> go to 27

8. DON'T KNOW----> go to 27
9. REFUSED-------> go to 27
=>

26. What factors enter into your decision whether or not to encourage a client to report a sexual assault to the police?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

27. Do you ever discourage your clients from reporting a sexual assault to the police?

1. YES
2. NO----------> go to 29

8. DON'T KNOW-------> go to 29
9. REFUSED----------> go to 29

=>

28. What factors enter into your decision whether or not to discourage a client from reporting a sexual assault to the police?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

Now I would like to ask you several questions about factors you think may influence a woman's decisions whether or not to report a sexual assault to the police. First I would like to ask you, in general, what factors do you think influence this decision, then I would like to ask you about some specific factors. When I say reporting a sexual assault, I mean reporting to the police.

29. Based on your experience as a rape crisis counselor, what three factors do you think most influence a woman's decision whether or not to report a sexual assault?

What do you think is the most influential factor in a decision whether or not to report?

8. DON'T KNOW ----------> [go to 30]
9. REFUSED ----------> [go to 30]
=>

29a. Why do you think this is the most influential factor for many women?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

30. What do you think is the second most influential factor in a decision whether or not to report?

8. DON'T KNOW ---------> [go to 31]
9. REFUSED ----------> [go to 31]
=>

30a. Why do you think this is an influential factor for many women?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

31. What do you think is the third most influential factor in a decision whether or not to report?

8. DON'T KNOW [go to 32]
9. REFUSED [go to 32]
=>

31a. Why do you think this is an influential factor for many women?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

Now, I would like to ask you about some specific situational circumstances that characterize rape situations. I will ask you how much you think each of these factors influence a woman's decision whether or not to report a rape. I would like you to rate each of these factors on a scale of one to four.

32. How much influence do you think the level of acquaintance between the victim and assailant has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?
Would you say: a great deal of influence, some influence, very little influence or no influence at all?
(Probe if necessary, what affect does knowing the assailant have on the woman's liklihood of reporting a rape as compared to stranger rapes?)

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

33. How much influence do you think the level of violence used during the assault has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?
Would you say: a great deal of influence, some influence, very little influence or no influence at all?

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

34. How much influence do you think the amount of physical resistance the victim used has on the woman's decision whether or not to report?
(Would you say: a great deal of influence, some influence, very little influence or no influence at all?)

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

35. How much influence do you think the location of the assault has on the woman's decision whether or not to report? Would you say: a great deal of influence, some influence, very little influence or no influence at all?

For example:
Probe: do you think if the assault takes place in a location that is familiar to the victim that she is less likely to report it?

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

36. Is this different for stranger and acquaintance rapes?
=>

37. How much influence do you think the victim's perceptions of the criminal justice system has on her decision whether or not to report? For example, if she doesn't think the police will believe her, how likely is this to affect her decision whether or not to report?

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

=>

38. How much influence do you think support from family and friends has on a women's decision whether or not to report?

1. A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE
2. SOME INFLUENCE
3. VERY LITTLE INFLUENCE
4. NO INFLUENCE AT ALL

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

39. Do you think victims who recieve immediate assault crisis counseling, by contacting a center like this one within a week of the assault, are more likely to report an assault to the police, less likely to report or neither more nor less likely to report, than victims who do not receive counseling after an assault?

1. MORE LIKELY
2. LESS LIKELY
3. NEITHER MORE NOR LESS LIKELY

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

40. What is your current position at this center?

=>

41. How long have you been employed in this position?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

42. Altogether, how many clients do you usually personally meet with in an average month?

8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED
=>

That is all the questions I have for you. I would like to thank-you for your participation in this study. I will send this center a copy of the results after the beginning of next year. Thank-you again.

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