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Sexual Assault: A Criminal Event Analysis

by

Hannah Sky Scott 

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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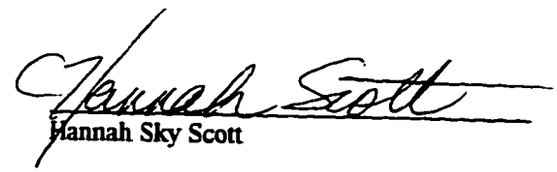

Hannah Sky Scott

306-10505 80th Avenue.
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. T6G 2H4

Date: Sept 30/97

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Sexual Assault: A Criminal Event Analysis" submitted by Hannah Sky Scott in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Leslie W. Kennedy, University of Alberta.

Dr. James Creechan, University of Alberta.

Dr. Judith Golec, University of Alberta.

Dr. Michael Gillespie, University of Alberta.

Dr. Berna Skrypnek, University of Alberta

Dr. Ronet Bachman, University of Delaware.

Date: 2/19/97

Emma's in a part of town where she doesn't recognize
the streets, named for famous native sons
and out of every crevice come creeping
a threat in her direction.
Lucy's outside her home heading towards her corner store
she stays in the well-traveled paths and is always
making sure that she doesn't develop patterns.

There are trap lines running up and down Main Street
wire snares thirsting for your neck and feet.

Susan doesn't like the way her curtains
are blowing in the wind.
She swears she locked that window
before she went out dancing
she stands frozen in her doorway.
Judy hears a sound coming from the other room
she knows she should be alone
'cause the kids left at noon to go visit their father

Quick to your phone dial 911, invite a strange man
into your home who'll be carrying a gun.

Leslie's working late, she's got a deadline to meet.
In walks her boss, upon her desk her puts his feet
and says *alone at last.*
Reanne's got a new boyfriend and they're getting along
until he locks the door and says
don't struggle, I'm stronger than you are.

Just one question I'm dying to ask, you said.
do you know what it is like to be hunted?

("HUNTED". Written by Margo Timmons and the Cowboy Junkies)

This thesis is dedicated to my family who, in their own way, have always encouraged me to be the best that I can be.

I draw my strength from them.

ABSTRACT

The study of fear of crime, and it's manifestations, is one of the fast growing areas within criminology. Gender is consistently one of the best predictors of fear. It has been argued, that it is the fear of rape that women fear most. This dissertation, using the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS) seeks to understand the relationship between sexual assault (in comparison to other types of assault) and its relationship to fear, and reactive symptoms to victimisation of women. A tri-phase multi-level OLS regression analysis is undertaken in order to establish whether or not there is a causal relationship between these variables and fear (in all phases) and reactive symptoms (in the last two phases).

In phase one, four fear variables were regressed on age, education, personal income, and type of victimisation reported (if any). In phase two, the same four fear variables, and level of reactive symptoms, were regressed on age, education, personal income, relationship between victim and offender, crime seriousness, degree of injury, and time since event, using reports of only those who had reported victimisation. Phase three is termed an "event analysis". The intent of this analysis was to reconstruct a criminal

event as close as possible, given the data available. The same variables are analysed in this phase as the last, but with the omission of time, and with the addition of total number of assaults reported, whether the offender had been drinking, and who the victim talked to after the event.

Due to the complicated nature of the model the results are numerous. Overall, the variance explained by all three phases of the model is low. Age has the most influence in the model, having a negative effect on fear variables, but no direct effect on level of reactive symptoms experienced by women after the attack. During each phase of the model, different variables become more or less influential. The low explained variance has interesting implications for the study of fear. Most noteworthy, is that the way that we presently conceive of fear of crime is misunderstood. Implications for future research are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the process of writing this dissertation, I have had the opportunity to have the help, advice and encouragement from many others. It is in this small space, that I would like take the time to thank them for their tremendous efforts. First, and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Leslie W. Kennedy whose advice and encouragement was always thoughtful and useful. He figured out how to encourage me, without pushing me. I would also like to acknowledge the work of Dr. Michael Gillespie who, although he was not on my core committee, spent literally hours at a time with me not only explaining the intricacies of statistics, but constructing scales so that I could ask the questions I really wanted answered.

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Finally, I would like to thank my family. They have never ceased reminding me of who I am, where I come from, and what I have accomplished thus far.

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CHAPTER ONE

Sexual Assault

As a pregnant women recovers from beatings and sexual assaults, Vancouver police are urging the public to call them when they suspect domestic violence.

Const. Annie Drennan said police debated long and hard on whether to release the story on the women's gruesome, three-week ordeal.

"We felt it was important that people know that this goes on in their neighbourhoods, it goes on in their apartment buildings, on your street, on your block," she said.

The woman's ordeal, which included performing degrading sexual acts in front of her three children, ended when her 11-year-old son walked into a downtown police station and asked for help.

Drennan said that the police had been called to the home before but had been told that everything was OK.

Drennan said that the woman's two older children – the 11-year-old who went to the police and the five-year-old girl – had been attending school throughout the ordeal.

The 40-year-old woman, who is eight months pregnant, had eaten nothing for two weeks. She is in hospital for treatment of injuries, including two broken fingers and extensive bruising. Her unborn baby is unharmed.

The three children are in a safe house.

Police have arrested her 40-year-old husband, who is undergoing a psychiatric assessment.

The woman and her husband have been married since 1981 and moved to Vancouver from Montreal in 1994.

Drennan speculated that it was a case where intervention by a neighbour might have prevented further suffering.

(Lewis, 1995:A4)

WINNIPEG – A sadistic rapist and killer who videotaped his victims and kept their pubic hairs as trophies received four life sentences yesterday.

Stanley Pomfret, 34, murdered one girl, raped two others and almost killed a 19-year-old male.

Mr. Pomfret's sentences will run concurrently. The usual 10-year period for parole ineligibility for second-degree murder was extended to 20 years.

However, the law permits Mr. Pomfret to apply for early parole after 15 years.

"The horrifying conduct of the accused, the prolonged sadistic sexual attacks on the victims, his utter lack of mercy for them... all point to a dangerous and disturbed personality," Mr. Justice Gerald Jewers of the Court of Queen's Bench said in imposing the maximum penalties.

The lanky, bearded former delivery man didn't move a muscle during sentencing. He stared directly at the judge, frowning, with his hands clasped in his lap and his feet in shackles.

The ruling wrapped up the case of one of the worst sex criminals in Manitoba's history.

Mr. Pomfret's sentencing hearing recounted details frighteningly reminiscent of Paul Bernardo's notorious sex assault and murder of two Ontario School girls.

(Globe and Mail, 1995:A7)

INTRODUCTION

The media stories written above have almost become common place in the minds of Canadian women. Although the names and the particular details may change from person to person, city to city, the violence that women receive at the hands of men has become almost a weekly, if not daily addition to media reports around the country. Many have argued that these stories exaggerate the experiences of violence against women (see for example McCormick, 1995), therefore affecting the public's view of the prevalence of violence in our society.

According to the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS), over one half of Canadian women have experienced at least one incident of violence since the age of 16 (Statistics Canada, 1993a). Almost three quarters of these women reported violence by

men known to them while one quarter reported violence by a stranger. One quarter have experienced violence at the hands of a current or past marital partner[1]. Of these, one in six currently married women reported violence by their spouses, and one half of women with previous marriages reported violence by a previous spouse. Of those who were currently married at the time the survey was conducted, more than 10% who reported violence have at some point felt their lives were in danger. Further, 30% of those women who reported non-spousal victimisation, said they had experienced four or more such occurrences. Of those ever married, the number of women who have experienced 6 or more incidences of violence jumps to 41%. These statistics are even more frightening, when you consider that this survey did not ask about physical or sexual abuse occurring prior to the age of 16. Therefore child abuse, whether it be sexual or physical, is not included in these statistics

These statistics are not unique to Canada. In the United States, The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) announced, in December of 1996, similar findings. Looking at a broader array of victimisation experiences, compiled from the National Crime Victimisation Survey (NCVS) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), the BJS reported that, in 1994, women were two thirds as likely as men to be victims of violence (Craven, 1996). Fully 78% of women who reported victimisation indicated the offender was someone known to them. Nine percent of these women reported the person who victimised them was a relative; 29% were victimised by

[1] This statistic includes common-law unions.

an intimate[2], while 40% said they were victimised by an acquaintance. Twenty-three percent of victimised women reported that the offender was a stranger.

These statistics demonstrate what, I think, most women already are aware. Violence against women is not a rare occurrence, happening to only a few select individuals. It is a pervasive phenomenon that is experienced by a wide range of individuals. If we compare results of victimisation surveys to that of official crime reporting, we can further glean that a large number of these crimes go unreported to police (VAWS, 1993).

If we accept the findings of the VAWS, we must accept that over half of Canadian women have experienced some form of violence. According to the VAWS, violence is defined as "experiences of physical or sexual assault, that are consistent with legal definitions of these offences and could be acted upon by a police officer." (Canada, 1993a:2) If we couple these results with what women know of other women's experiences of violence, through talking with others, newspaper accounts, and television and movie portrayals of true or fictive stories, violence against women touches every woman's life, either vicariously, or in reality. The violence these women experience not only touches them, but others who they come in contact with: their children, spouses, parents, siblings, friends, and co-workers.

It is no surprise then, this same survey also reported that as many as 6 in 10 women who walk alone in their area after dark feel "very" or "somewhat" worried doing so (Canada, 1993a). The number of women who reported that they were worried while

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[2] This statistic included spouses, ex-spouses, boyfriends or girlfriends, and ex-boyfriends or ex-girlfriends.

using public transportation jumps to 76%. Walking alone to her car or being alone in a parking garage elicited the highest worry responses at 83%. Fully 40% of women said that they were worried being alone in their own home in the evening. This last statistic is truly startling as most people would consider the home a place of safety against victimisation.

When we look a the specific crime of sexual assault, 37% of women said they had experienced some form of this crime. Twenty-five percent of all women who responded in the VAWS reported that they had experienced unwanted sexual touching, while 20% said they had experienced some form of sexual attack.[3] Astounding is the fact that the VAWS also reported that fully 96% of these assaults were not reported to the police.

Historically, violence against women has been largely dismissed as a women's issue. Much of this violence was considered a problem to be dealt with by the family. While society would not condone violence between non-family members, the courts would often dismiss cases where the husband was the perpetrator of violence against his wife. The result is that violence against women has been ghettoised as largely a issue only concerned with women.

In reality, however, this problem clearly affects all facets of human life. It not only affects those who are abused, but the people they know, the people that hear about the abuse, and the offenders that carry out the acts of violence. To dismiss it as simply a

[3] The percentages do not add up to the total number of women who reported sexual assaults due to multiple responses made by the respondents.

matter of "special interest" is to negate the impact that this type of behaviour has on our society.

In particular, the specific crime of sexual assault is the focus of this dissertation. Although the analyses that will be presented include other forms of violence women experience, how these acts compare to acts of sexual violence is the fundamental axiom upon which this research is based. Researchers have argued that it is the act of sexual assault that women fear most (see for example Ferraro. 1996, Warr, 1987, 1985), and it is the fear of this specific crime that is a principal driving force behind women's elevated levels of reported fear. Although the law has come to recognise that sexual assault is an act of violence, rather than a sexual act, this has not minimised the intense personal intrusion of the act that it holds for survivors of this specific type of trauma. It is important to understand the differences in types of violence that women experience, in order that we may better inform treatment practices and policy issues, when dealing with this wide spread societal problem.

THE CRIME OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

The definition of the crime of sexual assault has gone through several changes over the last century in Canada. These changes have been documented in Table 1-1 at the back of this chapter. Of these, the most notable are the changes to legislation which occurred in 1983. According to Ronald Hinch (1991, 1988, 1985), in response to increasing feminist pressure, the government was forced to change the existing rape laws. This was due to the fact that the older laws were based on more traditional values that have since

been identified as sexist. Hinch argues that, not only were there laws perceived as sexist in their construction prior to 1983, they were also sexist in their enforcement. Up until 1983, section 143 of the Canadian Criminal Code (CCC) stated that a rape occurred when a man had sexual intercourse, without consent, with a woman other than his wife.

Until the changes in 1983, not only did the law exempt married men from being prosecuted for sexually assaulting their wives, but it also emphasised the sexual nature of the act, rather than the violence of the act. Older sexual assault laws emphasised the importance of penile-vaginal penetration as the defining act of rape. These laws did not recognise the equally dangerous and injurious potential for other forms of sexual assault which include, but are not exclusive to, anal intercourse, digital penetration of the vagina or anus, and penetration of the body by foreign objects. Feminists argued, that laws against sexual assault should make distinctions on the level of violence that occurred rather than the level of sexual intimacy between the offender and the victim

In addition, Hinch (1991) also notes that under the older laws, inequalities between men and women were evident in that homosexual rape was considered a lesser offence than was heterosexual rape. Feminists argued that male rape victims experienced the same loss of sexual autonomy as women. Laws discriminating on the sex of the victim, ignore the potential that homosexual rape can be just as violent and dangerous, as those committed on a female.

In 1982, Bill C-127 was passed to deal with these inadequacies. The new legislation was designed first and foremost to focus on the violence of rape and other forms of sexual assault, rather than the intimacy between the victim and the offender.

Also, the new legislation included previously excluded groups either as victims, or offenders of sexual assault. Husbands could now be prosecuted under the new sexual assault laws, and both homosexual and heterosexual rape were considered equally violent. Therefore those who committed sexual assault, whether the victim was male or female, could expect to receive equal sentencing under the law. As of the writing of this dissertation, the sexual assault laws are contained in s.271, s.272, and s.273 of the Canadian Criminal Code (CCC). These laws are outlined in Appendix A. In essence, this assault legislation was designed to mirror other assault laws in the CCC. This new legislation was intended to focus more on the violence of the act, as with the laws governing other forms of assaults, than on the sexuality of the act. To illustrate this point, s. 266, s.267, and s. 268 of the Canadian Criminal Code have also been outlined in Appendix A.

Although this new legislation has solved many of the inherent problems of the legislation that existed prior to 1983, Hinch (1991) and Roberts and Mohr (1994) argue that this newer set of laws still has flaws in its design. The strongest criticism of the newer legislation is its inability to define exactly what constitutes sexual assault. Current legislation recognises that the act of sexual assault is legally not allowed in Canadian society, but what constitutes sexual assault is not clear. This has created ambiguity, and as a result many court cases that have been won and lost, set precedent after precedent on what does, and does not, constitute sexually assaultive behaviour[4]. The implications of

[4] For a brief summary of significant cases, which have set precedents with respect to sexual assault legislation, see Hinch (1991).

this lack of definition are far reaching. In particular, those who occupy the highest echelons of our criminal justice system, and who hold the final say on precedent-setting cases, are more often older, white males, from privileged backgrounds. Can these men be trusted to abandon older, more traditional notions, of what does and does not constitute sexual assault? There is some anecdotal evidence to suggest they cannot (Temkin, 1986; Hinch, 1991; Roberts and Mohr, 1994). This is coupled with the fact that the criminal justice system is still predominantly populated with males throughout. This may lead to bias in prosecution of those whose actions beg the legal question of whether a sexual assault has occurred.

These changes in legislation are significant for many reasons. Laws not only outline what behaviour society deems as unacceptable, but identifies sanctions that are tied to these behaviours. These relatively recent changes in 1983 reflect a changing perception in the crime of sexual assault. Not only was a wider variety of behaviour included under this legal categorisation, but these laws also recognised a wider variety of people who could be subject to the sexual violence of others. In essence, the new laws recognised the complexity of sexually assaultive behaviour. The VAWS used these legal definitions, in its design, to construct questions that would tap the full scope of violence against women. The assumptions that were utilised in the construction of the survey, as well as the questions that were used in this study, are outlined in more detail in Chapter 3.

THE PROBLEM

From the few statistics that I have presented in this chapter, it is evident that

violence against women is pervasive in Canadian society. A significant number of adult women have been physically and sexually abused at the hands of men. Many more have been touched in a sexual way against their wishes and/or have been threatened. The purpose of this dissertation is to better understand the nature and scope of violence against women, with emphasis on the crime of sexual assault, and to assess how these acts of violence have affected their reported levels of fear and reactive symptoms as a result of the incident. All data used in this dissertation, was collected by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, and accumulated in the Violence Against Women Survey.

The Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS) was designed to look at both reported and unreported victimisation of women, using the current legal definitions cited in the Appendix. Violence in this survey was defined as any action that could be legally acted upon by a police officer (Canada, 1993b). Questions in this survey, including those asking about sexual assault, reflect legal definitions of these crimes. Using the Criminal Event Perspective (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994) the intent of this dissertation is to analyse the VAWS data, looking at various situational factors, to better understand how experiences of violence relate to women's overall fear of crime and how they react psychologically to victimisation.

Briefly, the Criminal Event Perspective (CEP) is a theoretical tool for organising theories and empirical evidence that have been collected and generated about crime and criminal activity. The ontological assumption which frames this perspective is that crime is, for all intents and purposes, a social event, albeit a less desirable type of social interaction. As with other social events, there is a beginning and an end, which in turn are

affected by what those involved experience before the event. Those involved also continue after the end of the criminal incident and, as such, may be affected by what has transpired. By looking at the *precursors* to criminal activity, the criminal *transaction*, and the *aftermath* of crime, the CEP allows one to organise information that has been generated in a coherent way, from beginning to end.

Another critical assumption made by the CEP, and therefore this dissertation, is that there is a *context* in which crimes occur. That is, there are other significant factors that come to shape criminal events. Taken together -- criminal behaviour in context -- over time allows for a more holistic understanding of the social event of crime. For example, if alcohol was consumed in large quantities by the offender, prior to the offense, the transaction may be more violent due to the lack of inhibitions that intoxication may produce. In addition, the degree of injury the victim received, or who the offender was in relation to the victim, may affect how one copes with the victimisation later on. It is this context, where data will allow, that is explored in this dissertation.

The CEP, because of its temporal assumptions, is also utilised in the construction of the tri-phase model presented in this dissertation. Each phase of this model incorporates precursory, transactional, and aftermath variables in its construction. However, the manner in which these data were collected presents some problems. These problems will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The tri-phase nature of this model was designed to maximise the utility of this data, given these problems.

The work carried out in this dissertation will add to existing literature on violence against women by contributing a causal analysis of women's victimisation experiences, and

their resulting after-effects, using a Canada wide survey specifically designed to be sensitive to the nature and scope of violence against women. In addition, this will be one of the first projects undertaken using this subject matter organised with the CEP. The reader will be provided with a general understanding of the different types of criminal events known collectively as violence against women.

PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION

To recap, the intent of this dissertation is to analyse the criminal event of sexual assault, and compare the after-effects of it to the after-effects of other types of victimisation, with a survey which utilised the legal definitions of sexual assault in its construction. In particular, I am concerned with ascertaining whether or not victimisation affects the reported levels of fear that women experience. I am also concerned with which factors affect, not only fear, but the severity of reactive symptoms victimised women report. Finally, I am interested in what components of the criminal event either increase, or decrease the fear that women experience.

In the second chapter, various theories are presented that were constructed to explain specific aspects of criminal events. The purpose of the second chapter is to outline how theory and empirical evidence have come to explain, and understand, the crime of sexual assault. Many of the theories in criminology have attempted to explain the offender's motivation, rather than looking at the others involved in the criminal event. Those theories that have attempted to explain the victim's reaction to the crime, come principally from the discipline of psychology. In chapter two, using the Criminal Event

Perspective (CEP), I have attempted to meld these two seemingly separate pools of writing, in an effort to advance a more complete understanding of the theorising around the subject of violence against women that has been carried out in the area of sexual assault.

The third chapter is dedicated to reviewing the literature that has been written on women and violence. In this chapter, research is reviewed which may shed light on some of the correlates that have associated with increasing or decreasing risk of sexual assault victimisation. Chapter Four reviews the methodology that will be implemented in the analyses. This chapter is dedicated to explaining the logic of how and why the analyses are carried out, as well as to outline how variables, at various stages, were operationalised in order to maximise the analysis potential at each phase.

Univariate and bivariate analyses are presented in Chapter 5. First, the distribution of dependent variables in the tri-phase analysis presented in Chapter 6, are examined. Of principle importance is the fact that not all of the dependent variables are normally distributed. The sample size and the analysis are sufficiently robust so that this factor may be overlooked. Second, a bivariate analysis is presented which specifically looks at women's victimisation and their responses to the dependent variables of fear under certain situations, and reactive symptoms as a result of a victimisation experience.

The sixth chapter is dedicated to three analyses, using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, of data that was gathered by Statistics Canada in the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS). The first analysis looks at all respondents – those women who reported victimisation and those who did not – with respect to their experience, and their

reported fear of crime. The second and third analyses are dedicated to looking at the responses of only those women who reported victimisation, and their subsequent reaction to the event, as well as their reported fear levels.

Chapter seven is dedicated to discussing some of the overall results seen across the three analyses presented in chapter five. Each analysis will be evaluated individually, and then in turn with preceding analysis (where applicable). Although there are several hypotheses being tested in this dissertation, chapter 6 is dedicated to highlighting some of the more important findings in the all three analysis.

Finally, Chapter 8 will be dedicated to concluding remarks. Some discussion is dedicated to problems with the VAWS's construction, with respect to the analyses that were performed in this dissertation. In addition, some time is spent looking towards the future of research in the area of violence against women, and in particular sexual assault.

TABLE 1-1[5]

Offenses of Sexual Aggression

Pre-1983			1983			1985-present		
Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty	Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty	Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty
143	Rape	Life						
145	Attempt Rape	10 years						
149	Indecent assault female	5 years						
156	Indecent assault male	10 years						
246.1	Sexual assault I	10 years*	271	Sexual assault I	10 years*			
246.2	Sexual assault II	14 years	272	Sexual assault II	14 years			
246.3	Sexual assault III	Life	273	Sexual assault III	Life			
155	Buggery/bestiality	14 years	155	Buggery/bestiality	14 years	160	Bestiality	14 years*
157	Acts of gross indecency	5 years	155	Acts of gross indecency	5 years	159	Anal intercourse	10 years*
150	Incest	14 years	150	Incest	14 years	155	Incest	14 years*
						151	Sexual Interference under 14	10 years*
						152	Invitation to sexual touching under 14	10 years*
						153	Sexual exploitation 14-18	5 years*
146	Sexual intercourse with female under 14	Life	146(1)	Sexual assault with female under 14	Life			
146	Sexual assault with female 14-16	5 years	146(2)	Sexual intercourse with female 14-18	5 years			
148	Sexual intercourse with feeble-minded	5 years						

*This is a hybrid offense. If the Crown proceeds by way of summary conviction, the maximum penalty is six months or $2000 fine.

[5] From *Confronting Sexual Assault: A Decade of Legal and Social Change*, (1994) by Julian V. Roberts and Renate M. Mohr (Eds.), pp. 8-9. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

TABLE 1-1 *(concluded)*
Offenses of Sexual Aggression

Pre-1983			1983			1985-present		
Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty	Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty	Section #	Offense	Maximum Penalty
151	Seduction of a female 16-18	2 years	151	Seduction of a female 16-18	2 years			
152	Seduction under promise of marriage	2 years	152	Seduction under promise of marriage	2 years			
153	Sexual intercourse with stepdaughter or female employee	2 years	153	Sexual intercourse with stepdaughter or female employee	2 years			
154	Seduction of female passengers of vessels	2 years	154	Seduction of female passengers of vessels	2 years			
166	Parent or guardian (<14) under defilement (14+)	14 years	166	Parent or guardian procuring defilement (<14)	14 years	170	Parent or guardian procuring sexual activity (<14)	5 years
				(14+)	5 years		(14-18)	2 years
167	Householder permitting defilement	2 years	167	Householder permitting defilement	2 years	171	Householder permitting sexual activity (<14)	2 years 5 years
							(14-18)	2 years
			169	Indecent acts	6 months	173	Indecent acts	6 months
			170	Nudity	6 months	174	Nudity	6 months
			171	Causing disturbance Indecent exhibition	6 months	175	Causing disturbance, /Indecent exhibition	6 months
						172	Corrupting children	2 years

CHAPTER TWO

Theory and Sexual Assault

INTRODUCTION

Criminology appears be one of the fastest growing fields in academia. Its principle focus is to describe and understand what we perceive to be criminal behaviour, so that we may be able to find possible solutions to its origin and, therefore, its prevention. There are various areas of specialisation, in order that we may look at mechanisms of smaller elements of criminal behaviour. As academics, we take part in this exercise so that we may add understanding to our existing knowledge of crime and criminality and to add to the larger body of knowledge of social behaviour. It is assumed, as in my own area, that these smaller studies add to the accumulating knowledge about crime and criminality. The knowledge accumulated in criminology will, in turn, add to the area of other disciplines, which will contribute to our collective understanding of our world. These insights also have the potential to guide further research.

One, more holistic, approach has been developed by Sampson (1993). Sampson,

in a call to meld different theoretical and methodological approaches within criminology has proposed the new paradigm of *dynamic contextualism* This approach recognises and attempts to join developmental and historical insights, event structures and community context, qualitative narratives and causal explanation, and ultimately time and place. Fundamentally, Sampson argues that dynamic contextualism focuses on the individual lives while simultaneously looking at the effects of macro level forces upon those individuals. The author is quick to point out the problems with this multilevel approach, but presents concrete alternative strategies which move towards this dynamic understanding of crime, as it relates to the lifecourse. It should be noted that Sampson's approach is not the focus of this dissertation. However, the essence of the dynamic nature of crime is appropriated and explored using the criminal event perspective.

Most of our understanding of crime stems from a less dynamic, or more linear, focus of criminological research. For example, most theories generated in this area stem from work carried out with young adolescent males (Naffine, 1987). We have yet to resolve how to explain female criminality, using this same literature. Most of the theories of criminal behaviour seek to look only at the offender, and the causes of his behaviour. There are a few theories that look at the role of the victims of crime. There has even been less research and theoretical explanation developed surrounding the role of others in criminal behaviour. Until very recently, there has not been a unifying perspective that enhances our knowledge of the entire criminal process. That is, there has not been, until recently, a perspective that looks at the offender, the victim, **and** the role of third parties, in a more holistic way; from before the crime has occurred, until after the crime has been

carried out.

One of the ontological assumptions of the CEP, and therefore this dissertation, is that there is a *context* in which crimes occur. That is, there are certain factors that come to shape criminal events. For example, the offence may take place in an isolated area, which reduces the possibility that the criminal act will be detected. If there is a victim physically present while the crime is taking place, that person may attempt to resist his or her attacker, possibly increasing their chances at injury, or fleeing the crime scene. The offender may use a weapon, thereby reducing the possibility of resistance. It is this context, or the situational variables that enter into the criminal event that this dissertation is concerned with.

In addition, theories in criminology, as with sociology, have traditionally sought to develop a general explanations of behaviour. That is, criminologists have tended toward more parsimonious explanations of crime; a theory that is simple, yet explains a wide variety of criminal behaviour. This, however, is changing. As criminology has become more interdisciplinary, other types of explanations of crime have emerged. In this chapter, which reviews various explanations of crime, I will synthesis these two distinct ways of looking at the crime of sexual assault. Using the Criminal Event Perspective I will demonstrate that, although these theories were generated under differing assumptions, there appears to be similarities on how they seek to explain this phenomenon. In essence, this chapter will bring together more singularly focused theories of crime and victimisation, and create a more dynamic understanding of the criminal event of sexual assault.

THE CRIMINAL EVENT PERSPECTIVE

The Criminal Event Perspective (CEP), developed by Vincent Sacco and Leslie Kennedy (1994), was created as a way of looking at evidence generated within criminology, in order to amalgamate what we know about all of the players in criminal processes, as well as the influence of the setting in which the crime occurs, so we may better understand these phenomena, not only theoretically, but temporally and spatially. It is this perspective that I will use in looking at the area of sexual assault.

The CEP summarises what we know about the criminal event by looking at those who participate within the event: the victim(s), the offender(s), and significant others. The analyses in this dissertation takes place in three stages, corresponding to the three stages of the event. First, participants will be looked at with respect to what they bring with them into the event. These qualities are referred to as **precursors** to the crime. These precursors include -- but are not limited to -- such information as biological evidence, prior victimisation, and social perceptions of all parties involved. According to Sacco and Kennedy (1994) these precursory variables have the ability to influence the potential outcome of the event. For example, older women may have different lifestyles than do younger women, and men may experience life differently than women. In addition, an unstable home life, may predispose an individual to a criminal behaviour, and so on. Clearly there are many ideas about which life experiences predispose, motivate, or create opportunities for one to participate in criminal behaviour and/or increases the risk for victimisation. This area is where criminologists have done most of their theorising and research.

Second, information will be summarised from what we know about the participants and the actual criminal event, or **transaction**, itself. Those who do research in this area are concerned with social situations in which, and out of which, criminal behaviour emerges. Characteristics of the transaction may include recollections from either the victim, the offender, or third parties such as police and witnesses, about where the transaction occurred, whether or not a weapon was used, the degree of injury received by either party, or the severity of the committed crime. Perspectives within this area include theories of interaction, and use case history recollections about the events themselves. Included in this perspective are those theories which seek to understand the perceptions of those involved in the actual event, the interaction between the victim and the offender that helps to precipitate the criminal event, and 'situated transactions' of criminal behaviour. Looking at the actual crime is a relatively new interest of criminologists. As such, theories in this area have been somewhat underdeveloped.

Finally, the theories will be discussed with respect to what happens after the crime has occurred, or the **aftermath**. Included in this area, for example, is evidence that has been collected on sentencing of the offender, the effect on the victim, and the roles of others in the aftermath of the event. There are relatively few theories in criminology dealing with the aftermath of crime. Much of the documentation in this area has been carried out primarily in the discipline of psychology (see for example, Blume, 1990; Davis et al, 1991; Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1991, to name a few) . Theories generated in this area are not exclusive to criminology, but instead deal with the impact of trauma, in a more general sense, rather than the specific trauma of being the victim of a crime.

Aftermath theories include work in the area of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and theories designed to explain cognitive and behavioural disorders, including but not limited to those specifically identified as exhibiting symptoms of PTSD (see for example Albach, 1992; Frazier, 1990; Greenwald and Leitenberg 1990; Saunders 1994; Vitanza, 1995, to name a few). Because psychology focuses primarily on the individual, or small groups, much of the research done in this area has been dedicated to the after-effects of specific traumas experienced by select groups of individuals. With respect to the literature that has been developed around the psychological effects of specific criminal acts, one of the most abundant is in the area of the after-effects of sexual assault. For example, studies dealing with the specific manifestations of PTSD of sexual assault survivors are numerous. There have also been several studies generated in the area of double victimisation, where the victim is recognised as not only being victimised by a particular offender or offenders, but is also victimised a second time by the criminal justice system if it becomes involved after the transaction is over (Dziech and Schudson, 1989; Farrell and Pease, 1993; Lee and Gamble, 1989; Winkle, 1991).

The criminal event perspective offers a way of analysing information which incorporates understanding of the inter-relatedness of various parties, and their environment, when engaging in criminal activities. This perspective seeks to explain the obvious. One basic assumption of the CEP is that crime is a social event. This implies that criminal events, like other social events, do not occur in isolation. Each event, social or criminal, has a context in which it occurs. It is this social context, specifically of the criminal act, which this perspective seeks to understand. It is also precisely this contextual

understanding that other theories have not attempted to explain, preferring instead to explain more compartmentalised areas of criminality. Theoretically, the CEP seeks to explain criminal events, from beginning to end.

In essence, this perspective makes a similar assertion to that of Sutherland's theory of differential association (Sutherland et al, 1992). Sutherland assumed criminal behaviour is learned. However, criminal acts are not a manifestation of specialised learning. Instead, criminal learning is a product of the same type of knowledge individuals absorb in day-to-day interactions with others. This implies criminal behaviour is learned along with non-criminal behaviour. For example, one can learn how to break into a car (a technique), but this information can be used to either retrieve keys locked in your own vehicle (legal behaviour), or it can be used to break into cars to steal car stereo systems (illegal behaviour). Participating in criminal or non-criminal behaviour depends on what the individual chooses to do with the information based on their own attitudes, beliefs, and so on.

Likewise, CEP also assumes that criminal events are similar to any other type of social interaction. Criminal interaction is merely a more specialised type of social interaction with each interaction having a history, and affecting those participating in the criminal event. The Criminal Event Perspective looks at the context and the transaction of criminal events, rather than other social events. In essence, where other sociological theories seek to understand social interaction, the CEP seeks to explain the specific social interaction between the offender(s), their victim(s), and third parties who become involved in the event.

People go through several event transactions on a daily basis, which may or may not have a significant effect on the people who participate in them. For example, we 'bump into' people on the street, we meet others for lunch, we gather in theatres to watch movies, and we play with our children. Criminal transactions, on the other hand, almost always have a significant effect on people, both within the transaction itself, and those who come in contact with those people after the event. The criminal behaviour of one individual has the power to change the behaviour of others because of the fear, generated by that criminal act or similar acts. This may lead to making people more wary, more personally protective, or more protective of others.

For example, those who fear being victimised may take certain steps to deter or prevent the opportunity for this type of event to arise. Some choose not to walk in certain areas after dark, while some do not go out at all after a certain time of day without an escort. Others, may make a conscious effort to vary their route home after work by changing the time of day they leave or changing the route they take. Still others may take a self defence course or carry a weapon, such as pepper spray or keys clinched between the fingers, when out alone at night. Still another possible manifestation of this fear is that we may pay closer attention to our children's activities when they are playing outside. Nationally, the sale of home security systems may increase, as people try to better safeguard themselves and their significant others from harm from intruders. It is because of this personal fear of victimisation, or fear for those we love, that crime holds curiosity for most. By seeking to understand what we are afraid of most, we attempt to reduce our fear by minimising the potential for criminal activity around us.

Although much research has been carried out, and theories of criminality generated, there has been surprisingly little effort to amalgamate this information into some sort of contextual understanding. That is, to understand acts of crime as social entities, we must comprehend the context in which they occur. The criminal event perspective provides a framework to overcome this limitation. In so doing, it has the potential not only to offer deeper insight into criminogenic factors, but also criminal situations, and the effects of crime on individuals. As a result, our present explanations of crime become enhanced, and the gaps in our understanding of this phenomena become more evident, thus guiding a more comprehensive understanding of where to look next in theory and research.

CRIME AND CRIMINALITY

Presently, most theories generated within criminology, try to explain the behaviour of the offender. Kennedy and Sacco (1996), argue that because of this, criminological theories seek to explain **criminality** as opposed to crime. That is, most criminological theories seek to understand patterns of offending by various individuals rather than to try and explain the illegal acts, or **crimes**, themselves. It is the more holistic explanation of crime, that is better understood through a criminal event perspective.

Sacco and Kennedy (1994) go on to make the distinction between criminal events and **criminal acts**. While criminal acts are single instances of illegal behaviour, criminal events seek to understand the context, or social realm, of criminal acts. If we look specifically at the crime of sexual assault, the actual physical act of rape is the criminal act.

The CEP is not only concerned with the criminal act, but also the circumstances that brought the victim and offender together, and what happened after the criminal act was carried out. In other words, the CEP is concerned with a broader view of explaining crime, rather than simply analysing the crime, or its individual participants.

The CEP was developed to act as a lens, through which we can organise the wealth of theoretical and empirical information about crime. Not only does this allow us to grasp a better understanding of crime, in a more holistic sense, but also to see where gaps in our understanding of crime may occur. Currently, there are several theories within criminology explaining how people come to commit criminal acts. There are fewer theories on how people come to be victims of such events. Still some theories look to the act itself for answers into criminogenic factors. Below we shall briefly outline some of these theories of crime, as well as some specific theoretical explanations of sexual assault.

It should be noted that the analyses in this dissertation are not concerned with the offender as much as the victim's interpretation of the event. This is due, in large part, to the fact that the VAWS's focus is on the victim of violence, rather than the offenders. However, the perspective of the offender is crucial to the understanding of criminal events. As a result, it is included here in the theoretical review, so as to give a more comprehensive understanding of current theorising of various parts of the criminal event.

PRECURSORS OF CRIME (OFFENDER THEORIES)

Differential Association Theory of Crime and Social Learning Theory of Rape

Originally developed by Edwin Sutherland, differential association theory differed

from other theories of its day in asserting that criminal behaviour is learned. This contradicted to some degree more popular theories of the time, such as those who sought to explain criminal behaviour as being biologically[1] predisposed or brought on as a result of adapting to structural strain (Merton, 1938), in that it did not necessarily assume that certain individuals were driven to crime. The problem in criminology, according to Sutherland, is to explain the criminality of behaviour, not the behaviour as such. Criminal behaviour as one subtype of human behaviour, has much in common with non-criminal behaviour, and must be explained within the same general framework as any other human behaviour. However, an explanation of criminal behaviour should be a specific part of that general theory of behaviour and its task should be to differentiate criminal behaviour from non-criminal behaviour. Many things which are necessary factors in behaviour are not necessary for the criminality of behaviour (Sutherland, 1947:4-5). Sutherland eventually proposed nine propositions that encapsulated his theory of differential association.

1. Criminal behaviour is learned.
2. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principle part of learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups.

[1] Examples of this type of work being carried out during or prior to the writing of Sutherland's theory of Differential Association include studies done by William Sheldon in the early 20th century, or Cesare Lombroso in the 19th century.

4 When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes
(a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple;
(b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.

5. The specific directions of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable.

6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of the law over definitions unfavourable to violation of the law.

7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.

8. The process of learning of criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.

9. While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of those same needs and values.

(Sutherland and Cressey, 1978:80-82)

In other words, criminality requires no special learning mechanisms. The more people associate with those who engage in criminal behaviour, the more likely that person is to find definitions favourable to law violation, and therefore more likely to commit criminal acts.

It is important to note that Sutherland argued that differential association required two distinct, but related, types of learning. First, it was necessary for the individual to learn techniques of law/norm violation. These are culturally transmitted through associations with others. Second, Sutherland argued that although learning these techniques was necessary, they were not sufficient for norm/law violation. Sutherland argued that one must have some exposure to a "specific direction of motives, drives,

rationalizations, and attitudes." (1939:6). In other words, to behave criminally one must learn or rationalise that crime is a preferable form of behaviour (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994:56), as well as how to commit the act.

According to Ellis (1989) social learning theory of rape has its roots in research which determined that repeated exposure to almost any type of stimulus tends to promote positive feelings towards it (Harrison, 1969; Moreland and Zajonc, 1976; Wilson and Nakajo, 1965; Zajonc 1968; Zajonc and Rajecki, 1969). Although this idea of repeated exposure was used in treatment of phobias, such as desensitisation therapy (Bandura (1967), subsequent theorising suggested that aggression is learned primarily through imitation or modelling (Bandura 1973, 1978, 1986). The social learning of rape adapts the works of Bandura by arguing that rape is learned via four processes. First, it has been postulated that rape behaviour is learned through the modelling effect (Huesmann and Malamuth, 1986; Nelson, 1982:200). Simply, rape is learned through reproducing images of rape and other forms of violence against women, either through actual viewing of such events, or through representations of such events in the media.

A second hypothetical form of learning is called the sex-violence linkage effect (Check and Malamuth, 1986:185; Malamuth, Check and Briere, 1986:338; Malamuth, 1983, 1984). This hypothesis asserts that viewing sex and violence repeatedly in the same context, as in many horror or "slasher" films, will allow the viewer to associate these two occurrences. Third, it has been argued that rape is learned through the "rape myth" effect. Perpetuation of myths such as "No means yes", "If yes to one than yes to all", "rapists are abnormal" and "women desire to be raped" serve to legitimise this behaviour (Burt, 1980).

Finally, proponents of the desensitisation effect argues that by desensitising viewers to the pain, fear and humiliation of sexual aggression we come to have less societal concern for this type of behaviour (Donnerstein, Linz and Penrod, 1987:126).

Both differential association and social learning theory agree that rape is an act that is learned. Although Sutherland specifically noted that criminal behaviour is learned in association with others directly, and not through more indirect sources such as media, had he been around today to see the overwhelming influence of television and movies he probably would have modified his theory. Followers of Sutherland such as Cressey and Luckenbill (Sutherland, Cressey and Luckenbill, 1992) have since suggested media as a powerful source of learning. Proponents of either theory would agree that prevention of sexual assault comes about by controlling what is learned either through significant group associations and what is learned through various forms of media.

Control or Social Bonding Theory and Sexual Assault

Control theory is most commonly associated with the work of Travis Hirschi (1969). Hirschi asserts the question we should be asking is not why offenders do what they do, but rather why do we not all commit more crimes? In this sense he asserts that everyone has the propensity to commit crime, but for one reason or another we choose not to. He maintains that we do not commit crime because we are constrained by social bonds. Tethered by these bonds, we do not commit illegal acts for fear of embarrassment and being socially ostracised. These social bonds can be broken down into four components: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief.

Attachment refers to the attachment that an individual has to parents, teachers, and so on. During childhood, the attachment we form to others, through the internalisation of norms and values, dictates the amount of attachment we will form to society. The assumption here is that if the individual is appropriately socialised, he or she will be less likely to break the law. On the other hand, a lack of attachment results in psychopathic behaviour. Without attachment behaviours are carried out without thinking of consequences of the action being taken, and without fear of being caught and identified as a criminal.

Commitment refers to the fear of the consequences of delinquent behaviour. Commitment is evidenced by an individual's ability and willingness to meet culturally prescribed aspirations. If a person is willing to meet the goals society deems appropriate that individual will invest time, effort and financial resources into those goals, and in turn, their own personal future. Individual investment towards legitimate goals, such as post secondary education, apprenticeship training, volunteer work, and so on, reduces the likelihood that one will engage in criminal activities. The risk of losing that investment, as in the case of being identified as a criminal, becomes too costly thereby encouraging conformity. A lack of commitment results in reckless behaviour, as it is assumed delinquents have not been socialised to be responsible, and therefore, to fear the consequences of their actions.

Involvement refers to the amount of time that one spends participating in the pursuit of conventional goals. The more time that one spends in legitimate activities, the less time one has to become involved in delinquent behaviour. Here the phrase, "Idle

hands are the devil's workshop" has been used to express the basic assumptions of this type of bond. Delinquent behaviour arises out of a lack of availability, or interest in, legitimate activities.

Finally, belief refers to the individual's belief in societal norms and values. In other words, it is the strength of the belief in conformity that becomes important. The individual may hold delinquent values, but it is the extent of the belief in societal values, or conformity, that deters criminal behaviour. Delinquents do not hold a strong belief in societal norms and values, and therefore do not fear violation of these rules of conformity.

For Hirschi, one of the driving assumptions in this theory is the amount and quality of socialisation the individual receives while he or she is young. A person commits deviant acts when they are not prevented from doing so by internal and external controls. People commit crimes when the bonds to society are weak or broken. This theory assumes that all people have the propensity to commit crime because people are egocentric and wish to satisfy immediate desires.

With respect to sexual assault, proponents of control theory would argue that all people have the propensity to commit rape but, because we are constrained by our bonds to others, we do not. In a study analysing sexual arousal patterns, a substantial number of men were found to have similar sexual arousal patterns to convicted rapists when shown images of rape and consensual sex scenarios (Malamuth, 1986). Therefore, both known rapists and non-rapists seem to react similarly to sexual stimulus. Both groups of men found the consensual and the non-consensual scenarios stimulating. However, even though both groups of men react similarly, only a portion of men have actually acted out

to gratify these feelings that they get from non-consensual sexual acts. This would appear to support the control theory assumption that all men have the propensity for sexual assault, but exercise control over these urges. Control theory assumes that those who commit this crime have developed poor social bonds to others and society in general. Even though all men in the Malamuth study had the propensity for rape, those who had actually done so are argued to have under-developed social bonds to society.

More specifically, control theory predicts that rapists probably had poor social bonds to parents and teachers. Evidence of social bonding of sex offenders is somewhat mixed. In studies comparing rapists to other sex offenders, and non-sexual offenders, child molesters and rapists were significantly more likely to report having been sexually abused as children (Overholser and Beck, 1989; Seghorn et al, 1987). This suggests that bonds to role models as a child may have been fairly difficult given the increased likelihood of abuse. However, other studies have shown that rapists did not report higher levels of childhood sexual abuse or drug abuse when compared to other felons (Scully, 1990). Other evidence indicates that as adults, sex offenders have considerable difficulty developing intimate bonds with others, resulting in strong feelings of loneliness (Seidman, et al, 1994). Control theory also predicts that rapists will have had difficulty holding to long term commitments such as schooling or employment, are less likely to be involved in conventional activities on a regular basis, and are probably not religious or do not hold much faith in the laws governing the society in which they live. However, to my knowledge, there has not been a specific study testing these hypotheses with sexual offenders.

Crime prevention, according to control theory, occurs when bonds to others and society are strong, or in the case of rehabilitation, strengthened. Potential offenders, who have strong attachments to parents and teachers, are involved in more traditional activities, who are encouraged to invest in their future, and believe in the norms and mores of society, are less likely to commit crime. Given that most rapists are males and most victims are female, perhaps strengthening bonds of young males to female role models might be one prevention strategy suggested by this theory.

Control theory has had several criticisms lobbed against it (see Naffine, 1987). Critics suggest that this theory was designed to explain crime generally, rather than specific acts of crime. This theory falls short of explaining why the crime of rape becomes the expression of these lack of social bonds. Further, this theory does not acknowledge the power dynamic behind the act of sexual assault. Theories which seek to include this dynamic, or understand the specific crime of rape, may serve as better explanatory tools of offender motivation and behaviour.

The General Theory of Crime and the Role of Pornography

The General Theory of Crime (1990), proposed by Michael R. Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi, argues that lack of social control, coupled with opportunity, causes crime. Gottfredson and Hirschi propose a definition of crime that is "culture-free", not defined in behaviourist or legalistic terms, includes the majority of crimes committed, and finally, transcends social groupings. They root their definition of crime in the classical assumption that human behaviour, both criminal and non-criminal, is motivated by self interest.

> In this conception, crimes are acts in which force or fraud are used to satisfy self interest, where self interest refers to the enhancement of pleasure and the avoidance of pain.
>
> (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990:175)

The authors assert that criminality is the result of low self control. They argue that people with low self control tend to follow short term goals without considering the long term consequences of their actions.

However, low self control, while necessary, is not sufficient for criminality. The potential offender must also be presented with the opportunity to commit an offence. People with low self control, who are presented with a criminal opportunity, will take advantage of it. If, for example, a wallet was found lying in a corridor, a person with low self control would take the contents of the wallet, thereby not earning the money through slower, more conventional means. A person with higher self control might take steps to try and locate the owner of the wallet without removing any of its contents.

Low self control is assumed to be established, through socialisation, early in life. Once established, it is assumed to stay relatively constant over the life course. Gottfredson and Hirschi further maintain that individuals raised in "stable" families are more likely to be socialised to realise the long term consequences of their actions and are more likely to suffer if they act without considering behavioural ramifications. The general theory of crime argues that criminal behaviour is not separate from other forms of behaviour. In essence, it is a learning theory. This theory suggests that criminal and non-criminal behaviour are socialised within the same learning environment. Under the assumptions of this theory, all people have the potential to be criminal.

The general theory of crime has specific implications for the crime of sexual assault. Rapists, as with any other criminals, are assumed to have low self control. They are more likely to engage in activities that are immediately gratifying when the opportunity presents itself. This assertion is supported by evidence suggesting that those who engage in delinquency are more likely to engage in drug and alcohol abuse (Arneklev, Grasmick and Tittle, 1993; Sorenson and Brownfield, 1995), are more likely to suffer with personality disorders and report higher levels of aggression at early ages (Polakowski, 1994), have lower verbal test scores and lower grade point averages (Brownfield and Sorenson, 1993), and are more likely to drive while under the influence of alcohol (Keane, Maxim, and Teevan, 1993). Although there are no specific studies looking at the crime of sexual assault to test the general theory of crime, we can assume that these general indicators of low self control for delinquency, also hold for the specific crime of sexual assault.

Viewing pornography is argued to be a mechanism for instant sexual gratification. Most pornography is easily attainable in books, magazines, or on video cassette and can be viewed, at any time and repeatedly, after purchase. This availability satisfies an instant need for sexual stimulation. Under the general theory of crime, rapists are probably more likely to engage in viewing pornography and participate in other activities that objectify women for self gratification. Although this theory has not been tested with the specific crime of sexual assault, evidence does suggests that there is an increase in sexual assault rates in areas where there are higher subscription rates to pornographic magazines (Baron and Strauss, 1989). Additional evidence reported by actual rapists also suggests that

many have a problem with self control (Greendlinger and Byrne, 1987). Greendlinger and Byrne (1987) also report that in addition to other explanations of why rapists committed rape, 23% said they did so because they became so excited they could not stop themselves.

In a similar vein, Kanin (1984), analysing 71 self-reported date rapists identified two factors that were significant predictors of sexual assault. The first was the offender's perception of whether the victim was sexually aroused, which in turn aroused the offender. If this was the case, rapists report that their own arousal was too strong, and therefore the woman's attempts to stop the behaviour were ignored. The other significant predictive behaviour was the consumption of alcohol, which also reduces inhibitions, and therefore self-control. In a later study (Kanin, 1985), these same date rapists were also reported to have had more sexual encounters, more successful sexual encounters, and require more orgasms per week to satisfy their sexual desires. This supports Hirschi and Gottfredson's assumption that criminals are characterised by lower levels of self control and higher levels of the need for instant gratification.

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), prevention of crime can only ultimately be achieved over the long-term solution. That is, we must teach our children to delay gratification when they are young so as to get them to control their impulsive behaviour. Encouraging your children to take a paper route, or encouraging parents not to give in immediately to their child's demands, are actions that would teach children to delay gratification. By doing this, the authors assert crime will decrease as crime is an impulsive act. Once we gain control over our need for pleasure and instant gratification,

through adequate socialisation, crime will become less appealing behaviour.

This theory has been criticised on several levels, especially in its inability to adequately explain the specific crime of rape (Miller and Burack, 1993.) First, this theory is criticised for ignoring gender, race and class as power relationships. The assertion that certain groups have more or less self control is an inadequate explanation of the dynamic nature of crime. It ignores that there may be other forces at work contributing to delinquency, and ignores the fact that not all individuals start their lives with the same advantages. Second, the authors dismiss or mischaracterize the violence committed against women with respect to rape and intimate violence. Finally Miller and Burack argue that Hirschi and Gottfredson ignore feminist scholarship looking at the dynamics of interfamilial relationships and division of labour among its members. This results in the scape-goating of the mother as a source of ineffective child rearing, and hence socialisation practices.

Power Control Theory of Crime and Feminist Theories of Rape

Power control theory brings together conflict-oriented theories with social control theories of family relationships. Developed by John Hagan, Ron Gillis, and John Simpson (Hagan, 1996, 1989a, 1989b; Hagan Simpson and Gillis, 1979. 1987, 1988), this theory attempts to explain why males engage in more risk-taking behaviour than do females. The authors suggest that, in Western society, parents are instruments of control over their children. It is this control, through socialisation, that conditions the gendered identity of the child. Therefore, delinquency is directly related to the level of parental control over

the child(ren).

Briefly, power control theory argues that males engage in risk-taking behaviour, such as delinquent acts, because they are less restricted by the family than are females. For example, males may be allowed to go out more often, as well as stay out later, as parents are generally less concerned about a male child's safety, as they are for a female child. The authors analysed patriarchal families (in which the consumption and production spheres were more strictly divided by gender) and compared them with more egalitarian homes (where consumption and production spheres are undivided by gender). More delinquency was evidenced by females and males from egalitarian homes than patriarchal homes. This finding suggests that the level of control over males, and particularly females, of the household dictated by the power relations within the home does affect the level of delinquent behaviour participation.

In sum then, power-control theory assumes that society is stratified along gendered lines, where males have more access to resources and more social freedom than do women. This control is reproduced in the family, where females are more restricted in their risk-taking behaviour than are males. The comparative lack of restriction of males leads males to have greater willingness for risk-taking behaviour both as juveniles and in the labour force. It is this risk-taking behaviour that translates into delinquency, leading to criminal activity being divided along gendered lines, with the majority being committed by males. Women are more likely to be victims, than offenders, of crime in a society where males control more power. To be the victim of a crime is to be made to feel powerless. In a society characterised by patriarchy, it is not unexpected that women are more often

victims than offenders. Crime becomes one of many ways that one class of people gain control over another.

With respect to the specific crime of sexual assault, feminists have argued that this form of violence serves to dominate women by keeping women in a perpetual state of fear, and thus under male control. Sexual assault, or the threat of sexual assault, becomes prominent in patriarchal societies. This type of control, it is argued, should lead to women restricting their behaviour and therefore having less freedom than men to participate in all aspects of society. Several studies have found that women consistently report higher levels of fear and therefore exhibit more restrictive behaviour in day to day activities (See for example: Ferraro, 1995; Gordon and Riger, 1989; Warr 1985, to name a few).

Males, because they are more often in positions of power, both in the household and in the labour force, are more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviour and therefore more criminal activity. Rape is a crime most likely to be committed by men in effort to gain control over women. The damage that this crime inflicts is further compounded by traditional patriarchal beliefs that women who are raped are considered "damaged goods", reverting back to more traditional ideas where women were considered to be property and to have more value for marriage if kept in a virginal state.

Sexual scripts, or ascribed roles for males and females where men are perceived as more dominant and females are more passive or submissive, would also be an expected manifestation of patriarchal control over women. Dating rituals between male and female adolescents dictate roles where males are expected to be more aggressive in pursuing sexual relations than are females. Females are stereotyped as being the "gatekeepers" of

sexual relations, in that they can either permit or deny males sexual access to their bodies. Young males, in many cases, are taught that women are supposed to deny sexual relations. However, they may also be taught that sexual relations can be achieved through more persistent and/or aggressive behaviour. What this teaching implies to men and women is that women, although responsible for the sexual access to their own bodies, do not really want to have this responsibility. If it is taken from them, through persuasion, coercion, and even force, it is what women desire. There appears to be some evidence to support this. Many young women reported that women should pretend to resist sexual advances by males even when, in fact, they wish to participate in sexual activities (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988). Further, stronger beliefs in the more traditional views of male and female roles have been found among self-reported rapists (Peterson and Franzese, 1987).

Parrot (1989) found that date rapists reported they did not actually realise what they had done was wrong, suggesting that these men also believed in the "no means yes" rape myth. In addition, a study by Koss et al (1985), analysing non-stranger sexual aggression, found that men who have threatened or actually used force to gain non-consensual intercourse adhered to several rape-supportive attitudes. These men were more likely to attribute adversarial qualities to interpersonal relationships, accept sex-role stereotypes, believe in myths about rape, feel that rape prevention is a woman's responsibility, and view sex and aggression as going together. Such attitudes serve to reinforce the legitimacy of rape in the minds of men and therefore their social position of dominance over women.

In a similar vein feminist theories, regarding the specific crime of sexual assault,

hold that rape serves to perpetuate male dominance over women. Rape, it is argued, is the result of traditional modes of behaviour where males control all key positions of social, economic, and political power. This is manifested in the way women are treated, as in the case of prostitution (Brownmiller, 1975). The sex trade industry is largely utilised by men who are willing to finance their sexual needs using prostitutes. The majority of men involved in the prostitution industry supply sexual gratification for other men, either as prostitutes, or as "pimps"[2]. These men not only control who and where women engage in sexual activity with, but also monies received as a result of doing so. Women become commodities in the sex trade industry, to be bought and sold.

The pornography industry also serves to perpetuate male dominance over women (Dworkin, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1985). Under these circumstances women are often portrayed as passive or submissive, often in humiliating or degrading situations. Pornographic images of women serve to objectify the female body, thereby reducing men's identification with women as human beings. These images are produced, and reproduced, for a predominantly male audience.

Because women are excluded from political and economic processes, they are denied the power to control their situation, as in the case of matters concerning rape prevention, the sentencing of those who sexually assault, and rape legislation. This reinforces women's powerlessness relative to men. This inability to affect how men interact with women sexually serves to create a "feedback process" (Rigor and Gordon, 1981). Women come to fear rape and, in many cases, liken this crime to being murdered

[2] Pimps are more often male than female and who have access and control over prostitutes.

(Warr, 1985), and learn to restrict their behaviour so as to not come into contact with males who may potentially serve as a threat of sexual assault. Because women restrict themselves to "safe" activities, or "protective conditions" women are prevented from achieving occupational, economic, and political status, thus perpetuating women's inferior status (Riger and Gordon, 1981).

Both power-control theory and feminist theories are somewhat ambiguous as to how to reduce or prevent crime. Although power-control theory is not a victimisation theory per se, it does suggest that women are more likely to be victims of crime than offenders of crime. Because women have less power in society, they are less likely to engage in risk-taking behaviour. Similarly, feminist theories see the specific act of rape as reinforcing the male domination of women. Therefore, both power-control theory and feminist theories would agree that a more equal distribution of power in society would change this relationship. However, the direction of that change is in question (Ellis, 1989; Ellis and Beattie, 1983). Reducing the sex disparities within society may serve to reduce the number of sexual assaults or it may increase them due to males trying to re-establish their dominant positions of power (Baron and Straus, 1984; Gibbons, 1987).

TRANSACTION THEORIES

Routine Activities and Lifestyles Theory

Routine activities theory is most commonly associated with the work of Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979). These theorists argue that the occurrence rate of criminal events is related to the everyday events of life. Everyday activities include,

obtaining shelter, child rearing, work habits, leisure activities, obtaining food, sleeping habits, and so on. As social interaction changes, the rate of criminal activity also changes. Where there is disruption of these events, social disorganisation may occur.

Cohen and Felson (1979) propose that three conditions must be met in order for an offence to occur. First, like other theories popular in the 1970's, it was proposed that there must be a motivated offender. Second, there must be a 'suitable target'. Lastly, there must be an absence of capable guardianship against crime. Offenders take advantage of criminal opportunities requiring the least effort, and are the most obvious, posing a minimal amount of risk to the offender (Felson, 1987). Where one or more of these conditions are missing, the event is unlikely to occur.

For example, for sexual assault to occur, three conditions must be met to increase the likelihood that the event will occur. First, there must be some motivation to commit this offence, on the part of a potential offender. He or she must have the attitudes and rationalisations in order to commit this offence (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Second, there must be a potential victim or target. That is, there must be an individual or individuals the potential offender has access to in order to commit the offence. Finally, the offender must be able to carry out the task without interruption if it is to be completed successfully. If there is another person or persons present at the potential crime scene, who act as guardians and therefore may interfere with the criminal act, it is less likely that the crime will occur.

This theory also predicts that where there are changes to routine activities, there will be corresponding changes in criminal activities. Where this occurs on a larger scale,

changes in overall crime trends will result. Cohen and Felson point to the changes in crime after World War II as evidence of this prediction. After W.W. II, there was a substantial boom in the Western economy, and as a result activities that normally would have occurred around the home, such as dining and recreation, began to occur outside the home. This resulted in more time where houses where left unoccupied, and therefore more tempting for people to break into. Further with developments in technology, such as the silicon chip, electronic items became smaller and lighter, making them easier to steal or remove from lawful owners and locations, respectively.

Routine activities theory argues that offenders have increased potential to commit sexual assault where a motivated offender, a suitable target, and lack of capable guardianship come together in time and place. Sacco and Kennedy (1994), however, argue that although these three features may come together in time and place, it does not necessarily determine that the sexual assault will occur. How the victim reacts to the offender may change the course of potential events. For example, if the victim forcefully resists the attacker, and/or runs away, the assault cannot continue. Edgerton (1978) found that 60% of rape victims in her study put up some sort of resistance which significantly raised the chance of thwarting the event, but also increased the chance of the victim being injured.

It should be noted that routine activities theory differs from others of its time as it assumes the offender is motivated. How the offender achieves this motivation is not a focal point of this theory. This theory is more concerned with the event itself, and the activities surrounding the criminal event, rather than looking at the causal factors of how

the criminal comes to commit crime. In other words, this theory is more about crime, or factors closer in time to the criminal event, than it is about criminality. This theory also addresses not only the offender but the activities of the victim as well. Both lifestyle and routine activity theories are inter-linked in that they assume criminal behaviour and victimisation are affected by daily activity or lifestyle. Lifestyle theory was developed to answer more specific questions about victimisation.

Lifestyle theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garafalo, 1978), is based on analysis of victimisation data, looking at the association between individual lifestyle and various demographic variables such as age, sex, race, marital status, and income. Their research revealed several trends of individual's daily activities that increased, or decreased, personal victimisation risk. As a result of their research they proposed eight propositions:

1. The more time individuals spend in public places (especially at night), the more likely it is that they will be victimised.

2. Following certain lifestyles makes an individual more likely to frequent public places.

3. The interactions that people maintain tend to be with persons who share their lifestyles.

4. The probability that an individual will be a victim increases with the extent to which the victims and offenders belong to the same demographic categories.

5. The proportion of time one spends in places where there are large numbers of nonfamily members varies according to lifestyle.

6. The chance that an individual will be a victim of crime (particularly theft) increases in conjunction with the amount of time he or she spends among nonfamily members.

7. Differences in lifestyle relate to the individuals' ability to isolate themselves from those with offender characteristics.

8. Variations in lifestyle influence convenience, desirability, and ease of victimizing an individual.

(Sacco and Kennedy, 1994:97)

The basic proponents of routine activities theory have been explained above, with respect to the offender. This theory also explains victimisation using the same proponents. Using the research carried out by Hindelang et al (1978), routine activities theory argues that victims who engage in particular activities at particular times and places, are more likely to come in contact with victimisers (as in the case of violent crime) or be otherwise victimised (as in the offence of break and enter). A study conducted by Schwartz and Pitts (1995) demonstrated exactly this relationship. They found that women who were sexually victimised were more likely to consume alcohol more often than other women, and they were more likely to drink more on the occasions when they went out. Therefore women who are more likely to frequent bars or taverns, and to consume more alcohol while they are there, are more likely to come in contact with potential offenders. Her lifestyle, or routine activities, are likely to increase her risk of being victimised.

Prevention of crime, according to routine activities and lifestyles theory, is the responsibility of the victim. A potential victim must take action that would reduce possible opportunities for criminals to act. This is done by either altering one's routines to become less predictable to the criminal, or making the target less appealing to a potential offender. For example, a woman who has fears about being sexually assaulted may change her route to work periodically and possibly try and leave her home and/or the

office at varying times. She may also choose to carry a weapon, if out alone, or be less likely to wear high heeled shoes, which are difficult to run in if she feels threatened. It is assumed that the offender will act, given the opportunity, and it is up to the potential victim to make sure that this risk is minimised.

Situated Transaction Theory

Originally coined by Goffman (1963), and later adopted by Luckenbill (1977), the term "situated transaction" refers to a chain of interaction between two or more individuals. This interaction lasts the time they find one another in each other's immediate physical presence (Goffman, 1963: 167). Following in the tradition of the dramaturgical approach, what becomes important is the role one plays during the transaction and whether or not it is convincing. The initial purpose of the interaction is to extract information from one another. When enough information has been extracted for one or both of the individuals to define the situation, the roles can be acted out (Martin, Mutchnik, and Austin, 1990:332). People enter in and out of thousands of these transactions over the lifecourse. Although most are happy and/or unremarkable occasions, some are not.

Luckenbill (1977), in his study of 70 homicidal transactions in California county, drew upon a symbolic interactionist approach to explain some of the circumstances surrounding the event. First, he found that all such transactions occurred on occasions of non-work and leisure time, with the majority being committed between six p.m. and two a.m., especially on weekends. Second, Luckenbill found that the homicides were often

characterised by "loose" informal affairs, such as home gatherings, and "hanging out" on a street corner or local tavern. A third and unusual observation was the number of times that the offender and the victim were known to each other. Through a series of six stages, these criminal situated transactions become "character contests" where "saving face" plays a major role over the course of the criminal event. Under this approach, even though the conditions are appropriate for a crime to occur, the victim and offender are not committed to participating in a crime. It depends on what how the potential victim and offender choose to play the roles they are in.

Luckenbill identified six distinct stages of a transaction that resulted in homicide. However, these stages can be applied to other scripts of criminal interaction, with some limitations, such as sexual assault. The initial stage, or opening move in the transaction, involves an initial threat to the (eventual) victim, to the "face" of the (eventual) victim. In the case of sexual assault, this stage is omitted, as the (eventual) victim does not originally pose a threat to the offender. The motivation behind the crime is different, than in the case of homicide. Although two people come together in a transaction, it is generally not a result of the victim initially posing a threat.

Luckenbill goes on to explore 5 other stages of the homicide transaction. The second phase of interaction in the homicide transaction is when the offender finds the actions of the (eventual) victim offensive. In the third phase the (eventual) victim chooses to stand his or her ground, or "save face". The offender, in phase four, demands restitution. In stage five, both the offender and the victim are committed to battle. The victim eventually falls to the ground completing the sixth phase of the homicide

transaction.

Luckenbill's research and interaction theory was clearly developed to understand the dynamics of the specific event of homicide. Therefore his series of six stages, describes the most common "script" of the criminal event of homicide. Sexual assault scripts are clearly different as it is a crime that usually does not come about as a result of an argument. It is an event typically initiated by the offender. It is at the point when the (potential) victim refuses to participate in sexual acts with the (potential) offender, that a situation has the potential to be defined as a crime by those involved. Therefore, the altercation stages originally put forth by Luckenbill to describe the homicide event, do not apply to the sexual assault event. To illustrate this point, the example of sexual assault, carried out by a date or partner, will be used. More specifically, I will refer to the specific case of where a date or boyfriend sexually assaults a female. This is a more common case scenario known as "date-rape".

In the first stage of the sexual assault carried out by a date or boyfriend, the (eventual) victim recognises that the person she is with is making unwanted sexual advances. At this point, she may try and deter the (eventual) offender with either verbal or physical gestures, indicating she is uncomfortable with his advances. The second stage commences at the point when the offender acknowledges that the victim is resisting his sexual advances, but chooses to either to ignore her protests, or misunderstands her behaviour as feigned or "token" resistance.

Stage three of the sexual assault script, is similar to the "fight or flight" stage in Luckenbill's homicide script. Eventually the victim is faced with either fighting her

attacker, in order to get him to cease his behaviour, or running to try and get away from him. This is not the only resistance strategy at her disposal. For example, she may choose the option of "going cold". That is, she may simply stop reacting to him. The purpose of this behaviour is to passively resist the attacker. This strategy may be chosen as she may interpret cues given off by the offender that aggressive behaviour may in fact escalate the situation leading to more serious injury. Therefore, passive resistance becomes another strategy by which she can attempt to protect herself. In stage four the attacker now aware that she is resisting, continues to sexually molest his victim against her wishes, if she has not had the opportunity to run. Either he completes sexual acts to his own satisfaction, or he coerces her into performing various sexual acts either by threat or by force.

According to Luckenbill, in the final stage, the offender either turns himself in or is reported to the police. This dichotomous outcome is not applicable to the script of sexual assault. In the case of homicide, it is clear when a crime has been committed. At the end of the homicide transaction, there is usually one or more live persons and one or more dead persons. However, when someone has been sexually assaulted, there are a number of factors entering into the situation that may change the course of the event. In this case there are several possible outcomes depending on how both the victim and the offender react to the event. Unlike in Luckenbill's homicide script, the victim is still alive and must continue to be considered in the script.

The likelihood of the offender turning himself in, in this situation, is rare. This may happen for several reasons. First, the attacker may not feel that what he did was wrong. He may have perceived the women feigning resistance as part of some ploy to make the

sexual act more of a challenge. He may perceive the women in this case, as simply trying to show him that she was not "easy" and that having sex was something she really wanted. If he is aware that what he has done is in fact a sexual assault, he may engage in some sort of techniques of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza, 1957), in order to justify his actions. Both possible scenarios result in the offender not turning himself in.

Unlike Luckenbill's "homicide script" not only does the offender hold power in this situation, but the victim also has some potential to alter the course of the event as well. After the transaction has been completed, she may not define the assault as a crime. Even though she did not wish to have this man impose sexual acts on her, she may hold the belief that this is part of male-female dynamics, and therefore not report it. If she does feel that she has been violated in some way, she may engage in self blame, looking to her own actions as cause for the event to have occurred. Under these circumstances, the crime will also not be reported.

If the crime is reported to the police, it is most likely to be by the victim of the assault. It is up to the victim to decide not only whether or not she feels that a crime has been committed, but also whether or not to get the authorities involved. Involving the police takes a tremendous amount of courage. By involving the criminal justice system the victim has the onus of proving that a crime was committed against her persons. Reporting the offence to the police leaves her vulnerable to the risk of double victimisation, where the victim is not only victimised by the offender, but then again by the criminal justice system, in their attempt to decide on the guilt or innocence of the offender (Lee and Gamble, 1989). This is due to the fact that in many cases the victim is the only

witness to the event and it is the courts responsibility to challenge the credibility of the witness. Thus, she must consider the possibility of having circumstances of her life opened up to the court, to judge her ability as an adequate witness. The alleged offender under Canadian law is innocent until proven guilty. In essence, the law protects those accused of sexual assault in many ways better than those who are victims of this crime. Needless to say, the most common response by the victim to a sexual assault is not to report it (Johnson, 1996).

In sum then, theories of the transaction seek to understand the circumstances immediately surrounding and while the actual crime is taking place. Routine activities theory and lifestyles theory suggest that certain conditions must be met before a criminal transaction can occur and these, in turn, are predicated on the lifestyles of those involved. Once involved, Luckenbill (1977) asserts that during the transaction there are certain events that can affect the outcome of the criminal incident. Once the transaction has reached some sort of final point, it is principally the victim who experiences the strongest reaction to the crime.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE AFTERMATH OF CRIME

Within criminology, there are few theories to explain what happens to the victim after a crime has been committed. However, within the discipline of psychology, there have been several studies that look at the aftermath of sexual assault. In fact, there have been several psychological studies that analyse the effects of not only victimisation, but sexual victimisation. However, unlike theories generated about precursory factors and

offender behaviour, or theories of the transaction, theories about the aftermath have been more descriptive, although there have been a designated set of symptoms that have been associated with trauma. These will be discussed below.

According to Hemingson (1994), symptoms have been grouped into two main categories: the impact of sexual victimisation on physical, sexual and psychological functioning and second, psychiatric conditions. The reader should keep in mind that these categories are not meant to be mutually exclusive. For example, physical problems are often the result of cognitive processes, emotional difficulties are associated with changes in behaviour, and so on. What follows is a brief summary of the extensive research that has been done in this area.

Survivors of sexual abuse manifest the symptoms of their abuse in various ways. Physically, they are more likely to be overweight and/or suffer from obesity, report more frequent gastrointestinal distress, and are more likely to suffer from headaches (Felitti, 1991). In a similar vein, other studies have reported incest survivors can experience symptoms such as fainting, paralysis of limbs, hysterical seizures, and chronic pelvic pain (Albach and Everard, 1992; Bagley and King, 1990; Meiselman, 1990).

Sexually, survivors of sexual abuse report higher levels of promiscuity (Herman, 1981; Tsai, et al, 1979, Westerlund, 1992), and involvement in prostitution (Bagley and Young, 1987). They are also more likely to report pain during sexual intercourse, desire dysfunction, arousal dysfunction, and fear of sex (Becker, et al, 1986; Westerlund, 1992). In addition, Westerlund observed that women who had been sexually abused more often reported difficulty achieving orgasm, reproductive difficulties, having altered body

perceptions, and flashbacks of the abuse and/or the abuser.

Psychological problems experienced by those who have been sexually abused can be broken down into three areas: cognitive, emotional and behavioural functioning. Cognitively, self-blame is the most frequent symptom reported by sexually abused individuals (Engle, 1989). When self-blame is looked at in relation to overall adjustment, it was found that it is associated more often with depression (Hoagwood, 1990; Morrow, 1991), low self-esteem (Dyck, et al, 1991; Gold 1986; Morrow, 1991) and psychological distress (Gold, 1986). Sexual abuse survivors are more likely to entertain self-denigratory beliefs such as a general sense of being bad, feelings of unworthiness or worthlessness, feeling damaged, stigmatised and/or inferior, and difficulty trusting people (Jehu, et al, 1988; Russell, 1986; Herman, 1981) and eventually feelings of low self-esteem (Briere and Runtz, 1989). Emotionally, sexually abused women report higher levels of depression, anxiety, anger, fear, and guilt or shame (Greenwald et al 1990a, 1990b; Jehu, et al, 1988; Russell, 1986; Herman, 1981), although depression is by far the most widely cited and measured symptom among survivors (Briere and Runtz, 1993). Behaviourally, sexual abuse survivors have more difficulty interacting with others (Blume, 1990; Daie et al. 1989; Finkelhor et al, 1989; Meiselman, 1990; Schiller, 1988), addictions to alcohol and drugs (Briere and Runtz, 1993; Herman, 1981), self-mutilation and higher rates of suicide (Briere and Runtz, 1993).

According to the psychiatric profession, those who have been sexually abused have been diagnosed with a variety of pathologies. Many of the symptoms mentioned above, such as unstable relationship patterns, affective instability, inappropriate anger, and

suicidal or self mutilation behaviour are characteristics of what has come to be known as borderline personality disorder (Frances, 1987). Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), characterised by symptoms such as fear, anger, anxiety, depression, and somatic disorder, is commonly experienced by women immediately after the assault (Albach and Everard, 1992). Women with eating disorders are more likely to report sexual abuse (Steiger and Zanko, 1990). In addition, clinical disorders such as major depression, agoraphobia, obsessive-compulsive disorder, social phobia, substance addictions, and multiple personalities have been associated with sexual abuse (Hunter, 1991; Parker and Parker, 1991; Meiselman, 1990; Saunders et al, 1992).

CONCLUSION

In sum this chapter, utilising the criminal event perspective, has attempted to summarise current theorising in the area of offending and victimisation, and extrapolate this information to the specific criminal event of sexual assault. I have done this by outlining some of the theories that have been constructed around various different time segments of the criminal event. Most theorising in the area of criminology has been concerned with the precursors to crime: what predisposes, motivates, or allows an opportunity for an offence to take place? These precursory theories are more concerned with criminal offenders, and less concerned with those who are victimised, or the circumstances under which the victim come together in time and place.

There is considerably less theorising done on the transaction itself. This chapter has briefly reviewed routine activities theory, as well as situated transaction theory, which

are the only theories to date that focus on the actual criminal incident. These theories look to both the offender and the victim to solve some of the mysteries of criminal interaction.

Psychology has been principally responsible for the work focusing on the aftermath of crime. What is evident from the sociological, criminological, and psychological theorising above is that the victim of rape, regardless of the motivation of the offender, is never the same person after this type of event. There is much documentation pointing to the many ways that women have coped with being the victim of this type of trauma. The psychological reactions vary in time, and across individuals. This reaction can manifest cognitively, emotionally, and behaviourally producing symptoms that psychologists have come to recognise as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

The criminal event perspective asserts that there are many differing factors that enter into a single criminal event. Not only must we consider information on the offender, but also the victim, the situation in which the event occurs, the type of crime that occurred, and what happened after the event. In the chapter that follows, I will summarise some evidence that looks at some of the factors that have been associated with violence against women.

CHAPTER THREE

Operationalising the Sexual Assault Event

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, many theories were summarised that explain, in various ways, the three main components of the criminal event. This chapter is dedicated to reviewing some of the correlates of women's victimisation, with specific focus on the crime of sexual assault. Much of the research cited in this chapter emerged out of the theoretical works in the previous chapter. In essence, this chapter is dedicated to a literature review examining various empirical studies which analysed factors that both reduce and increase women's potential for victimisation. This review will recap some previous investigations that have been done, as well as to set the framework for some central questions that are the focus of this dissertation.

For example, how do Canadian women, who are sexually assaulted, adjust to life after the attack? Do these women experience a greater fear of victimisation than other

women who have not experienced this event? Do women who are sexually assaulted suffer from more severe adjustment problems than those who experience other forms of assault? Do certain factors affect how women adjust to an assault? What circumstances surrounding the sexual assault affect fear of victimisation and adjustment? These are some of the questions which will be addressed in this dissertation. This research will be undertaken with the intent of filling some of the gaps between research on sexual assault, fear of victimisation, and psychological reaction. Empirically, this dissertation builds upon existing research, and offers a critical assessment of current knowledge. As stated, only recently have we began to realise the scope of violence against women. Many women who are physically abused at home, or who have been sexually assaulted, tend not to report the crimes perpetrated against them (Johnson, 1996,; Canada, 1993). These crimes, as a result, are not recorded in official data such as the Uniform Crime Reports. Since these crimes are not recorded by the police they have avoided official detection. This "hidden" nature of women's victimisation implies there is much about violence against women we do not understand. In addition, official data often lack information on relevant sociological and psychological variables. Official statistics are only concerned with the particulars of what lead up to the criminal act and the criminal act itself. The aftermath of crime, or in this case the adjustment to, and resulting fear of, victimisation is an area within criminology that is underdeveloped. Given the growing awareness of the "hidden" nature of women's victimisation, research in this area, at this point in time, is particularly appropriate. A multiphase statistical analysis is undertaken, to not only look at the nature and extent of sexual assault in Canada, but also to understand how women react, given

various life experiences and events surrounding the assault.

As I have said, sexual assault, in comparison to other types of violence against women, is a crime that Warr (1985) argues to be exceptionally terrifying. The after effects of rape can be more personally damaging because of the intimacy of the violence. Not only must she deal with the physical and emotional damage inflicted by the offender, she must deal with additional problems unique to sexual assault. Women who have experienced non-sexual assault do not have to deal with the stigma of an attack. Although rape is an act of violence, it is carried out in a sexual way. Sex between consenting adults is generally a private matter, but the nature of the attack forces this violent, private act into the public sphere. Therefore women who have been attacked in this way must deal with others, and their beliefs about rape, and its relationship to sex. Women who have experienced non-sexual assault also are less likely to be suspect as somehow precipitating the attack. Once the attack is recognised as sexual, it becomes important to identify the clothes the victim was wearing, whether she was in a dangerous area and "should have known better," and so on. In addition, women who have experienced a completed rape must also contend with the possibility of having contracted a sexually transmitted disease, or have become pregnant as a result of the attack. This is coupled with "myths" about male and female sexuality (Burt ,1980), that may serve to reinforce that the victim was to blame for the acts carried out against her will.

Yet, to my knowledge, there has not been a study that looks at how experience of extreme violence, such as being raped, affects overall fear levels, as compared to those who have experienced other types of violence, or those who have been lucky enough not

to have these experiences at all. This implies previous studies have assumed that rape is more severe than other types of violence. Although this would appear to be based in common sense, this assumption has not been based in scientific enquiry.

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The upcoming review of the evidence suggests that there seems to be patterns in women's fear of victimisation and reactive symptoms, with respect to assault and sexual assault. It has been reported that women who fear victimisation the most are those who are single, elderly, not well educated, have lower incomes, and have been previously victimised (Ferraro, 1995; Gordon and Riger, 1989). This holds especially true if we look at the crime of sexual assault. It has been suggested that this is the type of crime that women fear the most and feel most threatened by, even at what is considered by the law to be "minor" levels (Warr, 1984). This fear then, has become a major force in the experience of women. These findings have far reaching implications. Fully one half of the Canadian population consistently report higher levels of a general fear of victimisation, and what drives this fear among women is, according to both Warr (1985) and Ferraro (1996), the fear of being sexually assaulted.

Given that fear among Canadian women is wide spread, what are the factors that affect individual responses to this fear? Are the levels of this fear affected by certain life experiences? Do women who have been sexually assaulted fear victimisation more than women who have experienced physical assault, or who have never experienced an assault? How a person copes with being the victim of a crime, has also become the subject of

increasing interest over the last decade. There is the psychological adjustment to the crime where the individual must come to terms with what has happened to them within their own mind. Cognitively they must understand that they are not to blame themselves for the event, and learn not to engage in self denigration as a result of the event. Emotionally they must learn to deal with feelings, ranging from anger and frustration to severe depression, that emerge as a result of the crime(s) committed against them. Behaviourally, survivors of victimisation must learn to act on a daily basis with all the cognitive and emotional trauma that they are experiencing or have already experienced.

Evidence suggests that women use various coping strategies to deal with the reality of victimisation (Albach and Everard, 1992; Bagley and King, 1990; Briere and Runtz, 1993; Hemingston, 1994; Meiselman, 1990). Some methods may be more effective than others. Do certain characteristics of the victim affect how they will adjust to being victimised? What characteristics of the actual criminal event affect psychological reactions after these experiences. Finally, what coping mechanisms implemented after victimisation, aid or hinder this process? Research shows that women tend to exercise precautionary behaviour by either restricting their movements, or taking other preventative measures, especially if they have been previously victimised (Gordon and Riger, 1989). Finally, when these women do receive support after victimisation, either from the community or on a personal level, it is either inadequate or ineffectual (Baker et al, 1991; Davis et al, 1991; 1995; Sacco, 1993a; Wirtz, 1987). Who a person contacts, or comes in contact with, in the aftermath of the criminal event may affect how one adjusts to being victimised later in the lifecourse.

Although the research on women's victimisation, women's fear of being the victim of a crime, and adjustment to victimisation is extensive, much of the research carried out has utilised relatively small samples of women. Further, much of this research has been made possible by studying the responses of known groups of victimised women, such as those living in shelters, who have used a crisis line or have used a victim service. The results obtained from this type of research are informative, but may not be generalisable to the larger population. Do the results obtained from earlier studies, regarding the predisposition and reaction to sexual assault, hold up under analysis at a national level?

RISK FACTORS IN SEXUAL ASSAULT

Although not everyone has been victim of a crime, it is something that most people think about from time to time. Acts of crime, it is argued, touch everyone. Those fortunate enough not to have had this experience, or know someone who has, have probably read, watched, or listened to stories of those who have through newspapers, television, and radio. Criminal events and the after-effects of such events, on the whole, have come to be a powerful socialising force, affecting people both directly, and indirectly. Because women are the primary targets of sexual assault and domestic violence these experiences, whether relayed personally or through the media, have a particular effect on women and how women are perceived in a general sense by others.

Dines (1992) argues that images of violence against women, presented in the media, have long-term effects on the social construction of gender. In other words, images of acts of violence towards women influence how a woman comes to identify

herself as both an individual and a female within society. One "side-effect" of the portrayal of these images, is that women experience more fear. Not only can this fear be felt in the short term, but this fear may have longer lasting effects over the lifetime. Gordon and Riger (1989) have demonstrated that this fear may also be transmitted from generation to generation. Clearly, fear of victimisation is something most, if not all, people experience at various different levels. The purpose of this dissertation is to understand the dimensions of fear of victimisation, and subsequent adjustment, of women to being physically or sexually assaulted.

The Criminal Event of Sexual Assault

As outlined in the previous chapter, there are several ways of looking at the event of sexual assault. There are theories which explain the motivations or decisions of the offender. In addition, there are a small group of theories that examine the transaction itself. From the psychology literature, there are several studies carried out to explain what happens to an individual after they have experienced trauma. What follows is a brief literature review looking at the research which has been done analysing various stages of the criminal event.

Precursors

Gender -- Stanko (1992), has noted that surveys demonstrate that young men are at the highest risk for victimisation of all violent crime types with the exception of sexual assault. However, Stanko also indicates that women consistently report, on average, fear

of crime that is sometimes three times higher than males. This research supports earlier research carried out by LaGrange and Ferraro (1989) who found that regardless of how fear was measured. This has led some to conclude that women's fear of victimisation is more subjective than objective. Stanko agrees with Smith (1988) that this may be because this "fear of crime" paradox, fails to capture the lived experiences of women's physical and sexual violence. Stanko argues that conventional criminology tends to look at street crime and undermines the nature and scope of violence against women.

Research performed on women's fear of victimisation has lead Warr (1985) to conclude that because women report the highest fear ratings to sexual assault and homicide, fear of other types of criminal victimisation may actually be intertwined with the fear of rape. Therefore, women's fear of victimisation may be grounded on different foundations than men. Because men are less likely to be sexually assaulted, they are less likely to have a more intense fear of this very intrusive form of victimisation. These results have been supported by Ferraro (1995, 1996). Ferraro observed that women and men reported the same fear levels for non-violent crime. However, when the crime of rape was added into the fear category, women's reported fear rose significantly. Women's fear of rape in this study was found to be ten times that of men. Gordon and Riger (1989) argue that this is because women fear not only the violent act of rape, but the aftermath of rape as well. Many women reported that they would rather die than be raped, thereby illustrating the potential emotional devastation this crime can have. Gender, therefore, is the strongest predictor of fear of crime.

Age -- A woman's age also affects her fear of victimisation response. Evidence

shows that although the elderly are the most fearful of crime they are the least likely to be victimised when compared to other age groups (Clarke, 1985; Fattah, 1986; Kennedy and Silverman, 1985; Taylor, 1983; Yin, 1980). The most frequently victimised groups are the poor and the mentally challenged (Schmideberg, 1980). Nonetheless, fear of victimisation is most strongly felt by elderly women (Warr, 1984; Kennedy and Silverman, 1985). Elderly are largely the victims of theft as opposed to violence (Fattah, 1986). It is not necessarily an increase in vulnerability of the elderly that leads to elevated levels of victimisation but lifestyle elements, such as how much time is spent out of the home (Clarke at al, 1985; Fattah, 1986). Fattah (1986) also noted that when the elderly are victimised, the event has a disproportionately higher personal impact than on a younger victim.

It has been suggested that these high levels of fear reported by elderly women may be due to the fact that the majority of crime these women experience tends to be in the domestic environment (Jones, 1987). Therefore elderly women suffer from a specific type of vulnerability that other women do not. Pollock (1988), who interviewed a small sample of sex offenders, found that men who raped older women tended to be more brutal than those who assaulted younger victims and were motivated by anger, sadistic intent, and the need for power. Therefore, even though they are at a lower risk of victimisation than other segments of the population, the elderly may also have a greater potential for being victims of more serious crime. In addition, this evidence is compounded by the physical frailty and vulnerability of the victim, which puts the victim at a higher risk for more serious injury. In other words, the elderly may experience more fear of crime, and are less

likely to be victims of crime, but this is not surprising given the evidence.

On the other hand, Keane (1995), argues that there is a dual nature to women's fear: concrete fear and formless fear. Concrete fear is the fear associated with specific crimes. The implicit assumption here is that some crimes, such as rape, illicit more fear than others, for example theft. Alternatively formless fear, he argues, is fear of crime generally. It is not specific to time or event, but is related to the fear of being victimised generally. In particular, Keane found that women who were younger reported higher levels of both concrete and formless fear. In particular, his results show that younger women reported highest results for concrete fear, or fear of specific crimes. To this end his work supports earlier research (Warr, 1985) that found women reported fear of the specific crime of rape as almost equal to the perceived seriousness of murder. Also, according to Warr, women under the age of 35 fear rape more than any other crime.

Ferraro (1995) argues that, in fact, these seemingly opposing arguments are both true. Both through his own research, and the review of research performed by others, he argues that the relationship between age and fear of victimisation is curvilinear, with younger women and older women experiencing high levels of fear. Women between 40-50 years of age report the lowest levels of fear among women. Ferraro agrees with what Warr (1985) has suggested: younger women fear the act of sexual assault most. As these young women age, this fear subsides, to some degree. However, as they get older, the fear they report begins to increase as they are older and frailer than they used to be. This leaves elderly people feeling particularly vulnerable to potential criminals. Elderly women are more concerned with personal injury during the course of any crime, as physically they

are weaker and the potential for harm is greater. Rather than fearful of any particular crime, the elderly fear any potential threat of physical attack.

Finally, research by LaGrange and Ferraro (1989) have questioned this curvilinear age-fear relationship, using a LISREL model, revealing that the elderly do not experience higher levels of fear than younger women. They argue that fear among the elderly has been overestimated. When separating out other measures, it is the young who are most afraid of violent victimisation. Suffice to say, the age-fear relationship has been a source of great debate in the criminological literature.

Socio-Economic Status -- The literature examining the relationship between income and fear of crime has produced consistent findings that substantiate that lower income people report higher fear of crime levels (Keane, 1992; Roundtree and Land, In Press). It has been commonly accepted that level of income is likely to affect several lifestyle factors including where one lives. Ecological areas marked by low income tend to have higher crime rates than higher income ecological areas (Akers, 1994). As a result, people residing within low income neighbourhoods may experience an increased propensity towards risk of victimisation, thereby affecting fear of crime levels due to perceived increase in actual risk. In addition, lower income often restricts people's access to resources that reduce the risk of victimisation such as security systems, which those with higher incomes have easier access.

Keane (1995), using the Violence Against Women Survey, found that the strongest predictor of crime was living in an urban area. Using the variables of education and income as a proxies for socio-economic status (SES), Keane found that those women with

lower SES were more likely to worry about walking alone and being alone. These results are also supported by several others (See for example: Kennedy and Silverman, 1984; Schmideberg, 1980). Keane also found that this fear was stronger for single women, than for married women. Single women generally have the lowest average yearly income ($20, 600), being surpassed by single males ($26,100), single mothers ($23,300), single fathers ($35,400), and dual parent families ($59,700) (Statistics Canada, 1995). Because single women have less financial resources than married women, they are more vulnerable, adding to potential fear levels. For example, women are more likely than men to have jobs in low paying service industry jobs (Krahn and Lowe, 1993). These jobs are more often performed during shifts, and therefore single women in service industry jobs more likely to be out at night in order to maintain gainful employment. In addition, these women are probably more likely to have to use public transportation to get to and from these jobs, thereby further increasing their risk as these women cannot afford the safety and autonomy of their own vehicle for travel. As a result these women, because of the additional stresses of a lower income lifestyle may be at higher risk of exposure to criminal activity.

Married women also probably report less fear due to the fact there is, physically, another person they trust and are in regular contact with. According to the routine activities perspective, the presence of another person at a potential crime cite deters criminals from choosing a couple as victims. A single female walking alone is a less risky prospect than one who is walking with another person. A second person in a household can also offer more security against intruders. Therefore it is not entirely surprising that married women report less fear than do single women.

Previous Victimisation -- Prior victimisation also plays a significant role in victimisation fear. In a study analysing the relationship between fear of crime and prior victimisation (Parker, 1990), previous victimisation was found to be the most significant predictor of fear of crime for the total sample. That is, those women who had reported being victimised prior to the time of the survey were most likely to have the highest fear levels than other women in the survey. This relationship intensified when looking at specific groups within the study identified by gender, age, and race. Elderly, single, previously victimised, black females scored highest for fear of victimisation.

Although women who have been victimised demonstrate elevated levels of distress generally, when the victimisation takes place in the lifecourse also seems to have an effect on subsequent victimisation. Gidycz, et al, (1995) found evidence, when studying college women who had been sexually assaulted in early childhood and adolescence, suggesting that chances of being victimised in one time period increased with the greater severity of victimisation in the preceding time period.

Previous Sexual Victimisation -- In a classic study by Ageton (1983), data revealed that women who had experienced prior sexual victimisation were more vulnerable to repeat victimisation, than those who had not had this experience. Myers (1984) when comparing women who had been raped to those who had not, found that sexually victimised women experienced lower levels of self esteem and higher levels of depression. If the subject had a past history of drug or alcohol abuse, these effects were accentuated. Of those women who had been victimised, Esper (1986) recorded that survivors indicated that the experience of victimisation can dramatically increase the victim's fear, anxiety, and

anger. Further, Roth and Lebowitz (1988) have argued that, because those women who have been sexually traumatised are confronted with emotions and thoughts which are difficult to manage, this may lead to long term effects of victimisation. In other words, the sexual attack is but one phase of the emotional trauma that the victim must endure. The after effects of the criminal act prolong the trauma of the event, long after the criminal has ceased to be physically present.

Gutek and Koss (1993) suggest that women who have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace experience higher levels of stress thereby indirectly affecting the work environment. These women reported that their work was affected, and that they experienced psychological distress as well as sleeping disorders. Sexual harassment in settings other than the work place also affect women. Santelle and Leitenberg (1990) in their study of female undergraduate students, found that although the average time since the assault was 2 years, the women who had been assaulted reported more psychological problems than those who had not reported any incidence of sexual aggression.

Variables that are Precursory but Affect the Transaction

Actual Victimisation Risk -- Statistics Canada (1990) reported that there were an estimated 1,641,000 instances of victimisation reported to the police in 1987. Of these, it was estimated that 875,000 of the victims were men and 766,000 were female victims. This same study reported that an estimated 5,116,000, or 25%, of a potential 20,194,000 people, over the age of 15, reported they felt at least somewhat unsafe walking the streets alone in a neighbourhood at night. Study after study in this area has demonstrated that

generally higher levels of fear are experienced by women (Gordon and Riger, 1989; Ferraro, 1995)

The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (1996), reported a total of 6,487 sexual assault violations against female victims in 1994. One hundred and forty two of these were aggravated sexual assaults, while there were 221 sexual assaults committed with a weapon. The remaining violations were categorised as sexual assault (or assault level I) which are minor assaults.

Research has revealed that the fear of being victimised is not highly correlated with the probability of actual victimisation (Sparks and Ogles, 1990). Further, this same study goes on to suggest that media reports directly influence fear of victimisation. There are also several studies (Warr, 1987; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Clarke, 1984; Yin, 1980) which support the suggestion that gender and/or age are contributing factors affecting this fear. Therefore, even though the risk of criminal victimisation is relatively low, our fear of crime is disproportionately high.

Holly Johnson (1995) argues that the VAWS was constructed to be more sensitive to violence against women than pervious victimisation surveys. According to the VAWS 39 percent of women (an estimated 4.1 million) who responded to the survey reported being a victim of at least one sexual assault since age 16. Twenty four percent of women (an estimated 2.5 million) respondents stated that they were victim of sexual attack[1]. Twenty five percent of women (an estimated 2.62 million) stated that they had, since age

[1] 'Sexual attack' was identified by using the question, "Has a male stranger (or other man known to you) ever forced you or attempted to force you into any sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in some way?"

16, been victims of at least one incident of unwanted sexual touching[2]. The percentages above do not add to the originally stated 39 percent as some women responded affirmatively to both questions. The implications of these statistics are far reaching. The questions in this survey were designed to parallel legal definitions of sexual assault. This suggests that the risk of being the victim of crime is not necessarily as low as earlier studies have lead us to believe. Previous victimisation surveys may not have been designed to effectively capture the extent of violence against women. It would also appear that the nature of violence against women is seldom reflected in official data, as these crimes are seldom reported.

Victimisation Risk and the Presence of Alcohol -- Downs, et al (1993), when looking at women residing in shelters for battered women, women attending Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) meetings, and women in the larger community, found that those attending AA meetings had the second highest scores for frequency of violence, behind those residing at a shelter. Excessive alcohol consumption was found to be significantly related to higher levels of wife abuse, along with lower socio-economic status, and positive attitudes towards wife abuse (Kantor and Straus, 1987). However, these same researchers noted that alcohol, even though alcohol is positively related to increased levels of marital violence, is neither necessary, nor a sufficient explanation of this abuse. Therefore, alcohol seems to play a major role, as a potential catalyst to potentially volatile situations, thereby increasing the risk of being the victim of violence. This also true for sexual assault. For example, Gray, et al (1988) found evidence

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[2] 'Unwanted sexual touching' was determined by asking the question, "Has a male stranger (or other man known to you) ever touched you against your will in any sexual way, such as unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing, or fondling?"

that the presence of alcohol or other drugs both increased a vulnerability to sexual assault and male propensity for sexual aggression. Although alcohol may increase the risk for victimisation, it may also be utilised as a psychological crutch for those who have, or continue to experience, violence (Christiansen and Leander, 1989)

Relationship between the Victim and the Offender – Depending on the source of data, there are varying accounts of who is more likely to be an offender in a sexual assault. With respect to adult female sexual assault, the offender is most likely to be male. Those studies that have used official police reports have relayed that overall, the highest proportion of those who are committing these crimes are unknown to the victim (Amir, 1971). There are a few new studies that have suggested that the victim offender relationship does not determine reporting behaviour (Bachman, 1993). However others have argued that this statement is too strong (Rubeck, 1993). Many more studies suggest that those sexual assault cases that resemble the more "classic" type of case scenario where the perpetrator is a stranger, are more likely to be reported (see for example, Ullman, 1996; Williams, 1984). However, if we examine victimisation survey, a different picture emerges. In the VAWS, 23% of women reported that they had experienced violence at the hands of a stranger (Canada, 1993a).

In a study by Ruback and Ivie (1988) using over 2,500 records that came into a rape crises centre, found that just under half (47%) of all callers said that their attackers were strangers. In comparison to nonstranger sexual assaults, stranger's victims tended to be older, were more likely to use threats or weapons, and attack their victim outdoors. Stranger rapists were more likely than known rapists to operate in groups of two or more, to penetrate the victim anally and orally, thereby inflicting more serious injury on the victim. This is interesting

as research has also demonstrated that women who are attacked by strangers are less likely to resist their attacker, thereby reducing her risk of injury (Bachman and Carmody, 1994; Ruback and Ivie, 1988).

Another study (Ullman and Seigel, 1993) uncovered that women who were sexually assaulted by an intimate tended to suffer from more sexual distress than those who were attacked by a stranger. On the other hand, those who were attacked by a stranger were considerably more likely to suffer from fear or anxiety as a result of the attack. In addition, she found that depression did not vary between groups.

Generally then, according to the literature, a woman is more likely to be sexually raped or sexually attacked by someone she knows and therefore more likely to suffer from different types of psychological problems than those who attacked by strangers. In addition, there is some evidence to suggest that a rape act, attempted or completed, may be more likely to produce more severe injuries even though met with less resistance, than where the rapist is known.

Variables of the Transaction

Crime Type – Warr (1987) reports that there is a sensitivity to increased fear of victimisation depending on the type of crime and characteristics of the individual. Once again, women were found to be most fearful. Several studies have linked the increased incidence of victimisation to lifestyle factors of both men and women such as previous victimisation (Lasley and Rosenbaum, 1988), demographic and structural factors such as urbanisation, age and sex (Sampson and Wooldridge, 1987), and poverty (Smith, 1982). Kennedy and Forde (1990), in

testing routine activities theory, found that while various lifestyle factors such as marital status, age, familial structure, hours spent in a bar, and so on, were predictive of victimisation, their results were not predictive of those who had been victims of violent crimes. Keane (1995) found that specific offenses were better predictors of fear than others. In particular, along with more serious personal offence such as sexual assault, crimes that posed even the threat of sexual assault, such as being followed, receiving obscene phone calls, or indecent exposure, also elicited high fear responses.

DeKeseredy, et al (1992) have identified that the most serious and most common threats to women's physical and psychological well-being are abusive acts committed by known men. DeKeseredy (1993), when surveying undergraduate students at Carleton University found that 84% of female respondents reported at least one form of stranger aggression in a public place. Further, he found that 25% of female students reported coerced sexual intercourse. Finally, he argues that although the sexual assault rate is lower in Canada than the United States, on Canadian campuses it is at least as high as the U.S.

The Aftermath

The Effects of Non-Sexual Victimisation -- Although the threat of being sexually victimised can be quite fear inducing, the threat of being a target of a non-sexual crime also produces a certain amount of fear. This fear can, in some cases, have long term effects. For example, Brown and Harris (1989), looked at burglary victims. They found in the most severe cases, where there was severe property damage and/or theft, that short term coping solutions increased feelings of immediate insecurity, but a lower long-term sense of security was

evidenced.

Another well documented example of a fear producing crime is spouse abuse. Gielen, et al (1994) when questioning 275 pregnant women, found that the risk for severe violence of postpartum women was higher than for those who were prenatal. Further, Gielen also found that the risk for partner-perpetrated violence increased with other factors such as, being better educated, being older, having a sex partner who ever injected drugs, having a confidant, or having a social support system. When the violence was perpetrated by someone other than the partner, having a confidant became a significant factor in increasing the risk of partner-perpetrated violence. Therefore, violence in the home can produce fear of potential abuse, which has been well documented (see for example Straus and Gilles, 1990).

If we look one step further, to the potentially fatal outcome of spousal abuse, marital homicide data in the United States suggests that although the overall homicide rate for opposite sex couples has gone down from 1976-1987, homicides involving unmarried couples, where the victim is the common-law wife, has increased significantly (Browne and Williams, 1993). Although homicide is a rare event, because of the nature and severity of the act, increased frequency of female spouses being killed does tend to generate fear in other spheres of society.

The Effects of Minor Sexual Victimisation – Many women have experienced at least one form of sexual harassment in their lives (Hall, 1985). Some women must confront this behaviour on a monthly, weekly, or even daily basis. Hall, in her study, recorded that more than 4 out of 5 women reported receiving unwelcome sexual remarks on a public street. This same study also found that approximately 3 in 4 women reported having been touched or grabbed, and/or followed by a man.

A total of 87 percent of Canadian women who responded to the VAWS stated that they had experienced sexual harassment (Johnson, 1996). Eighty five percent of women said they had been harassed by strangers while 51 percent of respondents said they had been harassed by men they know[3]. Of the stranger harassment, 69 percent of respondents said they had received obscene phone calls, 60 percent had received unwanted attention from a male stranger, 33 percent of women respondents had been followed in a frightening way, and 19 percent of respondents said that men had indecently exposed themselves to them. Thirty six percent of women who had been harassed by a known man reported they had received inappropriate comments about their body or their sex life. Thirty four percent of women reported that a known man had leaned over unnecessarily, came too close, or cornered the respondent. Twenty five percent of respondents had been asked by known men for dates and would not take "no" for an answer, while 5 percent of respondents stated that a known man had hinted that her job situation might be hurt if she did not engage in a sexual relationship.

This type of behaviour towards women pervades every facet of daily life. Many women have not only experienced this type of behaviour in a public setting, but also in the workplace. Tangri, et al (1992), found that 42% of the 20,000 female government servants surveyed reported being sexually harassed in the workplace within two years prior to the survey. Being sexually harassed in the workplace by someone that is known can be upsetting. However, there are also known offenders in others spheres of private life. Santello and Leitenberg (1993) found that 26% of female undergraduate students

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[3] Percentages do not add up to the original total stated due to multiple responses.

surveyed had been victims of sexual aggression by an acquaintance since age 16.

Finally, Smith and Morra (1994) found that of 1,900 Canadian women, 83.2% had received obscene or threatening telephone calls. These women reported that the caller was usually a male, unknown to them, and that they seldom reported these calls to the police or the phone company. Those who did report the call found these agencies to be unhelpful. The most common emotional affect reported by these women was fear.

It is argued that many women experience sexually abusive behaviour, in all facets of their lives. Women are told that receiving an unsolicited compliment by an unknown man is to be considered flattering. Because women are taught to "normalise" this behaviour, women have become socialised to accept this behaviour. In essence, women have become desensitised to behaviour in which men are socialised and encouraged to engage. Although this behaviour between men is deemed unacceptable, these same men are taught that women like this type of "attention". Men do not receive this type of "attention", nor do we define their inappropriate behaviour towards women as criminal. One important finding of these studies is that they do demonstrate that obscene phone calls, being followed, receiving unwanted sexual attention from a known man, whether a date or an employer, is distressing. When the person is unknown, the situation can become even more fear inducing.

The Effects of Sexual Victimisation – In a review of existing literature, Hanson (1990) noted that immediately after rape, women exhibit symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The women in this study showed high levels of anxiety and depression that gradually diminished over a one year period, although 20% of victims had symptoms beyond

this time period. Additionally, Freedy, et al (1994) found evidence that those who were victims of more serious violent crimes, were more likely to suffer from PTSD than those who experienced less serious victimisation.

Not only does the seriousness of the assault predict the presence of post-traumatic stress symptoms, the time in the life course the event occurred also seems to affect the personal reaction to the crime. For example, Murphy, et al (1988) found that the age at which the sexual assault took place was related to current adult functioning. Subjects assaulted in adolescence displayed higher elevations of hostility, interpersonal sensitivity, obsessive compulsive symptoms, anxiety and paranoid ideation than non-victims. In contrast, those subjects who were sexually assaulted as children displayed elevated anxiety levels as adults, but none of the other symptoms by the group assaulted during adolescence.

Coping Strategies and Psychological Reaction to Victimisation – Of the several studies written in this area, many point to several behaviours that may be considered part of coping strategies. For example, although it is known that the presence of alcohol consumption increases the chances for victimisation, Christiansen and Leander (1989), suggest that alcohol may be a tool with which women cope with repeated abuse, as in the case of being a battered wife. In dating relationships, those women who reported only one incident of violence differed significantly in their attitudes towards violence than those who had been recipients of ongoing force (Follingsted, et al, 1988). This suggests that the overall emotional stability of the individual may affect who that person interacts with, thereby reducing the opportunity and, therefore, the risk of victimisation.

Some women have responded to the fear of being victimised by taking measures to

protect themselves. To illustrate, like fear of victimisation and the actual risk of crime, fear of being raped is unrelated to the actual risk of being raped (Gordon, et al, 1980). However, these researchers have found that this fear does lead to a significant increase in precautionary behaviour on the part of women, as compared to men. Women who had taken a self defence course, experienced a higher confidence level and a lower level of fear than women who had not participated in a self defence course (McDaniel, 1993). Ironically, there is some evidence to suggest that those women who have taken self defence courses in the past have an increased risk of victimisation (Keane, 1995; Rodgers and Roberts, 1996). There are two possible reasons why this may be the case. First, it may be that women who take these courses are those who know that they are at greater risk. Another possibility is that women who increase their confidence by taking defence courses may become overconfident and, as a result, engage in more risk taking behaviour. As a result these same women increase their risk for victimisation.

One of the most common coping behaviours to fear of crime is restricting activities to certain times of the day and to certain areas of the city. For example, one may only go out of the house during daylight hours, refrain from using parking garages, only go to areas of the city that are known to be safe, or use public transport only during certain hours. Another common response, if one chooses to participate in activities in areas that are potentially risky, is to act tough or adopt "street savvy." Riger and Gordon (1981), have noted that the fear of rape does have the effect of restricting women's freedom of action, especially for the elderly, non-white, and less educated, who rely more heavily on self-isolation tactics, as opposed to "street savvy", to cope with this fear.

Support and Psychological Reaction to Victimisation -- After an individual is victimised, it is assumed that the first step is to get help or support, either through the comfort of a friend, medical attention, or a report to the police. All three of these activities can be considered "help-seeking" behaviours. Gray, et al (1988) noted that only 22% of rape victims reported the crime to the police. Most rape victims disclosed the incident to a friend. The VAWS data reveal an even bleaker picture. Of all sexual assaults reported in the survey, only 6 percent were reported to police (Statistics Canada, 1993). Of those reported cases, in only 34% were charges laid or the perpetrator arrested. Further, in only 46% of sexual assaults where there was an arrest made, did the perpetrator appear in court. Regardless, if the crime is reported to police, Becker and Kaplan (1991) note that data suggest that women do not immediately seek treatment after rape. Unfortunately, the affects of sexual trauma do not dissipate immediately. Subjects who had experienced sexual assault and were interviewed 3 months after the event were noted to still have elevated levels of distress (Popiel and Susskind, 1985).

Popiel and Susskind also found that police in this study received significantly high ratings with respect to availability of support, by those who had reported being sexually traumatised. Doctors, on the other hand, received significantly low ratings for victim support. Further, Kelly and Radford (1990) note that evidence suggests that women are systematically encouraged, by the criminal justice system, to minimise the violence they receive from men. Davis, et al (1991) and Popiel and Susskind (1985), found little evidence to suggest that women who had been victims of rape, attempted rape, or aggravated sexual assault, and received high levels of social support, adjusted any better than those who received little social

support. In addition, those people who were married at the time of a rape incident did not show significantly higher ratings of adjustment when compared to single women (Moss, et al, 1990).

SUMMARY

The above review of the literature demonstrates that the relationship between women's victimisation, fear, and reactive symptoms is a complex one. Several factors impinge on the eventual adjustment that the individual goes through. The gender of the victim clearly has the strongest impact on fear of crime levels. However, given that this study analyses responses from only women, other factors will be incorporated into subsequent analyses. Clearly where one is in the lifecourse, will affect how they react to victimisation. But other factors, such as personal resources which include personal education and income may reduce victimisation risk, or help aid in subsequent recovery. Further, the type of crime, and how severely the respondent was injured has been found to have negative effects emotionally. Whether or not the offender had been drinking at the time of the assault, can play a role in facilitating an assault. Studies show that women who have been victimised repeatedly, have higher levels of fear than those who have not had this experience. Finally, the type of support that women receive after the event can aid or hinder the healing process.

By using data from a large number of women who responded to the Violence Against Women Survey, I will be able to obtain results surrounding these complexities that are statistically generalisable to the Canadian female population. In the chapters to come, I have outlined and tested a model, in three distinctive phases, using the VAWS. The next chapter is

dedicated to setting out the overall methodology as to how this analysis will proceed, and some major hypotheses that are being tested. Chapter five contains the analysis of each phase of the model in turn. The combined results of these analyses will discussed in Chapter 6. Overall, it is hoped that this analysis will help add some insight on the information that has been outlined in this chapter. The factors outlined in this chapter will be incorporated into three separate phases to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the criminal event, from beginning to end.

Finally, this dissertation will bridge some of the sociological and psychological gaps in knowledge of women's experiences. This study does something that has not been done before. It looks at level of reactive symptoms, which is something usually reserved for the discipline of psychology. In this way, perhaps more sociological understanding will be brought to an issue that has usually been conceived, and constructed, in another discipline. Unlike psychology, which traditionally has focused on individuals or small groups of people, this study has the potential to analyse the responses of large numbers of women. This will serve to enhance our understanding not only of women's psychological reaction to victimisation but also of women's fear of victimisation, as these issues are dealt with by the women of Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

INTRODUCTION

The gender-victimisation-fear relationship is a very complex association. Many researchers agree that much of women's victimisation is under reported, in official statistics and victimisation surveys, and therefore is considered to be "hidden" (Dobash and Dobash, 1995; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Johnson and Sacco, 1995; Keane, 1995; Rodgers and Roberts, 1995; Sacco, 1990). The Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS) was designed with special consideration given the nature and scope of women's victimisation. It was constructed to address some specific measurement issues in order to get a more accurate understanding of women's victimisation and fear of victimisation[1].

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[1] For example, much of women's victimisation takes place in the home where the perpetrator of the violence is an intimate of the victim. Surveys such as the General Social Survey (GSS), are more concerned with legal definitions of crime. To illustrate this point, a women who has been sexually assaulted by her husband in the past, if asked the GSS question "what is the most serious crime that has ever happened you?", may not think of the sexual assault as a crime because it happened in the context of marriage. She may instead recall an incident of break and enter that happened to her and her family in the past. How people come to

This dissertation analyses existing data, collected by the government of Canada, in the Violence Against Women Survey (1993b). There was no additional data collection performed over the duration of this project by this researcher. This data set was designed, constructed and collected in such a way as to overcome some measurement problems that exist with other victimisation surveys. It is to these that I will now turn.

THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY (VAWS)

Compared to previous victimisation surveys, data collected in the Violence Against Women Survey sought to include a broader nature and scope of the total range of events that can be construed as violence against women. It was designed to acknowledge the unique circumstances of women, and the possible factors that may inhibit responses under other survey conditions. As a result, the data obtained from this survey are more accurate than other surveys looking at women's victimisation, in addition to being designed to cause the respondent as little harm as possible.

Critics of previous victimisation research point to the shortcomings of methods used to study women's victimisation such as small sample sizes, selected samples from known victimised populations, etc. in order to discredit some of the high estimates of the rates of certain crimes against women. Because critics have argued that some of the proposed rates of victimisation have been overestimated, the findings of the research have been dismissed. This has implications for resource allocation, in that funding may not be going to where it is needed

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define criminal behaviour often depends on the social context in which it occurred. Siblings routinely get into physical disagreements, yet do not consider their assaultive behaviour criminal.

the most. A study that will offer more generalisable results, such as the one proposed here, may aid in rectifying this issue.

The Violence Against Women Survey was designed with certain measurement problems in mind (See Johnson and Sacco, 1995 for more detail). Generally, victimisation surveys have certain problems (Skogan, 1987). For example, they may suffer from forward or backward telescoping, where victims report crimes that occurred outside the time frame requested by the interviewer. The definitions of what constitutes a crime is often left to the judgement of the respondent. If the crime is not defined as a crime by the respondent, as in the case of domestic violence situations, they may not report these incidents to the surveyor (Block and Block, 1984). If the survey is questioning the respondent about particularly embarrassing criminal events, as in the case of sexual assault, they are less likely to be reported to interviewers (Catlin and Murray, 1984). This same study reported that if the offender was known to the victim, reporting the crime was even less probable.

However, undeniably, victim reports are more complete than Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), which contain data on only those criminal incidents that are reported to the police (Fattah, 1991). As a result, data from victimisation surveys are likely to give a more accurate estimation of the actual crime rate, or what has been coined the "dark figure of crime" (Nettler, 1984)[2]. But, care must be taken to design surveys to collect information on sexual assault. Due to the stigma attached to being assaulted sexually, and the fear of double

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[2] Here, the "Dark Figure of Crime" is a theoretical construct that is meant to encapsulate the actual rate of crime that occurs. However, for various reasons including but not limited to either not being reported, not being defined as a criminal act either by others or by the offender, or the criminal act going unnoticed, these numbers are not included in victimisation or UCR reports. This actual crime rate is unknown, but we can use various statistical procedures to estimate its size. For a full discussion on this subject refer to Skogan, (1977).

victimisation if the crime is reported to the criminal justice system, the study must be sensitive enough to get at the incidence of this crime, and other forms of women's victimisation.

The VAW survey was conducted between February and June of 1993 and contains data from 12,300 interviews which were carried out over the telephone with women, 18 years and over, living in Canada (excluding the two territories). Respondents in the VAWS were randomly selected, using random-digit dialling selection, and responses were weighted to match the demographic characteristics of the female Canadian population. This final sample size represents a 63.7% response rate, of a possible 19,000 eligible candidates for the study. The GSS - Personal Risk survey, also carried out in 1993, which looked at "risk-taking more generally, had an 81.6% response rate. The response rate of the GSS is higher because it looked at both men and women, and focused on less personally intrusive types of victimisation and risk taking behaviour such as theft and car accidents, respectively.

Each interview took anywhere from 15 minutes to two hours to conduct. The length of the interview depended on various circumstances that are included, but are not limited to whether t he respondent wished to continue with the interview, whether the respondent reported any victimisation experiences, or whether circumstances permitted that the respondent could not complete the interview (Johnson, 1997. Personal communication). Respondents were first queried about basic demographical questions such as their age, household and personal income, and education. They were then asked a series of questions regarding fear in certain situations, followed by questions about victimisation experiences they may have had. If they had reported at least one incident of victimisation, additional questions were asked of one randomly selected incident. The questionnaire that was used was not included in its entirety in

this dissertation, due to its considerable length. Instead, the questions that were used in this study are outlined in this chapter.

The response rate on this survey is rather high given the nature of the questions being asked. Many of the smaller studies rely on volunteer respondents (See for recent examples: Vicary et al, 1995; Wiehe and Richards, 1995, to name a few), or rely on smaller samples, such as university students (see for example, Koss and Gaines; 1993; Schwartz and Pitts, 1995; Vogel and Heinlein, 1995, to name a few), where all respondents are willing or encouraged[3] to do so. Nationally, however, there has never really been a study carried out in Canada, looking specifically at the nature of violence against women. As a result, there is no real comparison of large scale surveys of this kind, with respect to response rates.

Given the often intimate nature of women's violence, one of the major obstacles of data collection was to design a survey instrument that would maximise women's response potential. Interviewers were specially trained to be sensitive to whether a women could speak freely, acknowledging the fact that the victimiser may be present at the time of the call. Interviews were rescheduled if the respondent did not feel comfortable at the time of initial contact. In addition, each respondent was given a toll-free number to call, if they had to hang up suddenly, and/or the call was disconnected, or if they wished to verify the source of the interviewers call. Respondents were not called back, in the event of a premature disconnection, both to protect their safety and to offer the respondent control over their own participation in the study. Only female interviewers were chosen as it was felt that respondents may not disclose, or participate

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[3] Here I am specifically referring to the case of university students who may participate in the study in an effort to please the instructor, or who may receive some sort of grade incentive for their participation.

in the survey, if the interviewer was male.

Traditional victimisation surveys, which are now done in regular cycles in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, have been designed and carried out to get a more comprehensive picture of unreported crime. However, many of these surveys have been constructed without acknowledging the full nature and scope of crimes against women. As mentioned above, women's victimisation is often less overt, often dismissed or explained away by either the victim or by others who become involved, and hidden. Many victimisation surveys do not include these types of crime in their construction. As a result, women's crime is often under reported in not only official reports, but in large scale victimisation data as well.

The VAWS resolves this dilemma by asking about specific violent acts rather than assuming the respondent is capable of making a judgement call on whether a crime has been committed. In other words, instead of asking a question like, "Have you ever been criminally assaulted?", the VAWS queries the respondent *"Has a male stranger (date, boyfriend, or other known man) physically attacked you?"* By phrasing the question in this way, the value judgement of whether or not a crime has occurred is not required of the respondent.

Because of the sensitive nature of the subject matter of the survey, special attention was paid to any emotional trauma that may occur during the interview process of both the respondent and the interviewer. Lists of phone numbers and locations of shelters, crises lines, and so on, were made available to interviewers for the respondents area in order to help the respondent if either felt it necessary. Interviewers were dissuaded from playing the role of "counsellor" no matter how distressed the respondent, referring them instead to professionally trained counsellors in their locale. In addition, a clinical psychologist was made available to the

interviewers, to deal with any potential negative side effects of the interview process, and to aid in the selection process of interviewers.

In sum, the VAW Survey was uniquely designed to obtain data in the sensitive area of women's victimisation. Further, if women had disclosed victimisation, they were asked various questions including the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim, the number of times they had been victimised, and when the event(s) occurred. All women, were also asked about fear of victimisation, while only those who reported victimisation were queried with respect to how they had coped, both psychologically and behaviourally, with the aftermath of the event.

OTHER VICTIMISATION SURVEYS

At present, although there has been large scale studies done on fear of victimisation, research on sexual assault and adjustment have been limited to smaller scale studies. These studies fall into three categories. First, there are studies which only surveyed women who had used specific services, such as rape crises centres or shelters. Second, there are studies that use small scale victimisation surveys, using samples of women from a given area (for example a city), who have been asked about their victimisation experiences. This second group of studies had the advantage that not every respondent had used community services that specifically deal with women who have been victimised. Finally, a third group of studies looked at a broader spectrum of women, in that not all respondents had used services for victims of crime in their community, and included those women who reported not being victimised as well as those who had. This third type of study is less frequently done, probably due to time and cost of such an undertaking. All of these types of studies, although informative, have a problem with respect

to generalisability.

First, studies carried out in the past rarely had a comparison group. That is, there was no group, other than those who reported the violence pattern in question, on which to compare their findings. Most commonly, the majority of studies used information collected only from women who reported being victimised. Second, because of their small sample size, and the localisation of the sample, the results are, at best, generalisable to only those women who participated in the study. It would be unwise to say that all women who called a rape crisis centre or used a shelter are reflective of the Canadian female population. This is not to say studies on specific target groups are not informative. For example, those women who have used crises lines and shelters in a particular city or region are often women who have experienced more severe forms of violence. Knowing about these women can inform us about how some women deal with more extreme violence situations. These types of studies do not tell us about the prevalence of this type of violence, as well as less severe forms of victimisation, that occur in the female Canadian population.

This study will overcome some of these methodological problems by using the Violence Against Women Survey (1993b), which polled 12,300 randomly chosen women, across Canada about physical and sexual abuse. Because of this survey's considerable size, the findings of this study can be considered generalisable to the Canadian female population. In addition, because this study utilised a randomised sample of Canadian women, it includes both women who have been victimised sexually and/or physically, and those who have not been victimised, thereby creating an opportunity for a comparison group. In addition, we can compare various lifestyle characteristics, that were queried in this survey. Do socio-economic

conditions of the respondent affect how women deal with their fear of crime, or their subsequent adjustment after victimisation? How does the age of the victim affect the overall level of reporting, seriousness of victimisation, or fear levels in women? These questions will be addressed in this dissertation.

Although there has been research done on fear of victimisation in criminology (see for example Ferraro, 1995) and on the psychological after-effects of an attack (see for example Hansen, 1990; Janoff-Bulman, 1978; Janoff-Bulman et al, 1990) there has been, to my knowledge, no research that has analysed both in a single study. It is not only important to understand crime trends, but also how these social trends manifest individually in the psyche of the individual who has endured these criminal events, or who has learned of the misfortunate experiences of others. It is the intent of this dissertation to include both fear of victimisation and level reactive symptoms as dependent variables in the analyses. The research carried out in this dissertation will therefore add to existing knowledge about the nature and scope of women's victimisation experiences.

LEVELS OF ANALYSES

This analyses will take place in three phases. Overall, the design of this study will result in a comprehensive study of sexual assault, fear of victimisation, and psychological reaction to sexual assault. Phase one is designed to look at sexual assault in a broad context, using the responses from a majority of respondents in the VAW Survey. Phase two is designed to look at sexual and physical assault victimisation in more detail. This phase will use those women who answered more detailed questions about their victimisation. The design of the second

phase of analysis is similar to the first, but only looks at those women who reported victimisation, and has an added dependent variable looking at the psychological reaction to the transaction reported. Finally, phase three of this study, is designed as an event analysis, looking specifically at situational variables surrounding sexual and physical assault. In essence, it is an elaboration of the second analysis but looking at the criminal event in more detail. This phase will use the same subset of women used in phase two.

Phase One

The first phase of this study is designed to look at all Canadian women, 18 years and older, who responded affirmatively to being sexually assaulted, physically assaulted, or threatened since age 16. The data collected on these respondents will be compared to those who reported no victimisation during the same time period. This analysis will have the largest sample size compared to other phases of analysis proposed, as most women were requested to answer general questions about the extent of their victimisation. Also, all women in the survey were questioned about fear of victimisation, the dependent variable in this phase of the analysis. It is expected the results obtained, in this phase of the analysis, will be generalisable to the Canadian female population. In addition, although it will be difficult to compare with other phases of the analysis due to the way the survey was constructed, the results of the first analysis will provide a baseline for fear of victimisation, as it includes responses from those who have been victimised, as well as those who have not.

Phase Two

The second phase of this analysis is designed to look at a smaller subset of women. In particular, phase two will only use data collected in section "V" and "W" of the Violence Against Women Survey[4]. These women were selected from the larger sample of respondents because they had reported at least one incident of victimisation. In addition respondents, if they had reported more than one incident of victimisation, were asked to report on only one incident chosen randomly by the interviewer. As a result, the data available for analysis are limited and does not allow for the analysis of repeat victimisation in any great detail. Although I may be able to derive that these people have been victimised repeatedly, they are only asked about one randomly chosen event in time, which may not be the most recent, or the most serious. Nevertheless, there is still a large enough sample size for analysis.

The purpose of this analysis was to look at those women to those who reported being victimised in this subsection of the VAW Survey, and compare these women with respect to fear responses and level of reactive symptoms. Sections "V" and "W" of this survey contain data on physical and sexual victimisation events in more detail than the larger survey. These sections of the survey did not require those women who reported no victimisation to respond. To be more specific then, this phase of the design will be dedicated to a more restrictive analysis of sexual assault, and how various aspects of sexual assault affect fear of victimisation and reactive symptoms, compared to other forms of violence.

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[4] Section "V" of the Violence Against Women Survey looks at only those women who have reported sexual or physical victimization, where this victimization is not considered "domestic violence". Section "W" of the VAW Survey asks similar questions to the "V" section but specifically addressing the issue of domestic violence. Therefore both segments of the VAW Survey will be utilized in order to operationalise variables in the model.

Phase Three

The third phase of analysis carried out in this dissertation is dedicated to looking specifically at some of the events surrounding sexual assault, and their effect on fear of victimisation and reactive symptoms of the respondent to the event. This last phase of analysis will offer a micro level analysis of the event of sexual assault. Because this segment also uses sections "V" and "W" of the Violence Against Women Survey, it is also limited in the same manner as the analysis carried out in phase two in that it only looks at those women who reported victimisation. However, this phase of the analysis differs from phase two in that new variables are added into the analysis, which where not included in either of the other phases.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

From the literature review, it is suggested that various factors seem to affect fear of victimisation. Fear of victimisation and/or other reactive symptoms, within the Criminal Event Perspective, are considered responses to the criminal transaction which occur in the aftermath. The variables that are immediately listed below are precursory to the transaction or are, to some degree, part of the transaction. Both precursory variables and transaction variables are independent variables in this model, and theoretically affect how the event will turn out and/or how the victim will react to it. The various reactions to victimisation, or aftermath variables, are the dependent variables in each phase of the analysis.

Precursors

Age

Respondents were asked their age as of the time of the interview. Persons under the age of 18 were not requested to participate in the survey. The age range in this survey was from 18 years of age to age 75. All those who responded as being older than age 75 were coded as age 75 to protect their identity. This variable was incorporated into all three analyses.

Income

Each respondent was asked about their personal and familial income. For purposes of this analysis, since I chose to focus on the woman's personal resources, only the respondents personal income was included in this analysis. Personal income responses ranged from reporting no income, to making $80,000 or more per annum. As with age, income was included into all three analyses.

Education

All respondents were asked about the highest level of education attained. Respondents responses varied from having no schooling or some elementary schooling, to having a doctorate, a masters, or a medical degree. The responses were coded as follows:

1> Some elementary/no schooling
2> Elementary school diploma
3> Some high school
4> High school diploma
5> Some trade, technical or vocational training
6> Some community college
7> Some university
8> Trade, technical, or vocational diploma
9> Community college diploma
10> B. A., undergraduate, law, or teaching diploma
11> Medicine, masters, or doctorate degree

All respondents also answered this question, and therefore it was used in all three analyses.

Relationship of the Victim and the Offender

Sacco and Kennedy (1994) have argued, that in the Criminal Event Perspective, the relationship of the offender to the victim acts as a precursor to the type of crime that is committed. That is, certain types of crime can be predicted by the prior relationship (if any) that is held by the participants in the event. For example, where the participants are married, they are more likely to engage in assaultive behaviour than they are to attempt to rob one another. This variable has been tested in all three analyses. Those who responded affirmatively to being victimised, were asked about the relationship of this person to the victim. A scale, in order of increasing intimacy was created.

Who was this person to the victim?

1> a stranger
2> a known man
3> a date or boyfriend
4> a previous husband
5> a current husband

In this case, the assumption was made that the category of "known man", which includes family members as well as co-workers, friends, acquaintances, or neighbours, is less intimate than a date or boyfriend relation. Although it is acknowledged that people who are in dating relationships may not be as well acquainted with each other as friends or relatives, it is the intent of the dating relationship that was being used in this categorisation. The purpose of the dating relationship is to assess whether the person you are dating is a suitable mate. Therefore on this foundation, I had made the assumption that this type of relationship, which also includes longer term relationships, or boyfriends, was more intimate than the category of "known man".

To test this assumption, a means comparison was performed using the dependent variable of severity of reactive symptoms. It was found that there was little difference between some of the indicators in the relationship scale, and the dependent variable. For example, the category of "other known man" and "current husband" showed very little difference in means. In addition, the category of "date/boyfriend" and "previous spouse" also had little difference in means. Although it may be easier to explain the latter of the means groupings, why the first of these two pairings occurred is difficult to explain. Relationships with dates or boyfriends as similar to relationships with previous husbands, as these relations are more intimate than other types of personal associations. Why "other known man" which includes categorical variables from co-worker, to family members, to friends, is produced similar results to a relationship with a current husband, is more difficult to explain. Therefore, a decision was made to dummy code the variable into:

1> stranger
2> other

where "other" is all other known men, which includes acquaintances, neighbours, friends, co-workers, dates, boyfriends, previous and current husbands, and so on. This question was asked only of those who had reported victimisation. As a result, this variable was included in the second and third analyses. It is acknowledged that dummy coding in this manner allows us to lose information. However, given how the responses grouped together in the means comparison, it was thought that the dummy coding of this variable was the most viable option.

Total Number of Assaults

In the initial section of the VAWS, women were asked several questions about different types of victimisation. Respondents were given as much opportunity as possible to report as many different types of victimisation they had experienced over their lifetime. Again, as with the last analysis, this phase used only data from those women reporting at least one incident of victimisation. The responses to these questions were aggregated into a new variable: total number of assaults reported. Women reported anywhere from a single incident, to as many as 43 incidents over their lifetime. Because not all women reported victimisation in this study, use of this variable is also limited to the second and third analyses only.

Alcohol Consumption by the Offender

This variable is only included in phase three of the analysis. If the women had reported

being victimised by someone other than a spouse[5], respondents were asked: *Had the abuser been drinking?* Where the respondent had reported being the victim of spousal abuse, respondents were asked: *Is (was) he (usually) drinking at the time?* Responses to these questions were aggregated and dummy coded. If respondents had reported affirmatively to these questions, their answer was coded as 1. If they answered "No" to either of these questions their responses were coded as 0. The presence of alcohol at the scene of the assault is both a precursor to the event, as it is an activity that occurs before the criminal incident, and may increase the risk for victimisation. However, it is also a characteristic of the event itself, as alcohol is present in the body of the offender at the time of the assault. The dual nature of this characteristic this variable made it logical to place it with another characteristic in the final phase of the analysis – relationship between the victim and offender. Both who the offender is, and whether or not he had consumed alcohol, are characteristics that enter into the transaction. Whereas the first set of variables to enter into the analysis are those characteristics inherent to the victim, the second set of characteristics has more to do with the victims recollections of the offender at the time the offence was committed. The second set of characteristics - crime seriousness and degree of injury - are more concerned with the actual crime that took place.

[5] If there was more than one incident reported, one incident was randomly chosen and respondents were questioned with respect to this one event. Respondents also had the opportunity to not discuss the incident chosen by the interviewer, and given the option of choosing another event that they wished to talk about.

The Transaction

Sexual and Non-Sexual Assault

Cases were selected from the data, for use in various phases of analyses, which were collected on those who had reported physical or sexual violence in the VAW Survey. "Violence" in the Violence Against Women Survey (1993b) is defined in the following way:

> "'Violence' in this survey is defined as experiences of physical and sexual assault that are consistent with the legal definitions of these offences and could be acted upon by a police officer."

For purposes of this dissertation, and coding in the Violence Against Women Survey (1993) both physical and sexual assault are defined as dictated in the Canadian Criminal Code.

Sexual Assault:

a) Sexual Assault (level I)
b) Sexual Assault with a weapon, threats to a third party or causing bodily harm (level II).
c) Aggravated sexual assault resulting in wounding, maiming or disfiguring, or endangering the life of the victim (level III).

Physical Assault:

a) Assault (level I),
b) Assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm (level II).
c) Aggravated assault resulting in wounding, maiming, disfiguring, or endangering the life of the victim (level III).

Sexual Assault: To establish whether or not a woman had been sexually assaulted, women were asked these questions:

Has a male stranger (date, boyfriend, other man you know) ever forced you or attempted to force you into any sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in some way?

(Apart from this incident you have just told me about) has a male stranger (date, boyfriend, other man known to you) ever touched you against your will in any sexual way, such as unwanted touching , grabbing, kissing or fondling?

In the first analysis, where the respondent indicated that they had been sexually assaulted, by answering affirmatively to either question, their answer was recoded as 1. Where the respondent indicated that this had not been part of their life experience, their response was coded to zero.

Physical Assault: Likewise, to establish whether the respondent had been physically assaulted, the following was asked:

(Apart from any incidence you have already told me about), has a male stranger (date, boyfriend, or other known man) ever physically attacked you?

As with the variable of sexual assault, the responses to this question were dummy coded according to the presence or absence of this life experience.

Threatening: To establish whether or not a woman had experienced a face-to-face threat, respondents were asked:

(Apart from anything you have already told me about), has a male stranger (date, boyfriend, other known man) ever threatened to harm you?

Like the other variables in this set, responses were dummy coded as to presence or absence of affirmative response. The comparison group for all of these variables consisted of respondents who did not have these experiences. In the second and third analyses, for reasons which will become evident, these dichotomised variables were placed in a scale, labelled "crime seriousness".

Crime Seriousness

Crime seriousness was operationalised in a slightly different manner in the first analysis, as compared to the second and third analyses. In the phase one of the analysis, because I was interested in including those women who had never had these experiences, several variables were dummy coded, specifically looking at crime seriousness, in order that those who reported no victimisation experiences were included into the analysis. Crime seriousness was also coded this way in the initial analysis to ascertain which types of victimisation (if any) produced higher reported fear levels.

In the second phase of analysis, there was one particular variable, once recoded, that served as a more suitable indicator. If respondents had admitted they had been victimised, or reported experiencing repeated victimisation, interviewers randomly chose one of these incidents to further probe. A derived variable was compiled that itemised how many respondents were in each category. This modified crime seriousness variable, partially derived from the results of the initial analysis, allows us to include those women who are, or were, married to the offender as well as those who were not. A scale was created by recoding these variables as follows:

Respondent had reported being:

1> threatened
2> touched against their will
3> physically attacked
4> sexually attacked

As will be seen in the first analysis, those who reported being sexually assaulted did report higher fear responses than those who had been physically assaulted or threatened. Due to this

finding it is possible to categorise these responses in order of increasing risk felt by the respondent.

Degree of Injury

This variable is introduced in the second analysis and included in the third. It was not possible to operationalise in the first analysis, again due to the fact that not everyone in that analysis had experienced victimisation. If respondents had mentioned they had been victimised, they were subsequently asked the degree of injury they had experienced as a result of an event, chosen randomly by the interviewer. A scale was created that was comprised of these responses:

Respondent had reported:

0> not being injured
1> receiving bruises
2> being cut, scratched, or burned
3> having fractures or broken bones
4> having a miscarriage or internal injuries

The Aftermath

Time of Most Recent Event

Time since the event occurred is a variable tested in the second analysis. That is, it was assumed the time which has passed since the event would shape the perceptions of the respondents. In essence, this is a test of the old adage "time heals all wounds". It assumed that the person who has recently experienced an assault will have more acute fear responses and problems in adjusting to the event than someone who had this experience further in the past.

These people have had a longer time to readjust than someone who is still suffering from the immediate affects of assault. The following scale was constructed:

Time since most recent event

0> has occurred within the last 12 months
1> has occurred within the last 2 years
2> has occurred within the last 3 years
3> has occurred within the last 4 years
4> has occurred within the last 5 years
5> has occurred within the last 6 years
6> has occurred within the last 7 years
7> has occurred within the last 8 years
8> has occurred within the last 9 years
9> has occurred within the last 10 years
10> has occurred within the last 11 years
11> has occurred over 11 years ago

Who did the Respondent Talk to After the Transaction?

The following set of variables were only added in the third, and final, analysis. In essence, the aim of including these variables in the analysis is to ascertain whether or not talking with someone increased or decreased the levels of fear victimised women experience, or affected the severity of symptoms experienced as a result of the attack. In this phase of the analysis, both those who had been victimised by a spouse, or a non-spouse were questioned as to who they talked to after the attack. Responses to these questions were grouped into three categories: family and/or intimates, counsellors, or police. Each was dummy coded, with the presence of the characteristic being coded as 1, the absence of the characteristic being coded as zero. The reference group are those women who were victimised but did not talk to anyone.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

An implicit assumption, according to the CEP is that the aftermath of crime has several

stages. These five dependent variables represent the last possible stage of the criminal event that can be analysed given the data.

Fear of Victimisation

This set of variables was included in all three phases of analysis. All respondents were asked a series of questions on their fear of victimisation. A considerable portion of the VAW Survey is dedicated to questions about this fear. In keeping with Keane's (1995) analysis on fear of victimisation, this study will attempt to look at fear as multidimensional. Although a woman may fear walking alone in an underground parking lot, she may feel safer at home. The VAW Survey allows for such discrimination, in that the survey instrument included situational fear questions, which will be taken advantage of in this analysis. Four questions will be used to estimate both general and specific fear of victimisation.

> First, when walking alone in your area after dark, do you feel...
> While waiting for or using public transportation alone after dark, do you feel...
> While walking alone to your car in a parking garage, do you feel...
> When alone in your home in the evening, do you feel...
>
> <1> Very worried?
> <2> Somewhat worried?
> <3> Not at all worried about your personal safety?
> <4> Does not walk alone (use public transportation, parking garages, is never alone at home).
> <D> Don't know.
> <R> Refused.

The responses of "Don't know", "Refused" and where responses reflected the fact that the facilities were not available (i.e. public transportation or underground parking garages) were coded as missing variables. A problem, however, arose with the "Never alone." category.

Were the people who answered this question so afraid of being in these various situations mentioned above that they were never alone while doing them? Or was it that these people never had the opportunity to be alone and therefore did not experience fear under the above circumstances? To answer these questions, a correspondence analysis (Weller and Romney, 1990) was used to establish where the majority of these "Never alone" responses fell with respect to fear. This technique is largely used for descriptive and exploratory analysis.

In basic terms, correspondence analysis is a technique that allows for a spatial examination of data so that results can be visually assessed for structure. Variables placed in a two-dimensional contingency table are plotted and examined in geometrical space. This means that one can examine spatial relations both among and between row and column variables. In other words, correspondence analysis provides a visual representation of associated variables by locating in space on a two dimensional graph where variables cluster together. In this case, when we plot the responses to the fear variables, those who responded that they did not use the services mentioned in the fear questions, ironically, were clustered together in the least fear area of the graph. In other words, of all those who responded, individuals who do not participate in these activities are the people who feel the safest.

The above correspondence analysis results are predicted, to some degree, by routine activities theory. Recall that routine activities argues that the motivated offender's opportunity for crime is increased when there is a suitable target, and lack of capable guardianship. If these women are always with someone when walking in the neighbourhood, in an underground parking garage, and so on, then they are most likely to feel safer than someone who is alone under these same circumstances. What the responses to the question do not answer is why

they are always accompanied. Is it that they are so afraid of being alone in these situations that they insist on being accompanied under these circumstances? Or is that they have always been accompanied, and therefore have never felt scared in these situations? This paradox points to one of the flaws in the design of this data set. Surveys which attempt to get at this multidimensional nature of fear, should query the respondent as to why they are never alone. The VAWS did not do this. Therefore I am left with analysing what has been revealed. Because the women who responded to the "Never alone" do feel the safest, they are included in the analysis and coded as "safest", followed by "not at all worried" about your personal safety, "somewhat worried", and "very worried", respectively.

Severity of Reactive Symptoms

This dependent variable is included in the second and third analyses only. Numerous questions were asked of only those who had been victimised. The final two analyses utilised data from only those women who reported victimisation in order to get more specific understanding of the victimisation experience. Only those women who reported an assault were asked specific questions about physical or mental effects they experienced after the incident. The question that was used to create the 'Reactive Symptoms' scale was the following:

How has this experience affected you?
(Mark all that apply - Do not read)

<1>	Ashamed/guilty
<2>	Angry
<3>	Depression/anxiety attacks
<4>	Lowered self-esteem
<5>	Fearful
<6>	More cautious/aware
<7>	Sleeping problems
<8>	Afraid for children
<9>	Problems relating to men
<10>	Not much
<11>	Other, specify _____
<D>	Don't know
<R>	Refused

Preliminary investigation found support for the use of the Mokken (1971) scaling technique in compiling a scale for this dependent variable out of dichotomous variables. The responses to this question were compared with each other using the 2 X 2 tables. Although Chi Square evaluation of each cross-tabulation revealed several relationships were significant, further calculations predicting the prevalence of an uncharacteristic response revealed that four responses in particular were most useful for producing a scale.

In essence, responses to this question were arranged in order of difficulty of response. That is, the number of people who chose to respond in a given way were used as a measure of difficulty of that response. For example, more women gave the response of "angry" (N=1246) than the response of "ashamed or guilty" (N=362). Therefore, the former response is considered to be an easier response than the latter. Then each cross-tabulation was evaluated for degree of uncharacteristic response[6]. That is, if the respondent said "no" to an easier

[6] Following Ten Vergert (1988), each cross tabulation took the form:

response, what is the likelihood that they would say "yes" to a more difficult response. This type of responding would be contrary to what was expected of the respondent. The results of the likelihood of uncharacteristic responses is given Table 4-1[7] at the end of this chapter. The four variables listed below were found to be consistent in that respondents, if they answered affirmatively to the more serious items on the scale, were also significantly likely to answer yes to the other less serious items on the scale.

Using this statistical analysis, the closer the number in each cell listed above approaches 1.00 (or unity) the less likely the respondent was to give an uncharacteristic response. Mokken (1971) has devised levels of criterion for homogeneity of each item in the scale. These criterion are as follows. First, comparisons between variables (referred to here as H_i and H_j) have a result greater than zero. Second, results of comparisons must be greater than a predetermined constant. Mokken suggested the following classification for strength of scales:

$0.50 \leq H$:	a strong scale
$0.40 \leq H < 0.50$	a medium scale
$0.30 \leq H < 0.40$	a weak scale

	Response to item *j*		
Response to item *I*	1	0	Row Total
1	(1,1)	(1,0)	$f(1,.)$
0	(0,1)	(0,0)	$f(0,.)$
Column Total	$f(.,1)$	$f(.,0)$	$f(.,.)$

Where: Item *I* is assumed to be more difficult than item *j* and "1" denotes a positive response; "0" denotes a negative response.

[7] According to Ten Vergert (1988), item pair homogeneity, H_{ij} measures the proportional difference between cell frequency of the error cell (i.e. uncharacteristic response) expected under independence and the actual frequency. It is calculated using the formula:

$$H_{ij} = [\, e(1,0) - f(1,0) \,] \;/\; e(1,0)$$

Where: e = expected frequency and is measured using the formula $e(1,0) = f(1,.)f(.,0)/f(.,.)$

Although the evaluation of "Fearful" with "Depression/Anxiety Attacks" produces *a score* that is lower than the recommended scaling criterion as set out by Mokken, it will remain in the scale as it, although weak, still meets the first criterion established by Mokken and is strong in comparison with the other items in the scale. Even though there is a higher likelihood of an uncharacteristic response, it is still stronger than other items that were left out of the scale. In essence, the item homogeneity[8] coefficient acts like an item-total correlate. *Item* homogeneity was calculated for single items and was found in each case to surpass Mokken's weakest predetermined constant (Not Much = 0.961, Fearful = 0.632, Depression/Anxiety Attacks = 0.359, Sleeping Problems = 0.380). Therefore, although the coefficient for homogeneity between "Depression/Anxiety Attacks" and "Fearful" is below Mokken's pre-set criterion, the items themselves meet this requirement. Furthermore, it is considered a very strong Mokken scale, with *scale* homogeneity[9] calculated at 0.628. In short, although some

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[8] According to Ten Vergert (1988), item homogeneity, H_i, is calculated using the formula:

$$H_i = \sum_{j=1}^{k} e_{ij} - \sum_{j=1}^{k} f_{ij} \Big/ \sum_{j=1}^{k} e_{ij} \qquad \textit{Where: } i \text{ does not equal } j$$

This formula simply aggregates the observed and the expected frequencies for the error cell (i.e. uncharacteristic response) for each 2 x 2 table that cross classifies item *i* with other items in the scale.

In terms of the formula presented in the previous footnote, the numerator in the above formula consists of the differences between diagonal and off-diagonal cross product terms for t he 2 x 2 table. The denominator of the above formula sums t he product of the appropriate marginals of these tables.

[9] According to Ten Vergert (1988), the coefficient for scale homogeneity, H, is calculated as follows:

$$H = \sum_{i=1}^{k-1} \sum_{j=i+1}^{k} e_{ij} - \sum_{I=1}^{k-1} \sum_{j=i+1}^{k} f_{ij} \Big/ \sum_{i=1}^{k-1} \sum_{j=i+1}^{k} e_{ij} \qquad \textit{Where: } i=j+1$$

Again, in terms of the formula presented in the previous footnote, the numerator in the formula presented in this footnote, consists of the sum of the differences between the diagonal and off-diagonal cross product terms for all 2 x 2 tables. The denominator sums the products of the appropriate marginals from these tables.

parts of the reactive symptoms scale are weaker than others, the scale itself can be said to have item coefficients that meet, or exceed, Mokken's minimal requirements. Overall, it is a powerful scale due to its high scale homogeneity coefficient.

The four responses to this question, in order of assumed intensity as revealed through preliminary investigation for Mokken scaling are as follows:

<1> Not much
<2> Fearful
<3> Depression/anxiety attacks
<4> Sleeping problems.

Each gradation in response represents an increase in the level of intensity of symptoms experienced by the attack victim.

The above scale corresponds quite nicely with how the literature has encapsulated psychological adjustment. Recall, from chapter 2, that there were three components to psychological adjustment, 1) cognitive, 2) emotional, and 3) behavioural. Fear, the second level on the Mokken scale, is a cognitive response to victimisation. Depression or anxiety is an emotional response to trauma. Finally, the presence of sleeping problems is a behavioural response to victimisation.

This scale shows that those who report behavioural psychological symptoms will also be more likely to suffer from emotional and cognitive symptoms, as well. In addition, those who do not have behavioural problems, but do have emotional problems, are also likely to have the cognitive symptoms as well, and so on. This scale suggests that those who mention they have sleeping disorders (the behavioural difficulty) probably have the hardest time dealing with the reactive symptoms after the assault. Those who respond affirmatively to suffering from

depression or anxiety are more well-adjusted than those who reported problems with sleeping. Finally, those who reported the cognitive difficulty of being fearful are probably better off than those who mentioned depression/anxiety or sleeping problems, but are not better off than those who reported not being affected by the event (i.e. "not much" affected by the event).

RESEARCH STRATEGY

On the basis of the literature reviewed, there would appear to be a clear relationship between victimisation and fear of victimisation. It is also clear that the type of victimisation may also affect this fear, along with the adjustment process after the event. The literature also suggests there is a relationship between the circumstances both before and after that affect adjustment and fear of victimisation later in the life course. Due to these considerations, this dissertation posits three under-identified models, corresponding to each of the three phases of analysis. Models which are "under-identified" are models where relationships between theoretically linked independent and dependent variables are not specified. The statistical analysis serves to "identify" the more significant relationships. Those that are not significant are dropped from the analysis. The model that remains is termed an "over-identified" model where all significant relationships determined by the statistical analysis are clearly evident. The insignificant relationships are not illustrated in the remaining over-identified path diagram. In Chapter Six, the reader will be presented with three under-identified path diagrams which test various hypotheses about the nature of certain variables in three multistage regression analyses. After the analysis is performed, those relationships which are not significant will be dropped. What remains is the over-identified diagram, showing the relationships that have the most

influence on the dependent variables. One advantage of using this type of modelling over theoretically defined modelling is that relationships between variables that have not been theoretically linked can be explored empirically.

Each phase of analysis follows a core pattern, shaped by the Criminal Event Perspective. The Criminal Event Perspective assumes that facets of the event occur at different places along the time line. The CEP shapes the analysis by guiding the time line of the events being included into each phase of the analysis. Each phase of the analysis is outlined briefly below.

Phase One

First, there appears to be a relationship between certain demographics of the victim and fear of victimisation. In this analysis, I propose to test age, education, and income, as independent variables. Second, whether a person has been assaulted or the type of assault, has also been found to affect fear of victimisation. Below, a "skeleton" diagram is proposed.

Precursors		**Transaction**		**Aftermath**
Age *Education* *Income* *No Assault*	====>	*Sexual Assault* *Physical Assault* *Threatened*	====>	*Fear of Victimisation*

Fear of victimisation is regressed on age, income, education, and seriousness of assault using OLS multiple regression analysis.

Phase Two

Phase two of the analysis will specifically use responses given by only those who have been victimised, either physically or sexually. To some extent the second analysis is similar to the first, although it does differ in three respects. Because this analysis involves only a subset of the Violence Against Women Survey, only those women who have been victimised, there will not be a "no assault" comparison. Since there is not a "no assault" category, other assault groups will be used as comparison groups to the sexual assault category. Second, a fifth dependent variable, "reactive symptoms" will be added to the analysis. This was not included in the first phase of analysis as only those women who were victimised were asked about affect, such as depression, sleeping disorders, and so on. Finally, characteristics of the individual are able to be included into this phase. The interaction between the type of assault, and the characteristics of the assault will be tested. This skeleton diagram of the analysis is illustrated below.

The design of these variables was made with the criminal event perspective in mind. That is, this analysis assumes a time sequence to these events. Although the analysis appears complicated, it is set up in six principle components:

Precursors	**Transaction**			**Aftermath**	
Age	*Relate*	*Crime*	*Degree*	*Time*	*Fear and*
Income =>	*to the* =>	*Serious-* =>	*of* =>	*since* =>	*Reactive*
Education	*Victim*	*ness*	*Injury*	*Event*	*Symptoms*

This overall model, in all three phases, assumes that there are precursors to the event, as well as characteristics of the experience that affect how a person feels in the aftermath of

such incidents. The analysis below represents a continuum of events. The first set of variables, age, income, and education, represent what the victim brought with them into the event. These variables are the precursors to the event. The second set of variables, the relationship of the offender to the victim, the level of crime seriousness, and the degree of injury are characteristics of the event that could be derived from the VAWS data set. The time since the assault follows the crime characteristics, as the passage of time in the aftermath is a key variable in perception of outcome. Those who have had an assaultive experience in the past few months may be suffering from the direct effects of the assault, while those who have had this experience further in the past may be able to be more removed from the incident. Finally, fear of victimisation and reactive symptoms as a result of the incident, are experiences that occur in the aftermath of the criminal event.

Phase Three

Phase three is dedicated to an event analysis of sexual assault. This can be broken down into four main components. First, as in phases one and two, certain demographics of the assault, or what the victim brought to the event, will be analysed. Second, characteristics of the assault will be added to the analysis. Third, what the victim did after the event is included in the analysis. Finally, all of these variables are regressed on two sets of dependent variables, fear of victimisation and reactive symptoms.

In keeping with the Criminal Event Perspective, the model tested here makes the assumption that an event is characterised by certain circumstances which come together in time and place, and then come to be defined as an event sharing some common bond with these incidents. In this case, certain event characteristics come into play in time, and share the

common fact that these smaller events came to be defined collectively as a criminal event by the victim.

Not every characteristic that the offender and the victim bring to the criminal event are exclusive to that event. There are certain characteristics of the offender, the victim, and the event itself that may not have any direct affect on the event, but do have the potential to affect how that person reacts during the event and after. For example, because a person is young does not necessitate that they will automatically become involved in a crime. However, young people are more frequently involved in crime (Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985) as well as more likely to be victims of these events (Hindelang et al, 1978). Older people may be more prone to injury, not because they are often victims of crime, but because their health is more fragile than younger individuals. Consuming alcohol does not lead to involvement in crime, but we do know that those who drink alcohol are also more likely to increase their risk of becoming involved in a crime (Johnson and Sacco, 1991). Alcohol impairs the judgement of those who imbibe it and therefore alcohol may lead to more risk-taking behaviour.

This final phase of analysis has included many of the variables in the second analysis. New variables have been added to test how they affect the dynamics of the previous phase. That is, what happens to the analysis when certain variables are included such as the total number of assaults the victim has reported, whether or not alcohol was involved at the time of victimisation, and who the victim talked to after the event? This analysis will be carried out using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. Below, a simplified version of the analysis is proposed to illustrate the differences between the third phase, and the other regression analyses carried out in this dissertation.

Precursors	**Transaction**			**Who Talked To? (Aftermath)**		**Fear/Symp. (Aftermath)**
Age *Income* *Education* => *# Assaults*	*Relationship between V & O* *Alcohol?*	=>	*Seriousness* *Degree of Injury*	*Intimates* *Counsellor* *Police*	=>	*Fear* *Reactive Symptoms*

The overall structure of the tri-phase is designed to do analyses, both at a macro level, and a micro level, in order to get a better understanding of the nature and extent of sexual assault and its after effects. The three "skeletal" diagrams illustrated above, can accomplish this task.

ETHICAL ISSUES

A final word should be given to the ethics of this study, given the sensitivity of the research matter. The responsibility of the researcher, in the course of his or her research, is optimally to do no harm to the group being studied. When the subject of the analyses involves victimisation, and in particular sexual victimisation, one must be especially cautious of the implications of the findings the research will hold. As mentioned above, this dissertation uses secondary data collected by another agency, in this case, the government of Canada. As noted, special precautions were implemented in order to get the most accurate information available, while minimising any potential harm that may have occurred to the respondent as a result of the interview process. As a result, the analysis, and research carried out in this dissertation is relatively unobtrusive.

SUMMARY

This chapter, in part, has been dedicated to summarising the uniqueness of the VAWS as compared to other surveys. The VAWS, in comparison to UCR reports, has many of the advantages that other victimisation surveys have in that they offer more information about crime as they include those crimes that are not reported to police. In comparison to other large scale surveys such as the GSS, the VAWS has the added advantage as being designed in such a way as to get at sensitive information to obtain a more complete picture of the nature and scope of violence against women.

In addition, this chapter has outlined the variables, both independent and dependent, that will be used in this analysis. This analysis will be carried out in three phases. The first phase of analysis uses the data generated from both victimised and non-victimised women to analyse their responses with respect to fear of crime. The second phase of analysis reproduces the analysis, to some degree, carried out in the first analysis using only those women who reported at least one incident of victimisation. This analysis also includes the additional dependent variable of psychological reaction to the transaction. The third and final phase of analysis is dedicated to an event analysis. That is, the third analysis is an elaboration of the previous analysis in that it incorporates several situational variables to test their overall power of explanation in comparison with the analysis done in phase two. In the chapter to follow, all three phases of the analysis will be carried out and reported on. The discussion of these results will be carried out in chapter six.

Table 4-1:

Expected Likelihood of an 'Uncharacteristic Response' to the Question, "How has this affected you?"

Variable	Not much	Fearful	Depression/ Anxiety	Sleeping Problems
Not Much	/			
Fearful	0.959	/		
Depression/Anxiety	1.000	0.222	/	
Sleeping Problems	0.862	0.310	0.354	/
Total	N=4113	N=3449	N=1068	N=151	N=45

CHAPTER FIVE

Some Preliminary Univariate and Bivariate Analyses...

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter the variables that are to be used in the regression analyses were reviewed. However, before these rather complicated analyses are undertaken, some effort is taken to look at how the dependent variables are distributed, as well as how these variables are distributed with respect to various victimisation experiences. All tables and figures referred to in these univariate and bivariate analyses can be located at the end of this chapter.

UNIVARIATE ANALYSES OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Before I begin the more complicated regression analyses, some attention should be brought to how the dependent variables are distributed. Figure 5-1 displays a histogram demonstrating the overall response pattern to the level of fear that is experienced when

walking alone in the respondent's area after dark. As illustrated by the overlay of the distribution curve, this variable is relatively normally distributed, thereby meeting the basic optimum requirements for regression analysis.

However, Figures 5-2 and 5-3 demonstrate a different picture. Figure 5-2 which queries fear while using or waiting for public transportation is skewed to the left, while Figure 5-3 asking about feelings of worry in a parking garage is skewed to the right. In part, this may be due to the fact that the survey was capturing two overlapping subsets of the population, those who use public transportation and those who utilise automobiles, respectively. Because we are dealing with modes of transportation, we should expect to see this type of skewed distribution. Although one of the minimum requirements for regression stipulates that a dependent variable be normally distributed, the sample size allows for robust analysis. That is the *t* test for a mean is quite robust against the violations of the assumption that the distribution is normal, in particular where the sample size is large. This means that even if the population is not normally distributed, the *t* distribution still provides a reasonably good approximation to the exact sampling distribution, where the sample is randomly chosen (Agresti and Finlay, 1986: 140-141)[1]. The skewed distribution of the transportation-fear dependent variables does not affect the overall analysis in any significant way. Therefore this requirement of normal distribution is not necessary for this analysis.

Figure 5-4, which shows the frequency of responses to being home alone in the

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[1] The VAWS did employ a randomly chosen sample and, as later analyses will show, the significance of the *t* values as a result of the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analyses is quite high.

evening is, like Figure 5-1, also relatively normal in its distribution. However, there is a higher concentration of responses in the middle two categories of either not at all worried, or somewhat worried. It is interesting to note the relative dichotomy or responses in this category. This, however, is not entirely unexpected. What is surprising is that almost 40% of women polled said that they did feel somewhat or very worried being home alone in the evening[2].

Finally, Figure 5-5 shows a histogram illustrating the frequency of responses of victimised women to the question, "How has this affected you?". As illustrated by the overlaying distribution curve, this variable is also skewed heavily to the right. However, as discussed with Figures 5-2 and 5-3, a normal distribution is not necessary with a sample of this size with data that are sufficiently robust. In addition, this distribution is also a product of the scale construction. Recall that the scale is based on the presumption of difficulty of response to various reactive symptoms. Under this assumption, one would expect to see the distribution curve that is present.

In sum then, after univariate analysis of the dependent variables, it is concluded that the distributions meet the minimum requirements sufficient for regression analyses. However, before this step is taken, further analysis is dedicated to analysing how these dependent variables above, are influenced by the type of victimisation experienced.

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[2] Refer to Table 5-4 further in this chapter for a list of numeric frequencies and percentages which relates to this figure.

BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE

These analyses are dedicated to analysing how women who reported victimisation responded to fear questions queried in the VAWS, as well as to how respondents were affected as a result of the incident. That is, the responses of those who reported victimisation will be cross-tabulated with all five of the dependent variables. First, I shall look at victimised women's responses to fear of walking alone in their neighbourhood at night, followed by fear of using public transportation, fear of walking to a car in a parking garage and, finally, fear experienced while at home alone in the evening.

Victimisation Experience and Fear While Walking in Respondents Area After Dark

Results of these analyses are illustrated in Table 5-1. In total 12286 women responded to queries about levels of concern experienced while walking alone in their area after dark. In this bivariate analysis of this dependent variable, as well as all dependent variables examined in this chapter responses to sexual assault are broken down into two categories: sexual attack, and unwanted sexual touching.[3] Of those women who responded, 2656 women reported they had been sexually attacked,[4] 3222 had reported

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[3]This was done to see if there were any differences in responding to these separate types of sexual assault.

[4]Respondents were queried "Has a male stranger (date/boyfriend, other known man) ever forced you or attempted to force you into sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in some way?" which corresponds to the legal definition of sexual assault, levels II or III. See Chapter One for clarification of legal terms.

that they had been touched against their will[5], 1356 had reported they had been physically attacked, and 1636 had reported that they had experienced a face-to-face threats.

Of those who were sexually attacked, only 210 admitted that they never walk alone. Further, 814, or 30.7% of those women reported that they were not worried about walking in their own area, alone after dark. Fully 48.7% or 1300 sexually attacked women reported that they experienced some degree of worry under the same circumstances, while 332, or 12.5% stated that they were very worried to be walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark. In sum then, 21.6% of women in this survey responded affirmatively to being sexually attacked and, of those, 1632 (61.4%) stated that they were either somewhat or very worried being out alone after dark in their neighbourhood.

Of those women who responded to being touched against their will, 249 reported admitted to not walking alone, after dark, at night. Just over 1000 women, or 31.2% of those who have had this experience did not have any personal safety concerns under these same circumstances. Just under half of these women (49.7%) stated that they were somewhat worried, while just over 1 in 10 (11.4%) who have had this experience reported that they were very worried walking in their own neighbourhood alone, after dark.

Of those women who reported being physically attacked, 7.4% reported never walking alone, while 29.1% of these respondents stated that they were not worried when walking under these circumstances. Again, just under half (49%) of the women who

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[5] The responses to the question "Has a male stranger (date/boyfriend, other known man) ever touched you against your will in any sexual way, such as unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing or fondling.?" were tallied for this response category. Legally, this question corresponds to level I sexual assault under the Canadian Criminal Code. Refer to Chapter One for clarification of legal terms.

reported this experience, also reported feeling somewhat worried, while 14.5% of women who had been physically attacked said they were very worried walking alone at night.

Finally, of those who reported having experienced a face-to-face threat, 35.5% said that they either never walked alone or had no worries about walking alone in the evening after dark in their own area. Just over 52% of women who had been threatened reported that they were somewhat worried in this situation, while just over 1 in 10 (11.9%) acknowledged that they were very worried under these circumstances.

In total, 5794 reported that they were either not worried, or never walked alone in their neighbourhood after dark, while 52.8% of the women who responded to this question reported being somewhat or very worried in the identical situation.

Victimisation Experience and Fear While Waiting for or Using Public Transportation

The results of this analysis are summarised in table 5-2. In total, 10105 women responded to the question asking them of their fear while using or waiting for public transportation. Approximately 1 in 5 of the women who answered this question admitted to being sexually attacked (N=2282), 27% reported being touched against their will, just over 1 in 10 reported being physically attacked, while 14% admitted to being in a face-to-face threat situation.

Of those who were sexually attacked, 879 reported that they never used public transportation, while only 274 respondents reported that they did not worry using these facilities. Approximately 32.2% of women in this survey reported being somewhat

worried while using public transportation, and 17.3% of respondents reported being very worried under the same circumstances. These results are similar to those who reported unwanted sexual touching.

Of those who reported more minor sexual assaults,[6] fully 39.1% or 1069 women, reported never using public transportation. Approximately one in 10 (11.4%) reported not being worried when using or waiting for public transportation, while 32.7% said they were somewhat worried under the same circumstances. Four hundred and fifty nine respondents, or 16.7%, reported being very worried using public transportation.

Four hundred and twenty nine women who reported at least one incident of being physically attacked relayed that they never used public transportation. Of those women who did report using public transportation, 12.3% did not express concern for personal safety while doing so. However, 32.5% of women said they were somewhat worried, while almost 1 in 5 said they were very worried while riding a city bus, streetcar or train.

Finally, 35.6% of women who had reported being threatened admitted to not using public transportation. Roughly 1 in 10 respondents (11.9%) reported not being worried using public transport facilities. The highest proportion of those who do use public transportation reported that they were somewhat worried in these situations, while 18.1% said that they were very worried.

In total, 4659 women, or 46.1%, admitted to not using public transportation. Of those who did use these facilities, 13.3% or 1339 women reported no being worried while

[6] Minor sexual assaults refer to unwanted sexual touching by a stranger, date/boyfriend, or other known man.

doing so. Just over one in four women, regardless of victimisation experience, reported that they were somewhat worried while using public transportation, while 13.4% of women reported being very worried while using a public bus, streetcar, or train.

Victimisation Experience and Fear While Walking Alone to a Car in a Parking Garage

Results of the cross-tabulation of victimisation experience and fear reported while walking alone to a car in a parking garage are illustrated in Table X-3. In total, 8401 women responded to the interviewers questions in this area. Of the women who responded to this question, approximately 1 in 4 experienced at least one sexual attack (23.3%), and even more reported being touched sexually against their will (28.4%). Just over one in ten respondents reported being physically attacked (11.5%), and other 14.3% of these women reported at least one face-to-face threat.

Of those women who reported being sexually attacked, only 5.2% (N=102) remarked that they never use parking garages. Another 11.9% of these women reported that they were not concerned about being alone and walking to a car in a parking garage. Over half, or 53.1%, of the women who reported a sexual attack said that they were somewhat worried in the same situation. Finally, 3 out of every 10 women (N=582) reported being very worried under the same circumstances.

Of those women who reported being sexually and unwontedly touched against their will, only 5.4% revealed that they did not use parking garages. An additional 12.9 percent remarked that they were not worried while walking alone to a car in a parking

garage. Again, over half (52.3%) of the women in this category reported that they were somewhat worried about being in this situation, accompanied by another 29.4% who said that they were very worried under the same circumstances.

Of the smaller portion of women who had said they had been physically attacked, only 5.3% of women reported never using a parking garage. Further, 13.5% of respondents said that they were not worried when they had been in this situation. Just under half of the women who responded to this survey said that they were somewhat worried under these same circumstances, and an additional 31.8% said that they were very worried walking to a car alone in a parking garage.

Finally, only 4.9% of women who reported a face-to-face threat mentioned that they never used parking garages. One hundred and forty-eight, or 12.9% of women said that they were not worried while using this type of facility alone. One in 2 women reported being somewhat worried while walking alone to a car in a parking garage, and 32.6% of respondents conveyed that being in this situation made them very worried.

Regardless of victimisation experience, only 8.1% of women reported never using a parking garage. Another 17.2% of respondents did not feel worried at all under this situation. Just over half (50.5%) of women who replied to this particular fear question reported that they were somewhat worried walking alone to a car in a parking garage. Finally, just under 1 in 4 of those who answered this question said that they were very worried in this type of situation. What is noteworthy in this summary is that in all victimisation categories, over 70% of respondents reported that they were either somewhat worried, or very worried, about walking alone to a car in a parking garage. It

would appear that this particular situation is most fear inducing to women of all situations presented here.

Victimisation Experience and Fear While being at Home Alone in the Evening

Almost all women surveyed responded to the question, "When alone in your home in the evening or at night, do you feel..." The responses to this question, broken down by victimisation experience, are illustrated in Table 5-4. Of those who responded to this question, 20.9% of women said that they had been sexually attacked at least once. Another 26.2% of women admitted to being sexually touched against their will. Only 11% of respondents admitted to being physically attacked, while 13.3% reported being in a face-to-face threat situation.

Those who reported being sexually attacked rarely reported ever being home alone in the evening. That is, there was someone with them in the house at all times. Recall, as with the other dependent variables, that the correspondence analysis found that these women felt the safest of all those who responded to this question. Over half of respondents (53.7%) stated that while at home alone, they were not worried. Two out of every five women reported experiencing some worry while home alone in the evening, and only 6.7% said that they were very worried. These figures are similar to those women who reported unwanted sexual touching by a male.

Only 0.3% of respondents admitted that they were never home alone in the evening. Again, over half (54.9%) of the respondents stated that they were not concerned under this same situation. Almost 2 of 5 women reported that they were somewhat

worried in this situation, while only 6.1% of respondents admitted to being very worried while home alone in the evening.

Of those who reported being physically attacked, only a small fraction admitted to never being home alone (0.4%). Once again, over half of the women surveyed (52.9%) felt safe while at home alone in the evening. Another 39.5% of respondents mentioned that they were somewhat worried while in this situation, and 7.1% of women reported that they were very worried.

Women who reported face-to-face threats responded similarly to those results mentioned above. Only a fraction responded that they were never home alone in the evening (0.7%), while over half did not express concern about being in this situation (52.6%). Once again, almost 2 out of every 5 women who responded to this question felt somewhat worried in their own home in the evening, while another 7.3% felt very worried being in this situation.

In total, only 1.1% of those women surveyed mentioned that they had never had the experience of being alone in their own home in the evening. Fully 60.3% of women of 12296 said that they were not worried under these circumstances. What is surprising is that just under 2/5 of women in this survey said that they were either somewhat worried (33.1%) or very worried (5.4) being alone in their own home in the evening.

Victimisation Experience and Respondents Reported Reaction as a Result of that Experience

In this survey, 40.5% of all respondents said that they had experienced at least one

incident of victimisation mentioned above (N=4986). If they had reported at least one incident of victimisation, respondents were probed as to how the experience had affected them. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a scale was created of these responses. These scale items have been cross tabulated with reported victimisation experience, the results of which are demonstrated in Table X-5. It should be kept in mind that this question was an open-ended question, meaning that the respondents were not prompted as to categorical answers. As a result, the respondent had several opportunities to make several statements about how they felt after the attack. Therefore, column totals will not be discussed here as they are not relevant.

When asked, "How has this experience affected you?" 62.9% the responses of those women victimised were coded as saying "not much." Just over 3 in ten women's responses (31.4%) were categorised as fearful, while 4.5% noted that they had experienced some feelings of depression or anxiety as a result of the incident. Only 1.3% of all women who were sexually attacked mentioned that they experienced sleeping problems in the aftermath of the event.

Almost 3 out of every 4 women (N=1760) who were probed as to a incident of unwanted sexual touching, noted that the incident had not affected them that severely. However, approximately 1 in 4 reported feelings of being fearful as a result of the experience. Only 3.2% of women in this situation experienced feelings of depression or anxiety, while even fewer (0.8%) stated that they had sleeping problems as a result of this experience.

Of those who admitted to having been sexually attacked just over 3 of every 5

women said that the incident did not really affect them. However, another 30.3% of women said that they became fearful after the attack. Almost 1 in 20 (4.6%) suffered from depression or anxiety, while another 1.4% suffered from some sort of sleeping disorder.

Finally, of those women who were queried as to their reaction to a face-to-face threat, 68.1% said that they were not seriously affected by the incident. Approximately 1 in 4 women (25.9%) relayed that they were somewhat fearful after the event, and another 4.2% of those who admitted to being this experience reported some problems with depression or anxiety. Only 1.3% of this group reported some form of sleeping problem.

In total, 65.9% of women in this survey said, as one possible answer, that the incident had really not affected them that much. Another 28.3% of those queried mentioned that they had some fearful experiences as a result of a victimisation experience. Only 1 in 20 of all women who reported these symptoms, reported that they had some depression or anxiety as a result of their experience, and just under 1 out of 100 women reported sleeping problems as a result of any victimisation experience.

SUMMARY OF UNIVARIATE AND BIVARIATE ANALYSES

Overall, across dependent variables, some interesting patterns emerge. Less women responded to the parking garage and transportation questions than did the questions about fear walking in the respondents own area and fear while at home. This is due to the partitioning of behaviour of two groups of people. That is, these response categories are tapping into those who drive, verses those who use public transportation.

In addition, because there groups are not mutually exclusive, these two categories also have people within them that use both forms of transportation.

Another interesting trend is that there is a higher proportion of those who are either somewhat worried or very worried while walking to a car alone in a parking garage. Clearly, this is one of the most fear inducing types of situations that women experience in this survey. The second highest fear inducing situation is walking alone in the respondent's area after dark. Just over 40% of women surveyed, who reported using public transportation felt somewhat or very worried. Although 2 out of every five women experience fear in these situations, this number is much lower in comparison to walking alone in their area after dark, or using a parking garage. The lowest fear response category was evidenced by those who were home alone in the evening. What is surprising is that just *under* 2/5 of women experience fear at home while alone. This is ironic, in that a home is considered to be a place of safety and for some, therefore, even this place can elicit fear.

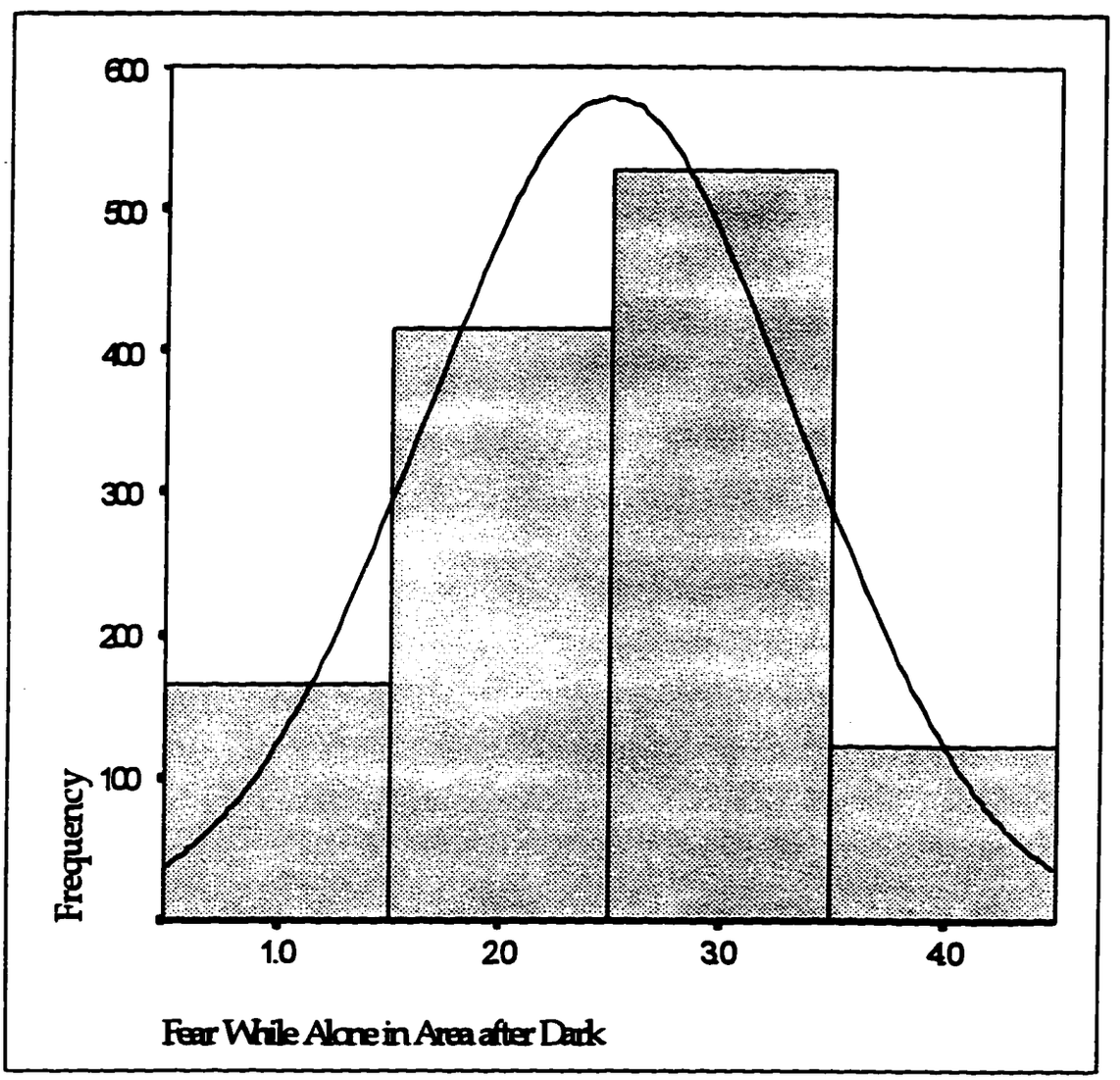
Additionally, looking across victimisation experiences, it would appear that there is very little variation. That is, regardless of what type of victimisation women reported, they all seemed to respond similarly to all fear questions. Therefore, whether a woman has reported being sexually attacked, or threatened, her fear responses are remarkably similar. This would suggest that, from the bivariate analysis, the actual experience of physical or sexual violence is not what determines women's fear. Certainly not having these experiences diminishes fear responses to some degree, with the exception of those who have used parking garages, but not drastically.

Finally, with respect to the level of reactive symptoms that women experience as a result of a victimisation incident, what is very clear is the number of women who reported that the incident had not affected them "much". What is also interesting is that these responses also are very similar across victimisation experience type. What is even more surprising is the number of women who reported being minimally affected is higher for those women who experienced unwanted sexual touching and sexual attack. It should be reminded though that these responses are to some degree a product of the Mokken scale construction outlined in the previous chapter.

In sum then, what these analyses reveal is that there is really very little variation with respect to victimisation experience, and either fear or reactive symptoms as a result of the event. It may not be the victimisation itself, but the factors that once paired with victimisation experiences may affect fear and reactive symptoms as a result of the incident. The empirical evidence in this chapter seems to support this assertion. All five tables demonstrating the results of the bivariate analyses show that, regardless of the victimisation experience, all women who reported at least one incident of victimisation responded similarly to various fear situations. Another consistent finding is that those who had not reported a victimisation experience admitted to having less fear in various situations than those who had been victimised. However, this drop in fear levels is not that sharp. there are still a substantial number of women who are fearful, even though they have never had the misfortune of being assaulted or threatened. The bivariate analyses suggest that there is more to women's subjective experience of fear, than the actual experience of being victimised. In the regression analyses to follow, other variables

will be added to the analyses to understand how demographics, and/or circumstances surrounding the transaction, affect these dependent variables.

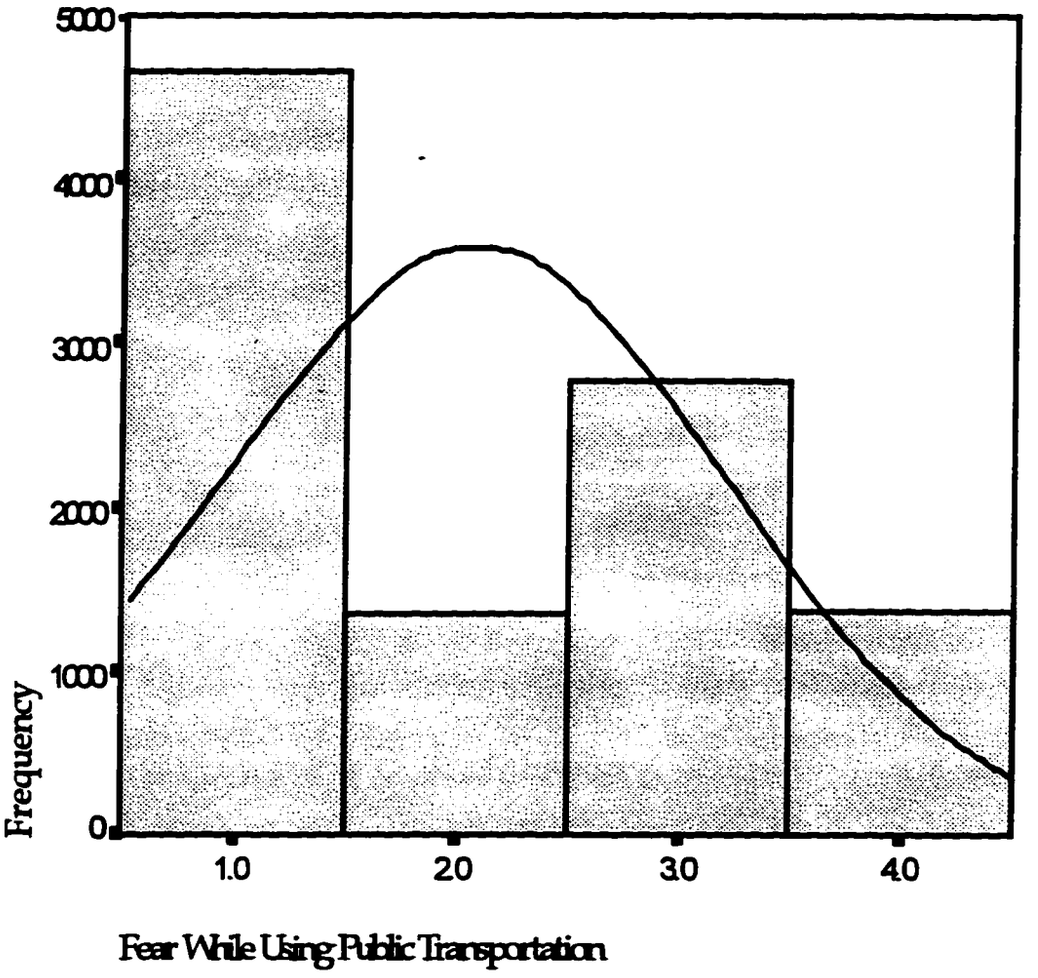
FIGURE 5-1: DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLE - FEAR WHILE WALKING ALONE IN OWN AREA AFTER DARK



Where:

1.0 = Never walk in area alone.
2.0 = Not worried.
3.0 = Somewhat worried.
4.0 = Very worried.

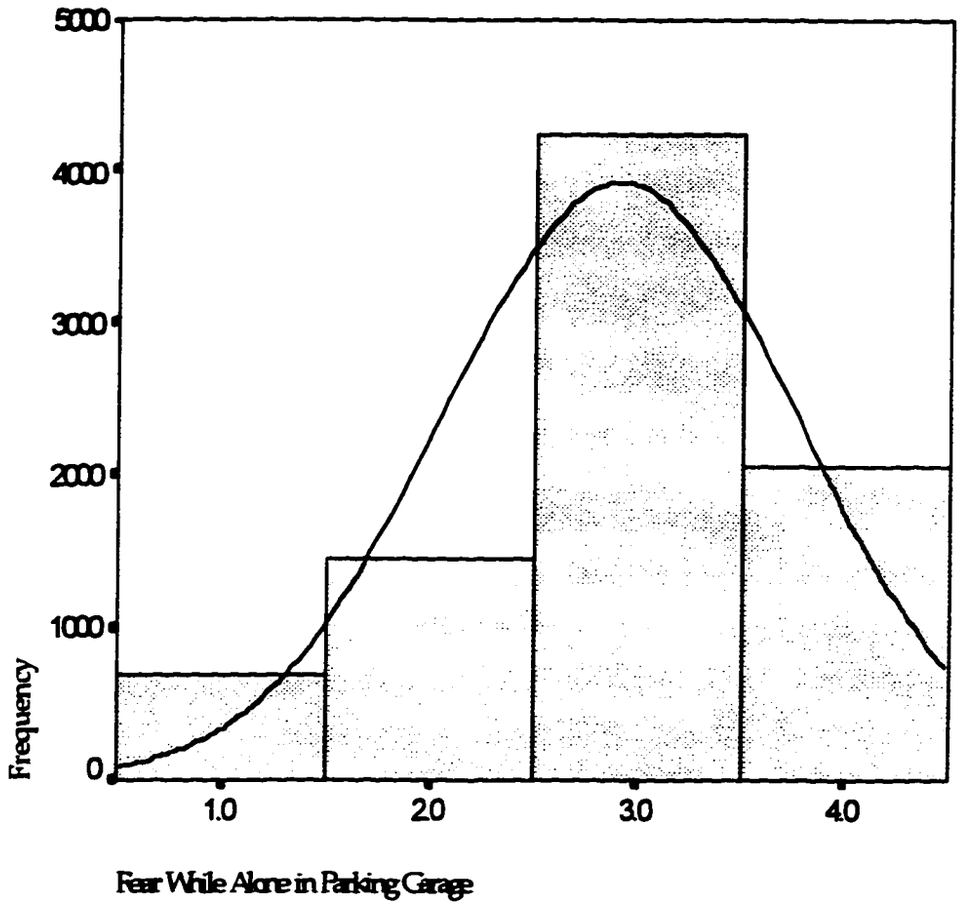
FIGURE 5-2: DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLE - FEAR WHILE USING OR WAITING FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION



Where:

1.0 = Never use public transportation.
2.0 = Not worried.
3.0 = Somewhat worried.
4.0 = Very worried.

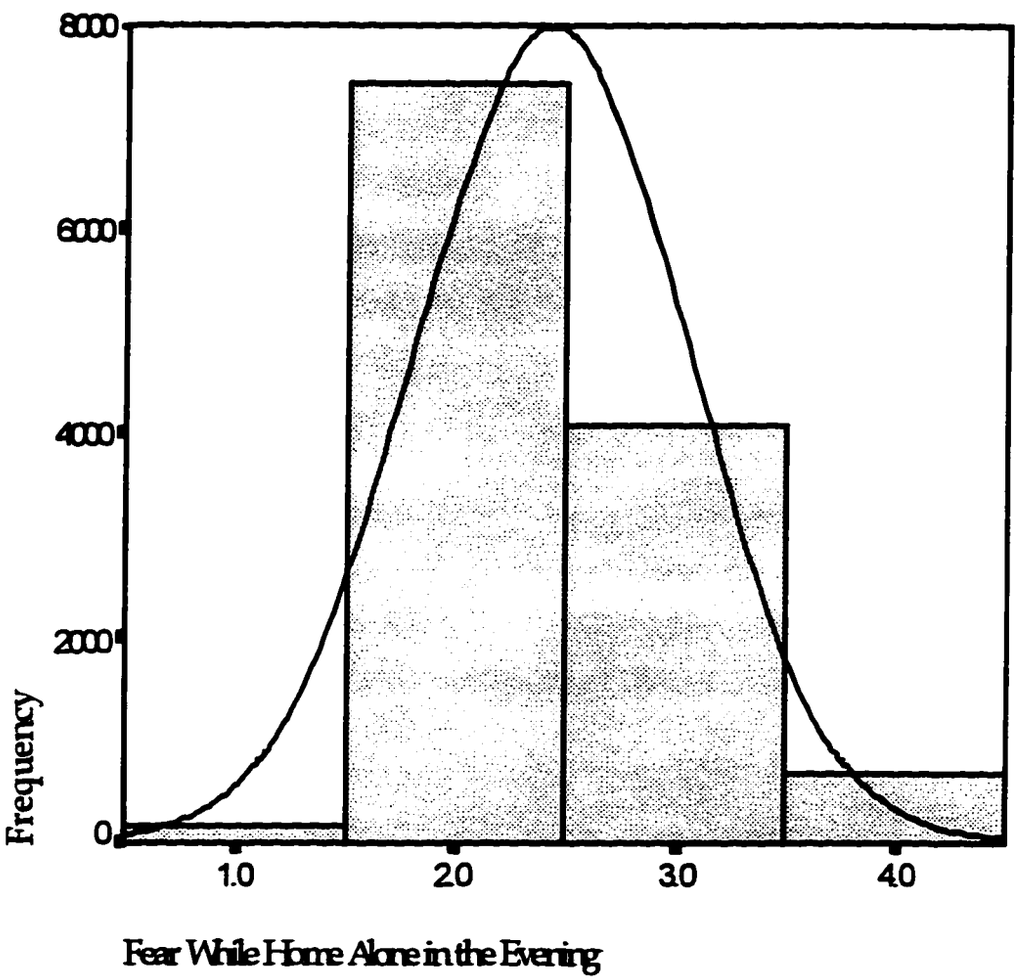
FIGURE 5-3: DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLE - FEAR WHILE WALKING TO A CAR ALONE IN A PARKING GARAGE.



Where:

1.0 = Never use parking garages.
2.0 = Not worried.
3.0 = Somewhat worried.
4.0 = Very worried.

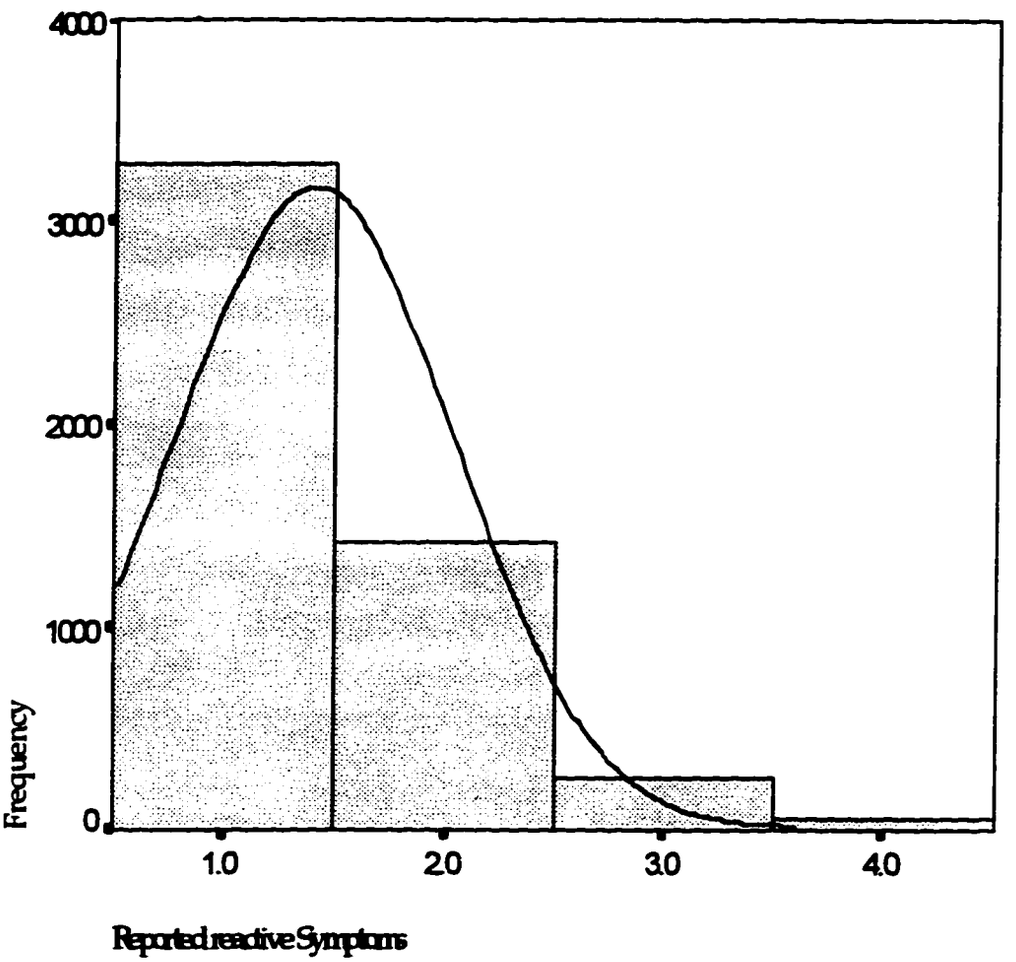
FIGURE 5-4: DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLE - FEAR WHILE HOME ALONE IN THE EVENING



Where:

1.0 = Never home alone.
2.0 = Not worried.
3.0 = Somewhat worried.
4.0 = Very worried.

FIGURE 5-5: DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLE - REACTIVE SYMPTOMS REPORTED AS A RESULT OF VICTIMISATION



Where:

1.0 = Not much.
2.0 = Fear.
3.0 = Depression/Anxiety.
4.0 = Sleeping Problems.

TABLE 5-1: BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE AND RESPONDENT'S REPORTED FEAR OF WALKING IN THEIR OWN AREA AFTER DARK.

Fear in Area	Ever Sexually Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Touched Against Will in Sexual Way? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never walk alone	210	7.9	1436	14.9	1646	249	7.7	1397	15.4	1646	13.4
Not worried	814	30.7	3334	34.6	4148	1004	31.2	3144	34.7	4148	33.8
Somewhat worried	1300	48.9	3966	41.2	5266	1602	49.7	3664	40.4	5226	42.9
Very worried	332	12.5	894	9.3	1226	367	11.4	859	9.5	1226	10.0
TOTAL	**2656**	**100**	**9630**	**100**	**12286**	**3222**	**100**	**9064**	**100**	**12286**	**100***

Fear in Area	Ever Physically Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Threatened? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never walk alone	101	7.4	1545	14.1	1646	98	6.0	1548	14.5	1646	13.4
Not worried	394	29.1	3754	34.3	4148	489	29.9	3659	34.4	4148	33.8
Somewhat worried	665	49.0	4601	42.1	5226	855	52.3	4411	41.4	5266	42.9
Very worried	196	14.5	1030	9.4	1226	194	11.9	1032	9.7	1226	10.0
TOTAL	**1356**	**100**	**10930**	**100***	**12286**	**1636**	**100***	**10650**	**100**	**12286**	**100***

* Columns do not add up due to rounding.

TABLE 5-2: BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE AND RESPONDENT'S REPORTED FEAR USING OR WAITING FOR PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION.

Fear Using Pub. Transit	Ever Sexually Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Touched Against Will in Sexual Way? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never use public transit	879	38.5	3780	48.3	4659	1069	39.1	3590	48.7	4659	46.1
Not worried	274	12.0	1065	13.6	1339	311	11.4	1028	13.9	1339	13.3
Somewhat worried	734	32.2	2022	25.8	2756	893	32.7	1863	25.3	2756	27.3
Very worried	395	17.3	956	12.2	1351	459	16.8	892	12.1	1351	13.4
TOTAL	**2282**	**100**	**7823**	**100***	**10105**	**2732**	**100**	**7373**	**100**	**10105**	**100***

Fear Using Pub. Transit	Ever Physically Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Threatened? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never use public transit	429	35.8	4230	47.5	4659	508	35.6	4151	47.8	4659	46.1
Not worried	147	12.3	1192	13.3	1339	170	11.9	1169	13.5	1339	13.3
Somewhat worried	390	32.5	2366	26.6	2756	492	34.5	2264	26.1	2756	27.3
Very worried	233	19.4	1118	12.6	1351	258	18.1	1093	12.6	1351	13.4
TOTAL	**1199**	**100**	**8906**	**100**	**10105**	**1428**	**100***	**8677**	**100**	**10105**	**100***

* Columns do not add up due to rounding.

TABLE 5-3: BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE AND RESPONDENT'S REPORTED FEAR WHILE WALKING ALONE TO THEIR CAR IN A PARKING GARAGE.

Fear in Parking Garage	Ever Sexually Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Touched Against Will in Sexual Way? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never use parking garage	102	5.2	576	8.9	678	130	5.4	548	9.1	678	8.1
Not worried	233	11.9	1208	18.7	1441	308	12.9	1133	18.8	1441	17.2
Somewhat worried	1038	53.1	3201	49.7	4239	1249	52.3	2990	49.7	4239	50.5
Very worried	582	29.8	1461	22.7	2043	701	29.4	1342	22.3	2043	24.3
TOTAL	**1955**	**100**	**6446**	**100**	**8401**	**2388**	**100**	**6013**	**100***	**8401**	**100***

Fear in Parking Garage	Ever Physically Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Threatened? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never use parking garage	51	5.3	627	8.4	978	59	4.9	619	8.6	678	8.1
Not worried	131	13.5	1310	17.6	1441	148	12.3	1293	18.0	1441	17.2
Somewhat worried	479	49.4	3760	50.6	4239	604	50.2	3635	50.5	4239	50.5
Very worried	308	31.8	1375	23.3	2043	391	32.6	1652	22.9	2043	24.3
TOTAL	**969**	**100**	**7432**	**100***	**8401**	**1202**	**100**	**7199**	**100**	**8401**	**100***

* Columns do not add up due to rounding.

TABLE 5-4: BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE AND RESPONDENT'S REPORTED FEAR WHILE HOME ALONE IN THE EVENING.

Fear While Home Alone	Ever Sexually Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Touched Against Will in Sexual Way? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never home alone	15	0.6	126	1.3	141	10	0.3	131	14	141	1.1
Not worried	1427	53.7	5993	62.2	7420	1768	54.9	5652	62.3	7420	60.3
Somewhat worried	1038	39.1	3028	31.4	4066	1245	38.7	2821	31.1	4066	33.1
Very worried	177	6.7	492	5.1	669	198	6.1	471	5.2	669	5.4
TOTAL	**2657**	**100***	**9639**	**100**	**12296**	**3221**	**100**	**9075**	**100**	**12296**	**100***

Fear While Home Alone	Ever Physically Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Threatened? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Never home alone	6	0.4	135	1.2	141	11	0.7	130	1.2	141	1.1
Not worried	718	52.9	6702	61.3	7420	860	52.6	6560	61.5	7420	60.3
Somewhat worried	536	39.5	3530	32.3	4066	646	39.5	3420	32.1	4066	33.1
Very worried	97	7.1	572	5.2	669	119	7.3	550	5.2	669	5.4
TOTAL	**1357**	**100***	**10939**	**100**	**12296**	**1636**	**100***	**10660**	**100**	**12296**	**100***

* Columns do not add up due to rounding.

TABLE 5-5: BIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCE AND RESPONDENT'S REPORTED REACTIVE SYMPTOMS AS A RESULT OF THE EVENT.

Reported Symptoms	Ever Sexually Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Touched Against Will in Sexual Way? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Not Much	1337	62.9	1947	68.1	3284	1760	71.4	1524	60.5	3284	65.9
Fearful	667	31.4	744	26.0	1411	605	24.5	806	32.0	1411	28.3
Depression/Anxiety	95	4.5	151	5.3	246	80	3.2	166	6.6	246	4.9
Sleeping Problems	28	1.3	17	0.6	45	20	0.8	25	1.0	45	0.9
TOTAL	**2127**	**100***	**2859**	**100**	**4986**	**2465**	**100***	**2521**	**100***	**4986**	**100**

Reported Symptoms	Ever Physically Attacked? Yes	%	No	%	Total	Ever Threatened? Yes	%	No	%	Total	%Total
Not Much	726	63.6	558	66.5	3284	774	59.5	2510	68.1	3284	65.9
Fearful	346	30.3	1065	27.7	1411	456	35.0	955	25.9	1411	28.3
Depression/Anxiety	53	4.6	193	5.0	246	54	4.2	192	5.2	246	4.9
Sleeping Problems	16	1.4	29	0.8	45	17	1.3	0.8	28	45	0.9
TOTAL	**1141**	**100***	**3845**	**100**	**4986**	**1301**	**100**	**3685**	**100**	**4986**	**100**

* Columns do not add up due to rounding.

CHAPTER SIX

The Analyses and Results

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is dedicated to the examination of three separate, although theoretically linked, OLS regression analyses. Variables for these analyses, as well as the basic design of each analysis, have been outlined in the previous chapter. One purpose of this entire model is to examine data in three phases, to get a comprehensive look at how women's victimisation experiences (or lack thereof) contribute to their fear of crime. A second aim of this tri-phase model is to get a general understanding of how various victimisation experiences influence women's' psychological reactions to the experience of these events. The last phase, in particular, is designed to utilise the criminal event perspective as an explanatory tool in looking at the victimisation experience.

What follows is a very complex set of analyses that require some degree of explanation as to how it is presented. First, several hypotheses are being tested in the tri-

phase analysis. The principle focus of this dissertation is victimisation experience and the resulting fear and/or reactive symptoms to victimisation, and in particular sexual assault. As there are several hypotheses being tested here, principle hypotheses are indicated with a principle hypotheses indicator (H1, H2, H3, and so on). The remaining, and less central hypotheses are discussed in the appropriate surrounding passages, but remain unseparated from the flow of the text. The purpose of this layout is to bring attention to the major hypotheses that are tested.

Second, each phase of the analysis is discussed as to variables included in the analysis. All hypotheses to be tested are illustrated in path diagrams which are under-identified. Following this, results are given, illustrated with a second over-identified model. This second model illustrates only those relationships that are found to be significant in the model. All figures and tables relating to these analyses can be found at the end of this chapter. The discussion of the results of the tri-phase analysis are left to Chapter 7.

PHASE ONE

It is hypothesised that the actual experience of victimisation increases this fear. Further, it is assumed the more personal the assault, the more of an effect it will have on the respondent. It is argued that women who experience sexual assault experience more fear of victimisation than: (1) those who experience non-sexual assault, (2) have been only threatened, or (3)those who have never experienced any physical or verbal assault. Based on this claim, the following hypothesis is offered for testing:

H1: Women who have experienced more extreme levels of violence will have higher reported levels of fear of victimisation

Although this victimisation-fear nexus is the principle focus of this and other analyses in this chapter, there are additional relationships being tested as we progress through each phase of the model. Figure 6-1 illustrates these relationships more clearly. For example, past experiences and lifestyles, may also increase a woman's risk for victimisation (Hindelang, et al, 1978). These same experiences may also affect how she reacts to being victimised. It is hypothesised in this analysis that older women, are more likely to be less educated than their younger counterparts. This is largely due to the fact that in earlier decades, less education was required of women to gain employment. Women were also more dependent on their spouses income for financial support, as well as limited by the restraints of their more traditional general role at the time. Given this, older women are more likely to have less personal income than are younger ones, as older women are more likely to live under more traditional marital relationships. Those who did get higher levels of education, are probably more likely to have a higher personal income than those who did not. One possible reason for this is educated women were probably more likely to have professional employment, resulting in a less traditional financial arrangement in the marital agreement.

The literature in this area would also suggest younger and/or less educated women, and/or women who have low levels of income, may be more at risk for victimisation than other groups of women. In fact, Ferraro (1995, 1996) has found that

younger women are more likely to fear violent victimisation while older women are more likely to adhere to other types of fear. The focus of this dissertation is on violent victimisation. Therefore age is hypothesised to have a negative effect on fear[1]. In addition, income, and education are also hypothesised to have a negative relationship with victimisation experience. It is hypothesised that younger women are more likely to experience fear than older women. Younger women, who have less education and lower incomes, are more often required to use public transportation, walk alone in the evening, and so on. These women do not have the resources to own automobiles which in many ways are safer than public transportation, and therefore lower SES women may be forced to engage in potentially more risk producing activities. Therefore, because of constant exposure to these situations they are hypothesised to have more fear than older women who have more resources, or who are less likely to engage in these types of activities

Further, victimisation is more likely to be experienced by the young (Canada, 1995a, 1994a, 1994b, 1993a; Hindelang, et al, 1978), as younger men and women are more likely to engage in riskier activities than their older counterparts. Younger people are more likely to be single, to consume alcohol at taverns or night clubs, and stay out later in the evening. As a woman, this means she is more likely to come into contact with a potential victimiser if she engages in these activities.

This presents somewhat of a paradox. Younger women, partly because they engage more often in these social activities are less likely to feel vulnerable to physical

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[1] In addition, curvilinearity was tested for in all three phases of this model, and was found to actually reduce the variance explained. Therefore the relationship between age and violent victimisation is assumed to be linear.

victimisation as do older women, even though they are potentially at higher risk. The less resources a women has, such as a low personal income or a lack of education, may lead to a lifestyle that makes a women more vulnerable to victimisation. These women may be forced to take more jobs in the service industry, or take factory labour, that requires shift work. The purpose of this analysis is to shed some insight into some of these hypotheses mentioned above. Below are the results of the hypotheses that are tested in this phase of the analysis

RESULTS

Figure 6-2 illustrates the results of the OLS regression analysis. Overall, because of the large sample size, most causal relationships between variables were significant. Also, the strongest effects in this phase of the model were due to the age of the respondent. Although there were statistically significant results with respect to the other variables in this analysis, these were rather small effects at best. However, they have been kept in this phase of the model, nonetheless. The results will be reported in the spatial order as appears in Figure 6-2, and in Table 6-1.

Age has the most profound effect on this initial regression analysis. Age is negatively associated with education (b = -0.212), and less so with income (b = -0.060). This indicates that the older the respondent, the less likely they were to be highly educated, and only slightly less likely to have a higher personal income, than a younger person. Age also has a negative effect on ever reported being sexually assaulted (b = -0.100), ever being physically assaulted (b = -0.097), or ever being threatened (b= -0.116).

Therefore, younger people were more likely to report having these experiences than were older people. With respect to the dependent variables, age is negatively associated with all aspects of fear in the analysis. The younger the respondent, the more likely they are to report being more worried about walking in their neighbourhood at night (b = -0.252), using public transportation (b -0.243), using a parking garage (b -0.140), or experiencing fear while home alone in the evening (b = -0.109).

Education, overall, had both negative and positive effects in the analysis. Not surprisingly, education has a strong positive relationship with personal income (b = +0.299). On the other hand, the effects on other variables are either non-existent, or negligible. Education has no significant effect on being sexually assaulted. It has a significant, but small, negative effect on being physically assaulted (b -0.068), or being threatened (b = -0.077). Also, the level of educational attainment has little or no effect on fear of victimisation. Education does not significantly affect fear levels from walking alone in their neighbourhood, or using public transportation. Being educated does seem to have small, positive effects on using parking garages (b = +0.045) and being home alone in the evening (b = +0.049).

The level of personal income of the respondent, overall, has positive, but small effects on crime seriousness. The higher the reported income, the more likely the respondent is to report ever being threatened (b = +0.087), ever being physically assaulted (b = +0.081), or ever being sexually assaulted (b = +0.38). Personal income also has a small but positive effect on reporting higher levels of concern in using parking garages (b = +0.048), and walking alone in their neighbourhood at night (b = +0.029). Income has

no significant effect on fear while using public transportation or fear experienced while at home alone in the evening.

As expected, victimisation experience is found to have a positive effect overall on fear levels in all fear situations. What is surprising is that, although these results are all significant, they are rather small. If a woman reported being ever threatened, she is also more likely to report fear walking home in her neighbourhood (b = +0.026), using public transport (b = +0.027), using a parking garage (b = +0.045), and even being at home in the evening (b = +0.045). If a woman reported that she had been physically assaulted she is also more likely to experience fear walking in her neighbourhood alone (b = +0.028), using public transport (b = +0.040), using a parking garage (b = +0.037), and being at home in the evening (b = +0.027). Finally, if the respondent had been sexually assaulted, she is more likely to experience fear walking in her neighbourhood (b = +0.048), using public transportation (b = +0.039), using a parking garage (b = +0.059), and being at home in the evening (b = +0.039). Of all the crime seriousness variables, sexual assault has the strongest effect on fear, even though all effects are rather modest.

These minor effects are compounded by the fact that, overall, the variance explained by this analysis is minimal. This analysis explained only 2.3% of the variance of the dependent variable fear at home in the evening ($R^2 = 0.023$). The independent variables in this analysis also only explained 4.1% of the variance of the fear reported while walking to a car alone in an underground parking garage ($R^2 = 0.041$). Just over 7% of the variance is explained by the age of the respondent and the type of victimisation she may have reported ($R^2 = 0.072$). Finally, only 7.7% of the fear reported while

walking alone in the respondents area in the evening was explained by this analysis (R^2 = 0.077).

PHASE TWO

This second analysis is dedicated to looking at only those women in the Violence Against Women Survey who reported being victimised. We have learned from the first analysis that experience plays a statistically significant, but minor role in overall fear levels of women. The focus of this analysis is to look at the responses of those women who have had a victimisation experience. In particular, we re-analyse some of the variables in the previous analysis, with a few changes. This was done as only certain questions were asked of those who had been victimised, which were not asked of the larger group. In particular, if a respondent admitted to being victimised they were asked about particulars of that event. One important factor is that those who reported being victimised were asked about what they did after the event. In essence, the designers of this survey were interested in how these women coped with various types of victimisation. This analysis is concerned with these aftermath variables.

In addition to querying respondents about fear in certain situations, women who reported victimisation were asked a question about how they felt the crime had affected them. The responses to this open-ended question were coded into 11 categories. These coded responses were used to create a scale of psychological response to this

victimisation[2]. Therefore, in addition to the fear dependent variables, a new variable -- reactive symptoms -- has been added to the analysis.

In this survey, 6,629 women reported that they had experienced at least one incident, since age 16, of threatening, unwanted touching, physical attack, or sexual attack. These events were memorable enough to report them to a VAWS interviewer. This number represents just over half of the women who responded to the survey and , by extension, just over half of the Canadian female population. The purpose of this phase of the analysis is to get at the dynamics of victimisation. It is unfortunate that there is not a non-victimised group that we can turn, to compare the results. This is due to the fact that not all questions about emotional state and personal affect were asked of all women in the survey. As a result, we cannot make assumptions about how different these emotional responses are from the more general population. However, we can do a within-group comparison of women who reported being victimised, as the range of events that these women reported varied criminally and in intensity. The results of this analysis are not generalisable to the Canadian female population, as they did not use all respondents in the survey, but they are generalisable to Canadian women who have been victimised.

This section of the analysis was designed to test a number of hypotheses. First, it has been argued that certain socio-economic factors affect how people will react to being the victim of a crime, but also affect how they cope in the aftermath. In accordance with the criminal event perspective, characteristics of the crime itself will also affect how

[2] For a more detailed outline of how this scale was constructed, see the previous chapter under the heading "Dependent Variables".

victims adjust to crime. Figure 6-3 illustrates all hypotheses to be tested. These hypotheses are listed in temporal order.

The age of the victim is hypothesised to have a positive effect on characteristics of the event. Older women are probably more likely to be more seriously injured, as they are more frail than younger women. Age should also be positively related to relationship between victim and offender. Older women should be more likely to report being victimised by someone they know, as they are less likely to engage in social activities outside the home with strangers. Because they do not engage in risky behaviour, and they have reported at least one incident of victimisation, their aggressor is likely to be someone they know. As with the last analysis, younger women are expected to have higher levels of reported fear. Younger women are also predicted to report a stronger psychological reaction to the victimisation experience than are older women.

Education and income are both argued in this analysis to be personal resources. The less personal resources a women has the more likely she is to enter into riskier situations, and therefore the more likely she is to be victim of a more serious attack, and therefore risk more serious injuries. Overall, education and income of the respondent are hypothesised to have a negative relationship to crime characteristics, and the after effects of crime. As a result, women with fewer personal resources are predicted to be more likely to have higher levels of fear. It is also predicted that they are more likely to have a more serious psychological reaction to the criminal transaction. These income-aftermath predictions are based on the premise that women with fewer personal resources will find it more difficult to rally these resources to cope with these types of trauma.

In this second phase of analysis, a new independent variable is introduced: the relationship between the victim and the offender. Through our daily interaction with others, we learn to trust that others we know will not hurt us. This would suggest that it is the stranger attack which may illicit the highest levels of fear. Sacco and Kennedy (1996) argue that certain types of relationship can predict the type of victimisation a person may experience. If this is the case then these acts are somewhat more predictable than other types of victimisation. Women can take action to reduce their risk and, as a result, their fear from people they recognise as posing a threat. It is the less predictable and, therefore, less controllable attacks that women fear the most.

That is, stranger assaults are the least predictable, controllable, and expected. People come in contact with thousands of strangers every day. To consider the option that one of these many thousands of people will suddenly attack, can serve to generate tremendous levels of fear. Instead, we learn to maintain a certain amount of trust in the thousands of strangers we come in contact with on a daily, if not hourly basis. The alternative untrusting and fear producing option could be paralysing. If some women dismiss this trust which others take for granted, then all men become potential offenders. If women are forced to reassess this trust, as in the case of being attacked by a stranger, a fundamental part of women's daily existence becomes jolted. It is argued that this is more disconcerting than knowing who potentially presents a risk as being a victimiser. Because the attack is unexpected, it is hypothesised that there will be more severe psychological reaction to the criminal transaction, as well as a heightened sense of fear, on the part of the victim. Thus, the first two main hypotheses for this second analysis are as follows.

H2: The level of intimacy between the offender and the victim will be negatively associated with the reported levels of fear of victimisation.

H3: The level of intimacy between the offender and the victim will be negatively associated with reported severity of reactive symptoms that affect the victim as a result of the incident.

It has been demonstrated in the last phase of the analysis, that those women who experienced the more personal type of attack (i.e. sexual assault) will report higher levels of fear. It is additionally hypothesised that those women who experience more serious assaults will find it more difficult to cope than less personally intrusive assaults (i.e. physical assault, or threats). This idea of 'coping' has been operationalised and is the last dependent variable in this analysis as "severity of reactive symptoms". As a result, the next four hypotheses to be tested in this phase of the model are as follows:

H4: Women who have reported more serious assaults experience more fear of victimisation than those who reported less serious forms of assault.

H5: Women who reported more serious assaults experience more severe reactive symptoms than those who reported less serious assaults.

H6: Women who have reported more severe injuries experience more fear of victimisation than those who reported less severe injuries.

H7: Women who reported more severe injuries experience more severe reactive symptoms than those who reported less severe injuries.

Finally, this analysis studies the effect of time on the reaction of the respondent to the offence carried out against them. In essence, the next hypotheses are designed to test the old adage "Time heals all wounds". That is, the fear and the reactive symptoms experienced will diminish as the victim is farther removed from the event temporally. The final set of hypotheses to be tested in this analysis are:

H8: The further in time that the victim is from the transaction, the less fear the respondent will report.

H9: The further in time that the victim is from the transaction, the less severe the reactive symptoms the respondent will report.

RESULTS

Once again, even though other variables were added to the analysis, the variable of age had the most profound effect on the analysis, significantly affecting almost all variables. In addition, like the first phases of the model, the overall explanatory power of

this phase of the analysis is very low. However, given the subject matter -- women's victimisation and its aftermath -- the results are worth reporting. The results of this second phase of analysis are listed in Table 6-2 and are illustrated in Figure 6-4.

Precursor Variables - The Effect of Age, Education, and Income

Age, as in the first phase of the model, is negatively associated with education (b = +0.115) and positively associated with income (b = -0.077). That is, the older the respondent, the less likely they are to have higher levels of education, but more likely to have a higher income than younger women. Because age has a slightly negative effect on education, while having a positive effect on income, this suggests that younger women in this survey are more highly educated, but making less money than those who are older, perhaps due to the fact they are relative newcomers to the work force.

Age is also positively associated with the relationship between the victim and offender (b = +0.061), positively associated with crime seriousness (b = +0.026) and not associated with degree of injury. As predicted, older victimised women are slightly more likely to report being victimised by an intimate, but unexpectedly the crime committed against her is slightly more likely to be more serious. Contrary to what was predicted, there is no difference in the degree of injury reported by these women, regardless of how old they are. Predictably, age is also found to have a strong positive effect on the time since the last reported incident (b = +0.673). That is, the older the respondent, the more likely she is to report that the incident had occurred farther in the past.

In agreement with initial hypotheses, age has an overall negative effect on levels of

reported fear. As a woman who reported victimisation gets older, fear of victimisation is likely decline. Age has a relatively strong negative effect on the general fear indicator[3] (b = -0.229) as well as fear associated with using public transportation (b = -0.199). As a victimised woman gets older, she is also less likely to report feeling worried when in a parking garage or walking alone to her car (b = -0.124). Finally, age has no effect on levels of fear reported while at home alone in the evening, or on the reactive symptoms of the respondent to the event.

Overall, education has less of an impact on the analysis than did the age of the respondent. The degree to which the respondent is educated has a mixed effect on variables in this phase of the model. As expected, education has a strong positive effect on the level of reported income (b = +0.297); the more education the respondent has, the more likely she is to report a higher level of income. As predicted, education is found to be negatively associated with the degree of intimacy between the victim and offender (b = +0.102), negatively associated with crime seriousness (b = -0.090), and degree of injury (b = -0.096). Therefore, the more educated the respondent, the less likely she is to report being seriously victimised, and experience less physical injury as a result. She is also more likely to report being victimised by a stranger, rather than someone known to her. Unexpectedly, the level of income reported by the respondent has no significant effect on the results of this second phase of analysis.

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[3] The general fear indicator is the question "How worried are you walking alone in your area at night?"

Crime Characteristics - The Effect of the Degree of Injury, Crime Seriousness, and the Relationship between the Victim and Offender

The first of the crime characteristics to be entered into the analysis is the relationship of the victim to the offender. This variable has a relatively strong and positive effect on the level of crime seriousness reported by the respondent (b = +0.201). This is contradictory to what was originally predicted. If the respondent reported being victimised by an intimate, she is also likely to report being the victim of a more serious crime.

Also contradictory to earlier predictions, the relationship of the offender to the victim does not affect fear variables. That is, whether or not the offender is known to the victim or a stranger, has no effect on the levels of fear reported by the respondent. However, the relationship between the offender and victim does have a negative effect on the type of symptoms the respondent reported (b = -0.81). Therefore, the closer the woman is to the offender, the less likely she is to experience more affective and behavioural symptoms as a result of the assault.

Crime seriousness is found to have a very limited effect on the overall analysis. As predicted, this variable positively predicted the degree of injury reported by the respondent (b = +0.085). With an increase in the seriousness of the crime reported, the woman is slightly more likely to report having more serious injuries. However, crime seriousness has no other significant effects in the analysis. Degree of injury reported by the respondent also has a limited effect on the overall analysis. If the respondent reported being more seriously injured, she is also more likely to report more severe symptoms as a

result of the incident (b = +0.151). Unlike earlier predictions, regardless of the level of injury reported by the victim, there is no effect on any other of the fear variables in this analysis. Also, the reported time since the most recent event, has no effect on this analysis.

The Proportion of Variance Explained

Overall, the analysis performed in this second phase explains very little of the dynamics of women's fear of victimisation. As with all analyses in this analysis an overall R^2 statistic cannot be generated for the analysis as there is not simply one dependent variable. What can be offered is the proportion of variance explained for each dependent variable in this phase of the analysis.

Generally, the dependent variable of fear of walking alone in the respondents area at night explained only 4.8% of the variance ($R^2 = 0.048$) of the independent variables. This is largely the result of the effect of age on this variable, as no other variables were found to have a direct effect on this overall fear response. Fear experienced while using public transportation is directly predicted only by the age of the respondent, but this explains only 6.7% of the overall variance in this analysis ($R^2 = 0.067$).

Fear experienced in a parking garage, is directly affected by the age of the respondent. However, overall this only explains 1.5% of the variance ($R^2 = 0.015$). Fear experienced while at home alone is the only fear variable not affected by the age of the respondent. The direct effect of the level of education the respondent has obtained, on fear of being at home alone in the evening only explains 1.8% of the total variance ($R^2 =$

0.018).

Noteworthy is the fact that reactive symptoms are affected by different independent variables than are the fear variables. More severe reactive symptoms are directly affected by the degree of injury experienced by the victim, as well as the relationship of the offender to the respondent. All fear variables in this analysis, on the other hand, are affected predominantly by the age of the victim. But again, the effects of these variables only explained a very small proportion of the variance ($R^2 = 0.042$).

PHASE THREE

In this final phase, I analyse the characteristics of the criminal event from the perspective of the victim. Although this analysis is similar to the one in the previous phase, new variables have been added to look more closely at the event itself. In addition, what is also important in this analysis is an investigation of the changes across phases. The intent is to look at what happens when certain factors are added or taken out of the analysis. Figure 6-5 illustrates the relationships to be tested in this final phase of the model.

This phase is slightly different than the others presented in that it is designed to be an event analysis. The previous phase were concerned with finding the relationship between precursor variables, the crime that was committed and the level of physical damage the victim received, and how these variables affected fear and the psychological reaction to the event. This analysis is concerned with these variables but also examines what social conditions were present both before and after the event, and whether or not

this may increase the explanatory power of the analysis. That is, the purpose of this phase is to analyse the more social aspects of the event, over time.

The analysis proposed in this third phase tries to capture this event, to some degree in its entirety, so that we may better understand this specific type of social interaction. Obviously it is difficult to capture all the intricacies of such a complex set of events. This analysis is limited to the data gathered in the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS), which was designed to look at women's victimisation experiences, rather than to understand the criminal event. However, several questions were asked that may better help to understand some of the intricacies occurring in this type of social interaction.

What I have done below is to extract as much information as possible that could be used in an event analysis from the data gathered in the VAWS. Again, not all questions were asked of all people. The analysis below is carried out with as much information as could be derived from the VAWS, using data from all victimised women who were asked similar questions about their particular experience. The sample includes data from both spousal and non-spousal victimisation reports, in order that the results of the analysis reflect a wide and varied set of women's experiences with victimisation.

The design of this phase of analysis allows for examination of the event characteristics surrounding the victimisation incident. In this analysis it is hypothesised that certain characteristics of the victim, the victimisation event, and who the victim spoke to after the assault, affects both levels of fear and reactive symptoms reported by respondents. The age of the respondent is expected to have a negative relationship to fear, as found in the last analysis. Although this is contrary to the relationship argued by

Ferraro (1995), this can be explained. Recall that Warr (1985) found that women and, in particular, young women feared rape as much as they feared being murdered. Because this study focuses on male violence against women, including sexual violence, older women are hypothesised to fear this type of violence less as they move through life. In addition, evidence suggested that low SES (Keane, 1995) has a negative relationship with fear. In addition, higher numbers of previous assaults (Parker, 1990), are predicted to have a positive relationship to fear of crime. The more assaults a women has been exposed to, the more severe her responses should be on the reactive symptoms scale.

As in the last phase of analysis, the relationship between the victim and the offender is a crime characteristic thought to influence the transaction and therefore the potential outcome of the event (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994). Also, as with the previous phase of the model, the crime characteristics of crime seriousness and degree of injury have been placed in the analysis. This was done in order to test the effects of the new variables as they are added into the equation.

A new variable, whether or not the offender had consumed alcohol, has been added to the analysis. Grey et al (1993) found that alcohol had the potential to act as a catalyst with respect to male aggression, thereby increasing the risk for victimisation of those women who come into contact with them. As increased victimisation was found to heighten fear levels (Gidycz et al, 1995), the use of alcohol by the offender is hypothesised to have a positive relationship with fear. Therefore the first two hypotheses to be tested are as follows:

H10: Event characteristics surrounding transaction will affect fear of victimisation.

H11: Event characteristics surrounding transaction will affect the reactive symptoms experienced as a result of the incident.

Research in the area of sexual assault has suggested that there are certain factors about the event of victimisation that affect reported levels of fear of victimisation. Although there are several relationships being tested here, hypothesised relationships will be limited to the independent variables on the dependent variables only. The hypotheses listed above are somewhat vague as there are many independent variables in this phase of the model. To help clarify, the following specific hypotheses will be tested. Below are listed various statements that address the specific direction of each significant variable and their relationship with the dependent variables in the analysis.

Characteristics of the Transaction:

Negative relationship with dependent variables.

The relationship between the victim and offender (intimacy)

H10a) The more intimate the offender, the less fear will be reported by the victim

H11a) The more intimate the offender, the weaker the reactive symptoms to the assault

Although in the previous analysis, no effects were found between fear and the victim-offender relationship, the same hypothesis will be tested to see how the additional

variables in this phase of the model effect the explanatory possibility of the analysis.

Positive relationship with dependent variables.

The effect of alcohol on the victimisation experience

H10b) If alcohol was consumed by the offender at the time of the assault, the higher the reported levels of fear.

H11b) If alcohol was consumed by the offender at the time of the assault, the higher the reported levels of reactive symptoms as a result of the assault.

The degree of injury to the respondent (none ==> severe)

H10c) The more serious the injury the higher the reported levels of fear.

H11c) The more serious the injury the higher the reported levels of reactive symptoms as a result of the assault.

In the previous phase of analysis, it was observed that there was no overall effect of crime seriousness on fear or levels of reported reactive symptoms by the respondent. That is, both the fourth and fifth hypotheses that were tested in the previous phase of the model were not confirmed. However, the level of injury received during the transaction did have some effect on the dependent variables. Recall that the crime seriousness variable measures the type of assault, not the level of injury received as a result of the transaction. Therefore, in this final analysis, the relationship between the seriousness of the crime, and their effects on the dependent variables, is hypothesised to have no effect due to previous findings.

Evidence shows that those women who had felt that they had some control over the victimisation event seem to fare better than those who felt they had no control during

the transaction. For example, Gordon and Riger (1989) report that those women who physically resisted attacks seemed to be more confident than those who did not. This suggests that those women who felt they did something to try and stop the assault - whether the assault was completed or not - may feel better towards the victimisation experience than those who felt they did nothing[4]. Unfortunately, the VAWS did not ask how the woman reacted once she realised that she was involved in a criminal event. Taking action either before, during or after the event may have strong effects on how the victim feels towards the event after it has taken place.

The level of formal contact the victim experiences after the assault is hypothesised to have a negative effect on the levels of reported fear and difficulty in adjustment. With respect to the dependent variables, those who only talked to friends and family about the incident will have the highest reported levels of fear and reactive symptoms, as compared to those who reported the incident to the police. Those who talked to counsellors will report lower levels of fear and severity of reactive symptoms than those who talked to friends and family, but have higher scores than those who talked to the police. Given this assumption, two additional hypotheses are offered for testing.

H12: The more formal the contact that is made after the event, the lower the reported levels of fear of victimisation.

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[4] The use of the word "feel" here is deliberate. How women feel about their actions during an attack is crucial. Even though a women may have come out of an attack with her life, and therefore was successful in dealing with her attacker, if she did not (for example) physically resist the attacker, but instead complied with his demands in order to not get hurt, she may experience negative feelings towards herself for "not doing anything".

H13: The more formal the contact that is made after the event, the lower the reported levels of reactive symptoms to the victimisation experience.

The rationale behind these hypotheses is simple. It is suggested that those who become more active in the aftermath of the event, by talking with friends, seeking advice from a professional, or aiding the police in the possible apprehension of the offender, may allow women to feel that they have more control over the experience. The more control a women feels she has over the event, by participating in her own recovery, the less symptoms she may experience as a result of the event, and the less fear she may experience about her risk for repeat victimisation.

In the previous phase of the model, the variable 'time since event' was included in the analysis. Results from the second phase, indicate that the time that has passed since the event does not seem to have a significant effect on the overall fear levels, or symptoms experienced by those women who reported victimisation. In addition, only the age of the respondent was found to have a significant relationship with time since the event. Because of these results, and the position it was located in the previous analysis (directly before the dependent variables) this variable was dropped from the analysis

RESULTS

Direct Effects

Results of this final analysis are listed in Table 6-3 and illustrated in Figure 6-6. As with the other analyses tested in this dissertation, age, once again, has the most profound

effect on both the independent and dependent variables.. Its effect on education and income remained consistent. The age of the respondent has a slightly negative effect on the new precursory variable of number of assaults that the respondent reported (b = -0.044). Therefore, as the age of the respondent increases, the slightly less likely they were to report a higher number of assaults.

With respect to the event characteristics, age has a varied effect. The relationship between age, and the victim-offender relationship remains more or less the same (b = +0.062) as in the previous phase. In other words, the relationship between the offender and the victim is slightly positive, suggesting that as age of the victim increased, the more likely she is to report being victimised by a non-stranger. Further, this relationship is not affected by the addition of the new variable of total number of assaults reported. Therefore, regardless of how may assaults she had reported, she was still more likely to report being victimised by someone she knew. Age also has a slightly negative effect on the new variable of alcohol consumption (b = -0.052). The older the respondent in the survey, the more likely she reported that alcohol was not consumed when the incident occurred.

The relationship between the seriousness of the crime reported and the age of the victim is slightly increased, as compared to the last analysis (b = +0.051). That is, with the addition of the new variable of the total number of assaults reported, the likelihood that an older victim reported a more serious victimisation slightly increases and remains positive. In addition, age does not have a significant effect on the degree of injury reported by the victim. Age also has a mixed effect on who the victim talked to after the event. The older

the respondent, the slightly less likely she was to report the victimisation to a friend (b = -0.069) but slightly more likely to report the event to the police (b = +0.058). Age has no effect on the respondent seeking professional counselling.

The strength of the relationship between age and the dependent variables, as compared to the first two analyses, is somewhat reduced. As with the second analysis, but not with the first analysis, there is no effect between the age of the respondent and the fear felt at home. Age has a consistently negative effect on the fear experienced using public transportation (b = -0.211), fear walking to a car alone at night (b = -0.104), and fear experienced while walking alone in the respondents area at night (b 0.206). The older the respondent, the more likely she is to report less fear of victimisation in these circumstances. In addition, as with the second analysis, age has no effect on the level of reactive symptoms reported by the victim.

Overall, this effect is not as strong when comparing these results to the sample of both victimised and non-victimised women in the first analysis. However, when these results are compared to the second analysis, which is similar in that both samples look a victimised women only, the effects of the new variables in this phase of the model are mixed. The relationship between walking alone to a car at night and the age of the victim, although remaining negative, is somewhat less intensified, but slightly more significant. The fear the respondent had while walking in her own neighbourhood alone at night, was also slightly less affected by age than in the previous analysis. Fear reported using public transportation, remained relatively constant over the second and third analyses, rising only slightly in the third analysis.

As with previous analyses, education has a positive effect on levels of reported income (b = +0.297). However, education has a slightly negative effect on the added precursory variable of number of assaults reported by the victim (b -0.093). The more educated the respondent, the slightly less likely she had been victimised more than the one time reported in the survey.

The level of education reported by the respondent has an overall significant negative effect on all event characteristics in the analysis. The more educated the respondent, the less likely she was to be attacked by a man known to her (b = -0.099), the less likely she was to report the offender consuming alcohol directly preceding the event (b = -0.057) , the less likely she was to report being the victim of a serious crime (b = -0.87), and the less likely she was to report being seriously injured (b = -0.092). As with the second analysis the relationship between education and crime characteristics, with the exception of the new variable of alcohol consumption, all remained negative but were found to have slightly less of an effect.

The level of reported education, as with the previous analysis, has no significant effect on the dependent variables with the exception of the fear experienced while at home alone in the evening (b = -0.105). The older the respondent, the slightly less likely she is to report being fearful while at home. This relationship is slightly stronger, although remaining negative, than in the previous analysis. The overall effect of income, as with the last analysis, is minimal. Personal income only affects the added variable of number of assaults reported (b = -0.041). That is, if the respondent reported higher levels of income, she was slightly less likely to report higher numbers of victimisation experiences over her

lifetime.

The new variable -- the total number of assaults reported by respondents -- has relatively strong positive effects on the analysis. The number of assaults reported by respondents had a positive effect on whether or not she reported alcohol was consumed by the offender during the event (b = +0.096), the degree of injury she received (b = +0.108) and the seriousness of the crime committed against her (b = +0.261). If the respondent had reported higher numbers of assaults, she is also slightly more likely to report the offender having consumed alcohol either during or directly preceding the event, she is more likely to have been seriously injured during the event discussed, and is more likely to report being the victim of a more serious crime, such as sexual assault. The number of assaults reported, however, has no significant effect on whether the offender was known to the victim.

The number of assaults reported by the respondent also has a largely positive effect on who the victim reported talking to after the assault had taken place. There is no direct effect on whether the number of assaults reported affected whether or not she talked to friends. The total number of assaults reported by women in the VAWS does have an effect on whether she talked to a counsellor (b = +0.188) or to the police (b = +0.100). If she reported multiple victimisation events over her lifetime, she was more likely to report these incidents to a counselling professional, and take formal action, such as calling the police and reporting the crime.

There are two indirect relationships increasing the potential for talking to friends, even though there is no direct relationship between total number of assaults respondents

reported and whether or not these women talked to someone less formal or more intimate, such as a friend or a family member. If the respondent reported higher numbers of assaults over her lifetime and reported either that she was more seriously injured or that the offender had been drinking during the incident, she is also more likely to have reported the assault to intimates. Therefore, certain circumstances identified in this phase of the model may increase the chance of discussing the assault with others. However, given the relatively weak direct effects, the indirect effects are so small that they hardly have any effect overall.

The total number of assaults reported by the respondent also has a positive effect on some of the fear of victimisation variables. If the respondent reported higher numbers of incidents, the more likely she is to experience fear using public transportation (b = +0.092), walking alone in her area at night (b = +0.137), and experiencing fear walking to car alone at night (b = +0.103), but no effect on fear experienced when home alone in the evening. In other words, women who reported being victimised more than once were more likely to report higher levels of fear with the exception of how safe women felt in their home.

The effect of alcohol on the actual incident and the aftermath is varied. If the offender is reported to have been consuming alcohol during or just prior to the incident, there is a small, but significant effect on the level of crime seriousness the victim reported (b = +0.047). However, the presence of alcohol at the assault has no effect on the level of injury reported. If she reported the offender had been drinking, she was also likely to report the incident to friends or family (b = +0.072), but not more likely to report the

assault to a counsellor or to the police. If the offender is reported to have been drinking at the time of the assault, the respondent is also slightly less likely to report higher levels of fear walking alone in her area after dark (b = -0.074). However, this same variable has no effect on any of the other dependent variables in this phase of the model.

Where the perpetrator was a known man, the respondent was less likely to report that she had been seriously assaulted (b = -0.189), but no more or less likely to report having more serious injuries. If the respondent reported that she was victimised by a known man, she is also slightly less likely to report talking about the event with friends or intimates (b = -0.067). She is also slightly less likely to have reported the incident to the police (b = -0.060) but slightly more likely to have reported the incident to a counsellor (b = +0.069). The relationship of the offender to the victim also has no direct effects on any of the fear variables in the analysis, which is consistent with the findings in the previous analysis. Also, unlike the previous analysis, the relationship between the offender and the victim does not have a significant direct effect on the level of reactive symptoms reported by the respondent

As with the previous analysis, the seriousness of the offence committed against the respondent has no effect on the remaining variables, with the exception of the slight positive effect on the degree of injury reported (b = +0.058). Regardless of the seriousness of the crime reported, she is no more or less likely to report it to any given group. As well, it did not have an effect on the fear or severity of symptoms she reported. On the other hand, the degree of injury that the respondent reported had an overall positive effect on who the victim chose to talk to after the event. The higher the level of

reported injury, the more likely she was to report the event to family or intimates (b +0.081), a counsellor (b = +0.090), or police (b = +0.141). It should be noted here that the higher the injury over all, the more likely the event was to be reported to more formal types of authorities, such as the police. In addition, as with the previous analysis, the level of injury reported by the victim had no effect on overall reported fear but does have a positive effect on the severity of reactive symptoms in response to the event (b +0.111).

Overall, who the victim talked to has little affect on the fear experienced by the respondent or the level of reactive symptoms reported by the victim. If the respondent talked to friends about the incident there was no effect on the fear that the respondent reported generally, or the severity of reactive symptoms. If the respondent reported talking to a counsellor, she is also slightly more likely to report fear walking to her car alone in the evening in a parking garage. Talking to a counsellor has no other effect on any of the dependent variables. However, if the respondent reported the event to the police, she is more likely to report more severe reactive symptoms (b = +0.098) but less likely to report being fearful walking to her car alone in the evening (b = -.104).

Proportion of the Variance Explained

Although there are several indirect effects that take place in this analysis, the overall variance explained, as with the previous models, is quite small. Therefore, even though the indirect effects are important when we look at the five dependent variables, each is responsible for a very small proportion of the variance.

Educational attainment is the only independent variable that had an effect on the

fear experienced while at home alone in the evening and explained the smallest proportion of variance ($R^2 = 0.024$). Fear while using public transportation is principally affected only by the age of the respondent and the number of overall assaults reported in the survey. The two variables however account for just over 6% of the total variance of this specific type of fear ($R^2 = 0.061$). Fear while walking alone to her car in a parking garage, is also largely affected by the same variables as public transportation fear, with the addition of the effects of talking to counsellor or to the police. However, these independent variables account for only 5.6% of the variance ($R^2 = 0.056$).

The proportion of the variance explained of fear when walking in your area at night is only 7.3% ($R^2 = 0.073$). Once again, the age of the victim and the number of assaults the women had reported, in addition to whether or not the offender had been drinking, are the only significant explanatory variables in this phase of the model. Finally, the independent variables only explain 3.6% of the variance in severity of reactive symptoms experienced as a result of the event ($R^2 = 0.036$). However, the independent variables responsible for this explained variance of reactive symptoms are different than affected the remaining fear variables. This small amount of variance explained can be accounted for by the level of injury that the respondent reported as well as, whether or not the respondent reported the offence to the police.

Finally, because this is a multistage, multivariate analysis, I have the opportunity to look at variance explained as more and more variables were added into the analysis. Where age, education, income, total number of assaults, offender alcohol consumption, and victim-offender relationship, were regressed on crime seriousness, the variance

explained was 12.1% ($R^2 = 0.121$). This proportion of variance explained is higher than at any other point in the third analysis. The implications of this will be discussed in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, this chapter has detailed a tri-phase analysis utilising the responses from various female populations who responded to the Violence Against Women Survey. The results of which have been offered for each phase of the model. The first of these analyses used responses generated from most of the women in the Violence Against Women Survey. Both the second and third analyses differ in that they include responses from only those women who reported being victimised The final analysis was specifically designed, using as much information as possible from the VAWS, to develop an event analysis. Clearly there is a lot of information to digest in each analysis. Table 6-4 summarises the findings in this chapter. In the chapter to follow, I will discuss some of the major findings of each analysis, as well as amalgamate the information across models.

FIGURE 6-1: THEORETICAL MODEL OUTLINING HYPOTHESES BETWEEN AGE, SES VARIABLES, VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCES AND FEAR.

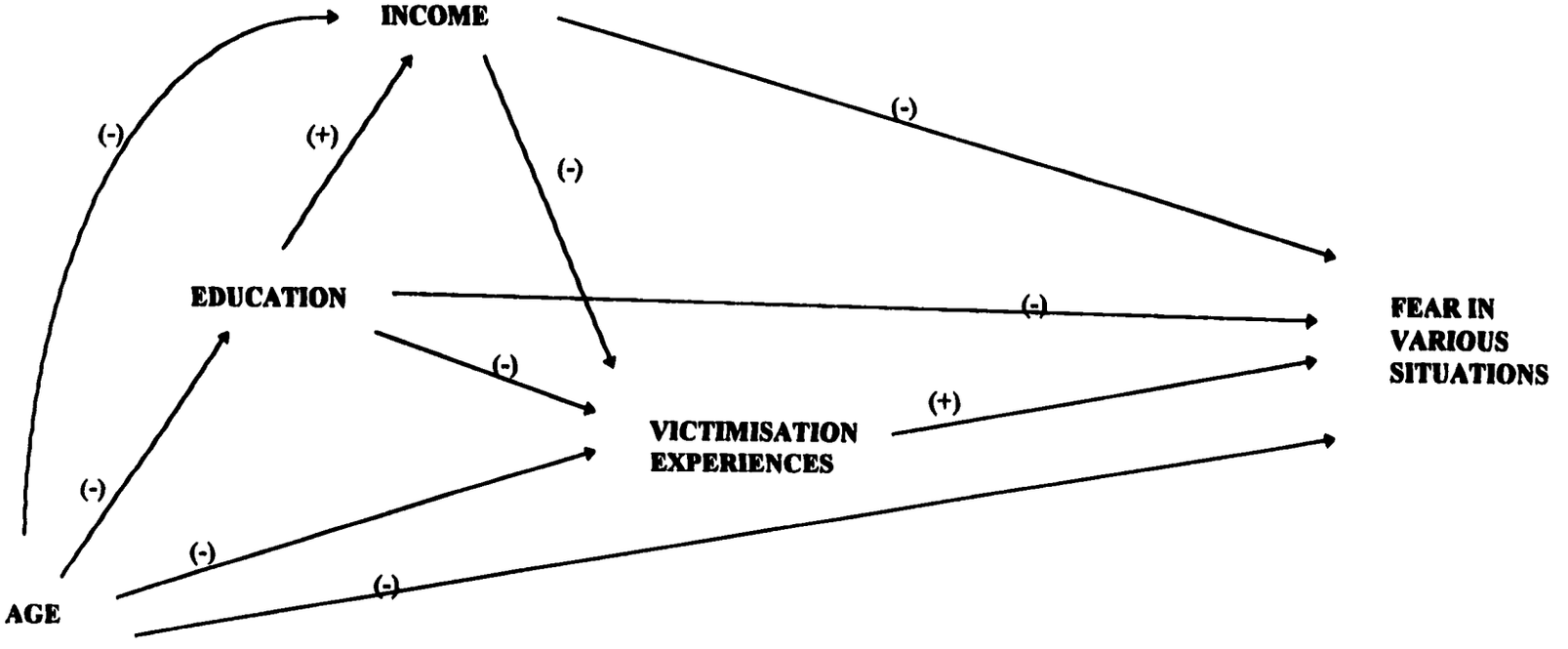
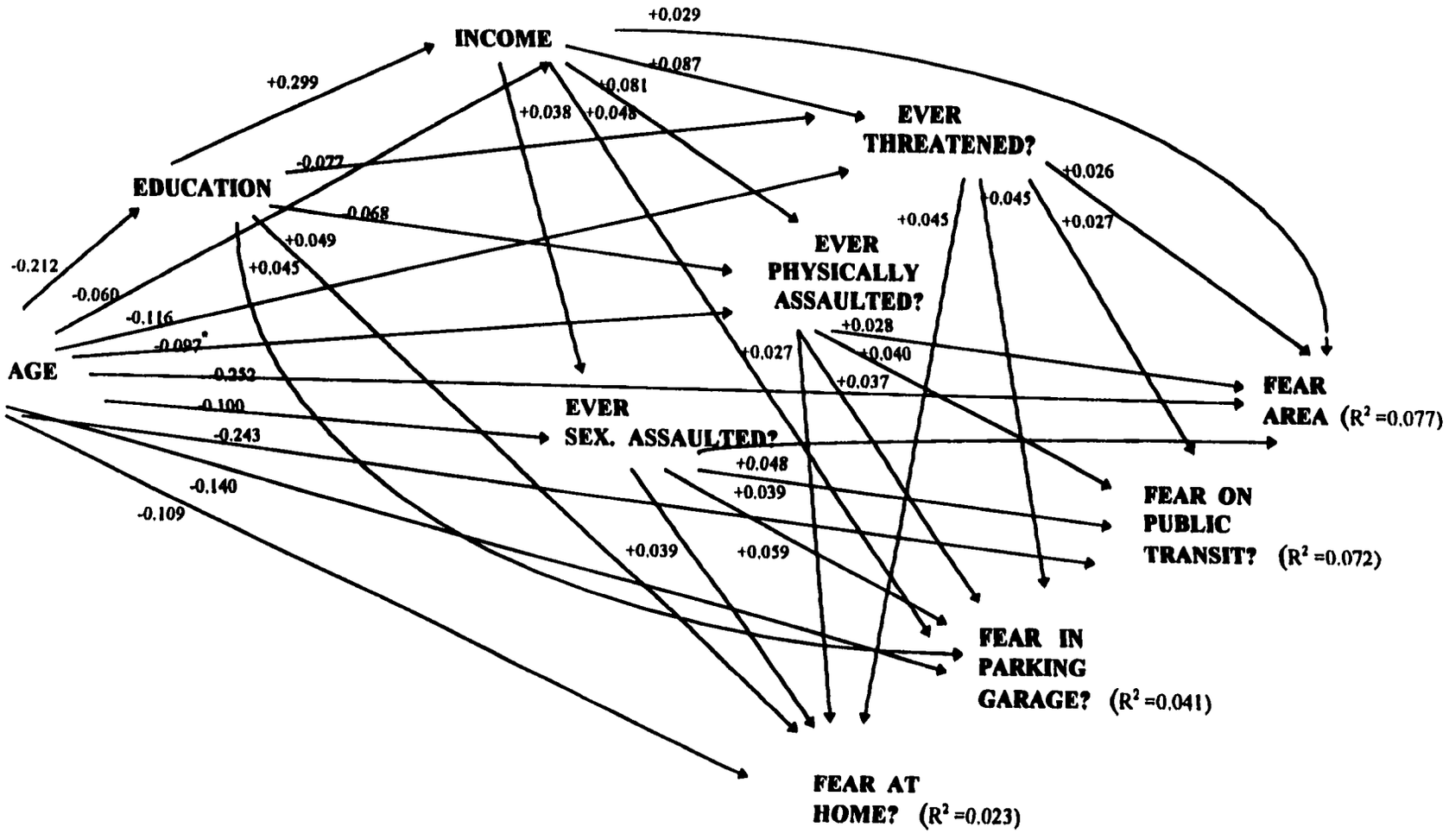


FIGURE 6-2: REGRESSION - RESPONDANT'S PAST VICTIMISATION EXPEREINCE AND FEAR OF CRIME



* Is significant at alpha = 0.05 only. All other relationships significant at alpha < 0.01

FIGURE 6-3: THEORETICAL MODEL OUTLINING HYPOTHESES BEWTEEN AGE, SES VARIABLES, VICTIMISATION EXPERIENCES TIME, FEAR, AND SEVERITY OF REACTIVE SYMPTOMS.

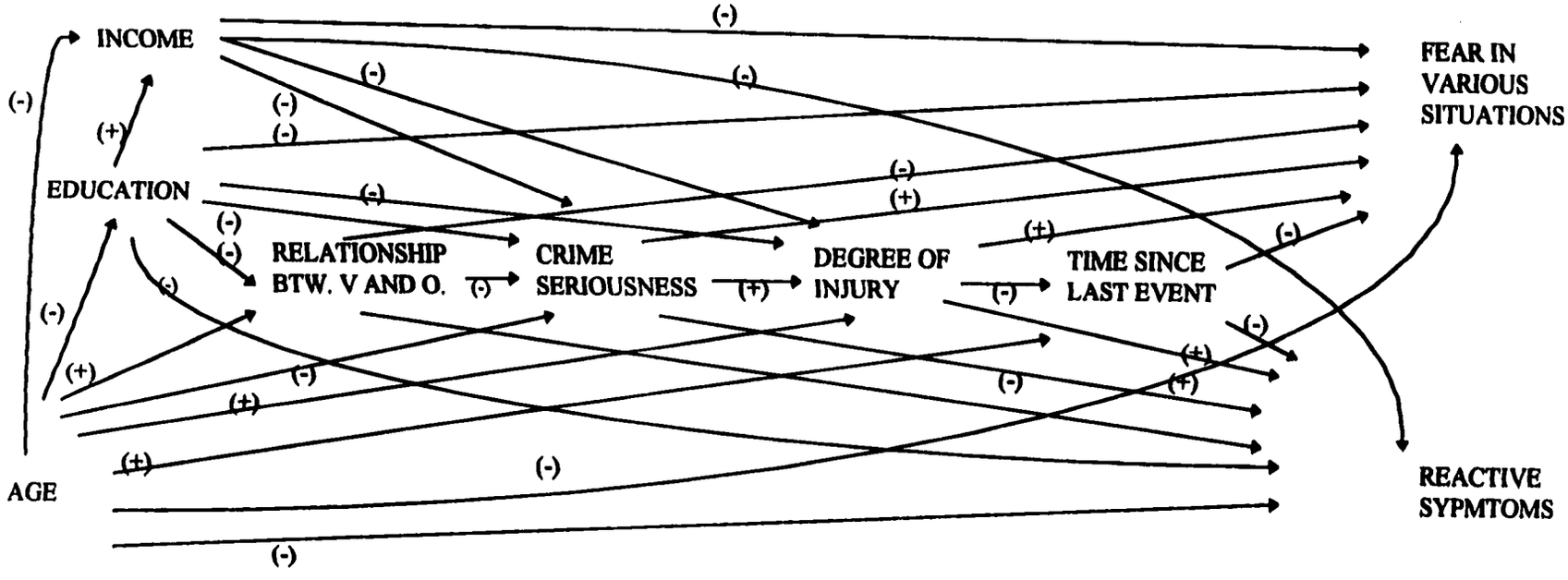
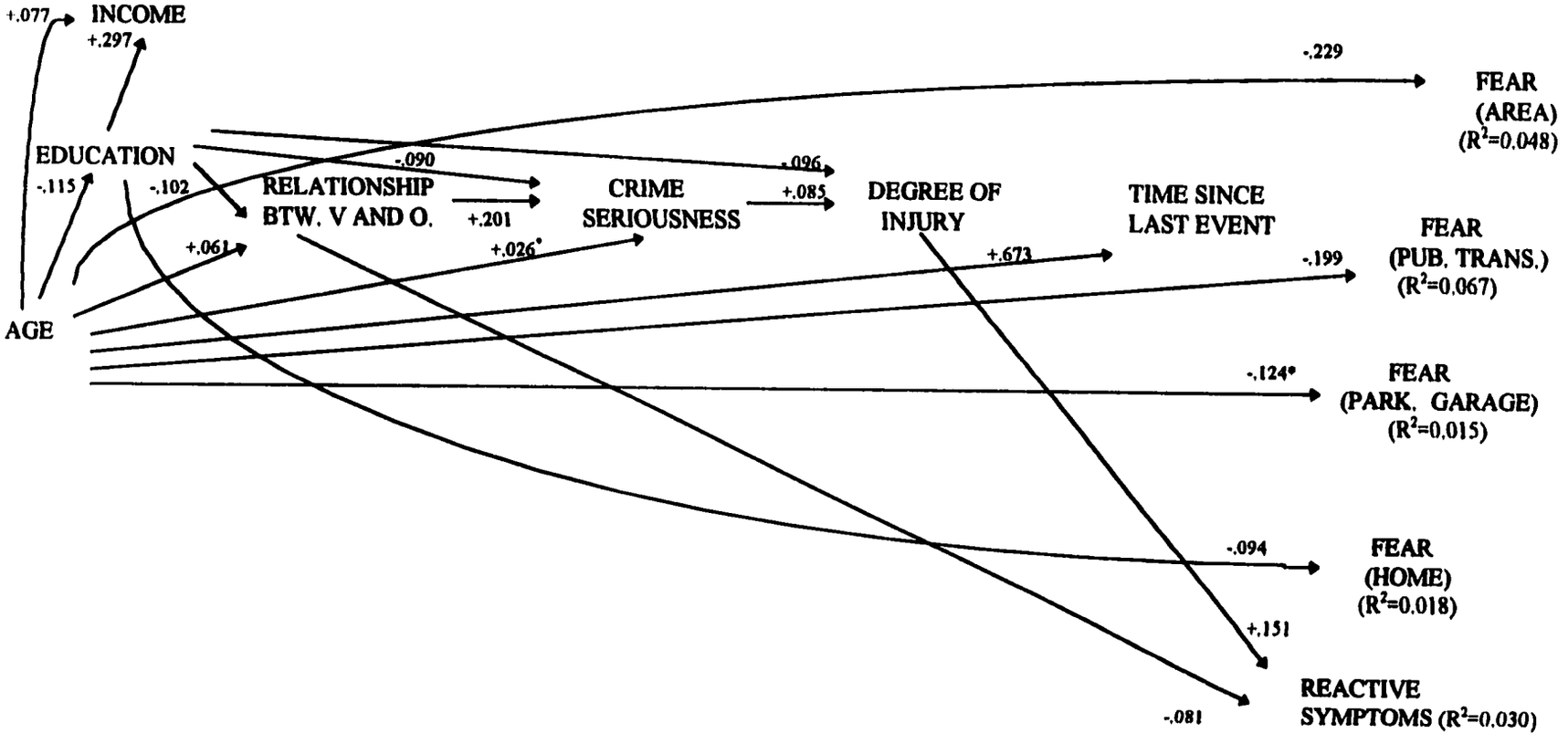


FIGURE 6-4: THE EFFECTS OF PRECURSORS, CRIME CHARACTERISTICS AND TIME ON FEAR OF CRIME AND REACTIVE SYMPTOMS AS A RESULT OF THE EVENT.



* Alpha = $0.05 \geq x \geq 0.01$. All other relationships are significant at alpha < 0.01.

FIGURE 6-5: THEORETICAL MODEL OUTLINING HYPOTHESES OF THE EVENT ANALYSIS.

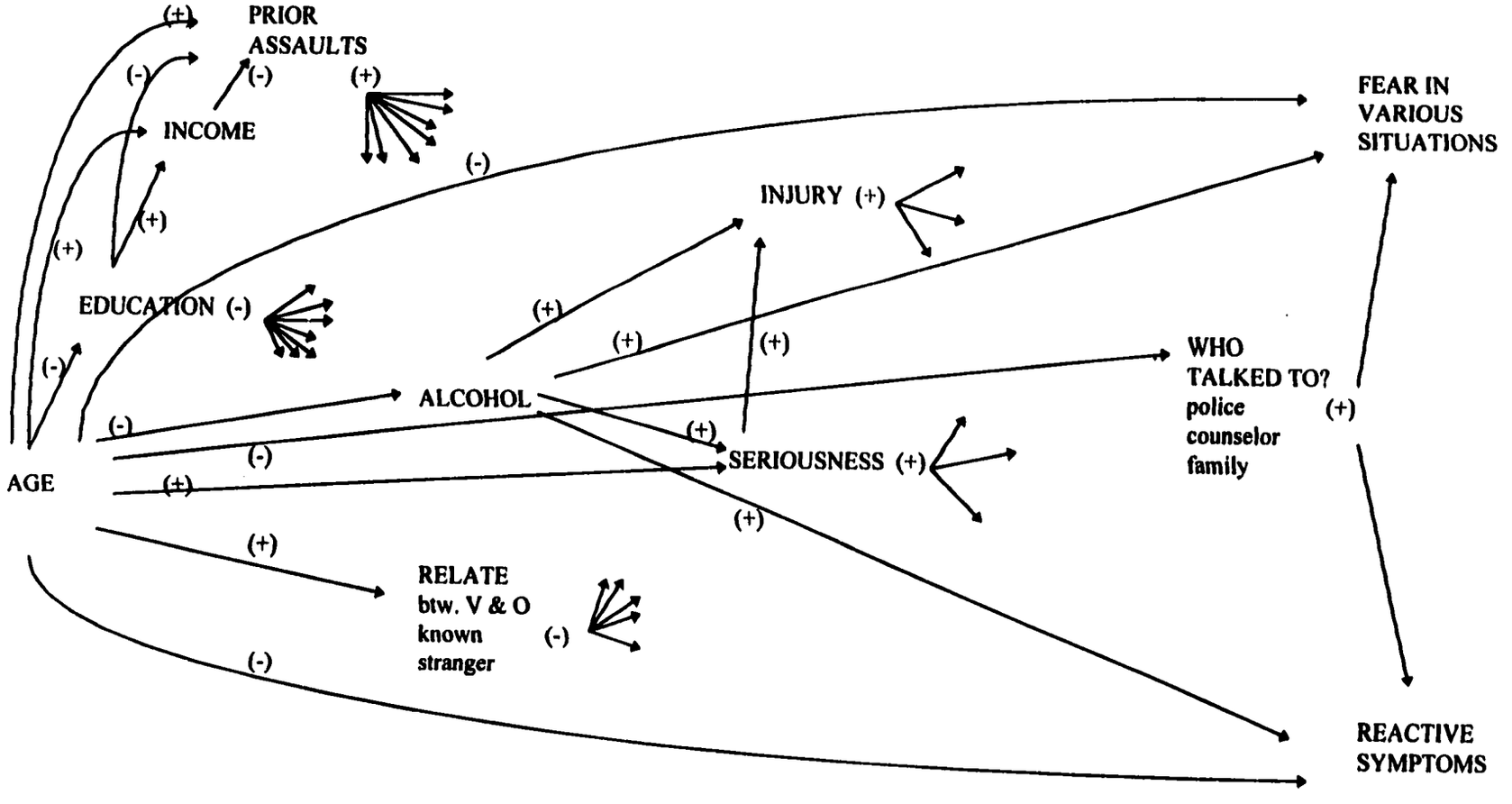
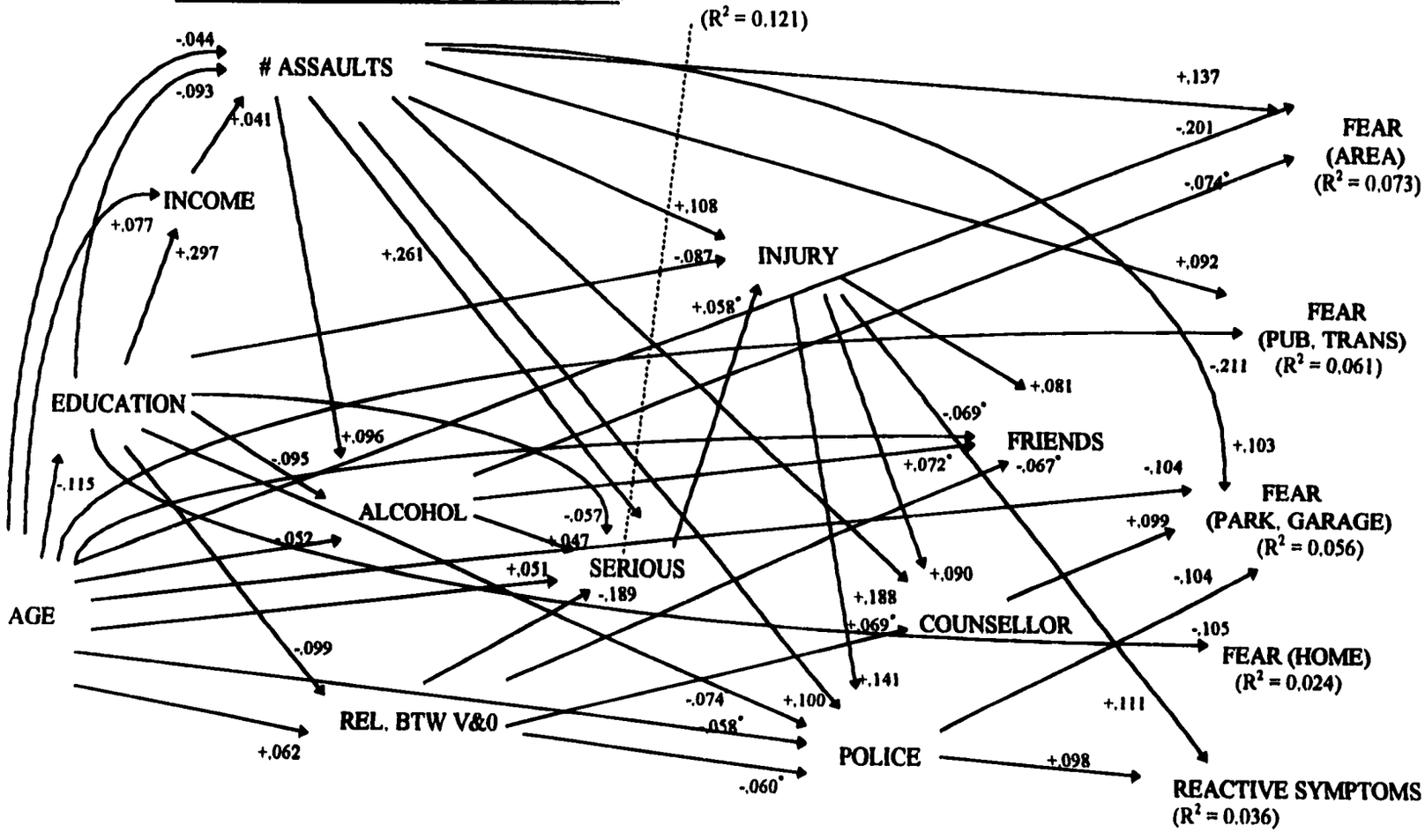


FIGURE 6-6: A CRIMINAL EVENT ANALYSIS: PRECURSORS, EVENT CHARACTERISTICS, WHO THE RESPONDANT TALKED TO AFTER THE TRANSACTION, AND THEIR EFFECT ON FEAR AND REACTIVE SYMPTOMS TO THE EVENT.



* Alpha = $0.05 \geq x \geq 0.01$. All other relationships are significant at the alpha > 0.01 level.

TABLE 6-1: OLS STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR PHASE ONE OF THE TRI-PHASE ANALYSIS

Variables:		Age	Educ.	Income	Ever Threatened?	Ever Phys. Assaulted?	Ever Sex. Assaulted?	
I N D E P E N D E N T	Age							
	Education	-0.212						
	Income	-0.060	+0.299					
	Ever Threatened?	-0.116	-0.077	+0.087				
	Ever Phys. Assaulted?	-0.097*	-0.068	+0.081				
	Ever Sex. Assaulted?	-0.100	--------	+0.038				
D E P E N D E N T	Fear in Area	-0.252	--------	+0.029	+0.026	+0.028	+0.048	(R^2=0.077)
	Fear Using Public Transportation	-0.243	--------	--------	+0.027	+0.040	+0.039	(R^2=0.072)
	Fear Going to Car alone or in Garage	-0.140	--------	+0.048	+0.045	+0.037	+0.059	(R^2=0.041)
	Fear at Home?	-0.109	+0.049	--------	+0.045	+0.027	+0.039	(R^2=0.023)

* Is significant at the alpha = 0.05 level only. All other relationships are significant at the alpha <.0.01 level.

TABLE 6-2: OLS STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR PHASE TWO OF THE TRI-PHASE ANALYSIS

Variables:		Age	Educ.		Income	Relate. Btw. Vic.and Off.	Crime Seriousness	Degree of Injury	Time	
I N D E P E N D E N T	Age	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓		
	Education	-0.115								
	Income	+0.077	+0.297							
	Relationship between Victim and Offender	+0.061	-0.102	--------						
	Crime Seriousness	+0.026	-0.090	--------	+0.201					
	Degree of Injury	--------	-0.096	--------	--------	+0.085				
	Time Since last Event	+0.673	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------		
D E P E N D E N T	Fear in Area	-0.229	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------		(R^2=0.048)
	Fear Using Public Transportation	-0.199	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------		(R^2=0.072)
	Fear Going to Car alone or in Garage	-0.124*	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------		(R^2=0.015)
	Fear at Home?	--------	-0.094	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------		(R^2=0.018)
	Reactive Symptoms	--------	--------	--------	-0.081	--------	+0.051	--------		(R^2=0.030)

* Alpha = $0.05 \geq x \geq 0.01$. All others coefficients are significant at least at the alpha = 0.01 level.

TABLE 6-3: OLS STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR PHASE THREE OF THE TRI-PHASE ANALYSIS

Variables:		Age	Educ.	Income	Assaults	Alcohol	Relate	Serious.	Injury	Friends	Counsel	Police	
I	Age	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	
N	Education	-0.115											
D	Income	+0.077	+0.297										
E	Total Assaults	-0.044	-0.093	+0.041									
P	Alcohol	-0.052	-0.095	--------	+0.095								
E	Relat. Btw. V&O	+0.062	-0.099	--------	+0.096								
N	Crime Seriousness	+0.051	-0.057	--------	+0.261	+0.047	-0.189						
D	Degree of Injury	--------	-0.096	--------	+0.108	--------	--------	+0.058					(R^2=0.121)
E	Friends	-0.069*	--------	--------	--------	+0.072*	-0.067*	--------	+0.081				
N	Counselor	--------	--------	--------	+0.188	--------	+0.069*	--------	+0.090				
T	Police	-0.058*	-0.074*	--------	+0.100	--------	-0.060*	--------	+0.141				
D	Fear in Area	-0.201	--------	--------	+0.137	-0.074[8]	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(R^2=0.073)
E	Fear Using Public Transportation	-0.211	--------	--------	+0.092	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(R^2=0.061)
P	Fear Going to Car alone or in Garage	-0.104	--------	--------	+0.103	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	+0.099	-0.104	(R^2=0.056)
E	Fear at Home?	--------	-0.105	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	(R^2=0.024)
N	Reactive Symptoms	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	+0.111	--------	--------	+0.098	(R^2=0.036)
D													
E													
N													
T													

* Alpha = $0.05 \geq x \geq 0.01$. All other coefficients are significant at least at the alpha = 0.01 level.

TABLE 6-4: SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES TESTED IN THE TRI-PHASE ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

No.	Hypotheses	Supported	Not Supported	Opposite
PHASE ONE				
H1	Women who have experienced more extreme levels of violence will have higher reported levels of fear of victimisation.	X		
PHASE TWO				
H2	The level of intimacy between the offender and the victim will be negatively associated with the reported levels of fear of victimisation		X	
H3	The level of intimacy between the offender and the victim will be negatively associated with reported severity of reactive symptoms that affect the victim as a result of the incident	X		
H4	Women who have reported more serious assaults experience more fear victimisation than those who reported less serious forms of assault			X
H5	Women who reported more severe assaults experience more severe psychological reaction than those who reported less severe forms of assault.		X	
H6	Women who have reported more severe injury experience more fear victimisation than those who reported less serious injuries		X	
H7	Women who reported more severe injuries experience more severe psychological reaction than those who reported less serious injuries	X		
H8	The further in time that the victim is from the transaction the less fear the respondent will report		X	
H9	The further in time that the victim is from the transaction the less severe the reactive symptoms the respondent will report.		X	

TABLE 6-4: SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES TESTED IN THE TRI-PHASE ANALYSIS AND RESULTS *(Continued)*

No.	Hypotheses	Supported	Not Supported	Opposite
PHASE THREE				
H10	Event characteristics surrounding the transaction will affect fear of victimisation	**** Please see H10a, H10b and H10c. ****		
H10a	The more intimate the offender, the less fear will be reported by the victim		X	
H10b	If alcohol was consumed by the offender at the time of the assault, the higher the reported levels of fear	X		
H10c	The more serious the injury the higher the reported levels of fear.		X	
H11	Event characteristics surrounding the transaction will affect the reactive symptoms experienced as a result of the incident	**** Please see H11a, H11b and H11c. ****		
H11a	The more intimate the offender, the weaker the reactive symptoms as a result of the assault		X	
H11b	If alcohol was consumed by the offender at the time of the assault, the higher the reported levels of reactive symptoms as a result of the assault.		X	
H11c	The more serious the injury the higher the reported levels of reactive symptoms as a result of the assault.	X		
H12	The more formal the contact that is made after the event, the lower the reported levels of fear of victimisation.*	X		
H13	The more formal the contact that is made after the event, the lower the reported levels of reactive symptoms to the victimisation experience.*			X

* These results held for only those who were identified as contacting the police.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Discussion

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, three analyses were undertaken, using data from the VAWS, and their results were reported. This chapter is dedicated to analysing those results and discussing some implications. Like the previous chapter, discussions will take place in three phases, corresponding to each phase of each analysis. Each discussion will include results from the relevant analysis, and compare these to all analyses (if any) carried out prior to it.

DISCUSSION

Fear Among Victimised and Non-Victimised Women

In this initial study, younger women were consistently more likely to report being the victim of assault or being threatened than were older women. There may be several

reasons for this. It may be because there are more younger women being victimised, at the time the survey was undertaken. Routine activities theory predicts that as younger women are more likely to engage in risky behaviours, such as being out late into the evening and frequenting bars, they are therefore more likely to come into contact with potential victimisers. Because younger women are more likely to be victims of these crimes, it makes sense that they are more likely to report higher levels of fear than those who are older. Older women are less likely to engage in these behaviours. Older women, as they were more likely than younger women to grow up in a more restrictive social environment, were also more likely to engage in more "traditional" behaviour. Because they were probably less likely to stay out late when they were younger, they probably were less likely to come in contact with potential victimisers, and therefore less likely to have these experiences.

These crimes have more stigma attached to them, when compared to crimes such as burglary or robbery. It may be that these responses reflect this stigma. Over the years, society is becoming more aware of sexual assault, wife abuse, and harassment, as criminal behaviour. As a result, although there is still some tendency on behalf of the victim to be embarrassed or ashamed that they have been a victim of these crimes, there is more social awareness among younger women and, therefore, they are probably more likely to report its occurrence.

Age was also found to have one of the strongest relationships with both fear, and reports of victimisation in this phase of the model. Younger people were not only more likely to report these incidents, but also be more fearful of them. This however, can be

explained. Recall that Warr (1985) found that women had almost equal fear responses for both the crimes of rape, and homicide. However, this is not uniform across ages. Older women do fear victimisation, but not necessarily sexual victimisation. Elderly women are less common targets of sexual crime. As a result, they are more likely to fear criminal victimisation that results in serious physical or financial injury, as their advancing age does not permit them the time and energy to rejuvenate these precious resources.

Education was also found to have a significant, but small negative effect on reporting being physically assaulted or threatened. It may be that those women who are more educated tend to be more aware that these events are criminal in nature and, therefore, feel more empowered not to tolerate the behaviour. Educated women also tend to have more financial resources and, therefore, are less likely to be financially dependant on someone who attempts to carry out this behaviour. This is corroborated by the fact that women who reported having higher financial resources were slightly more likely to report being the victims of these crimes. Of note, there was no effect of education on the reporting of sexual assault. This, in turn, had an effect on resulting fear levels. This suggests that all women fear being sexually assaulted, regardless of educational status.

As expected, experience of victimisation did increase the reported levels of fear of victimisation. Women who have gone through the experience of sexual abuse, are more likely to report higher levels of fear than the other types of experiences reported in this survey. What is interesting is that the effects of experience overall are not that strong. So it is not the act of having these experiences that generates fear. Women equate the crime of sexual assault with the same fear levels as the crime of murder (Warr, 1985). The data

in the VAWS demonstrates that a majority of women have experienced sexual and/or physical assault, and/or some form of threat of this behaviour over the course of their lives. These women have family and friends that this experience was probably shared with, or the experience was relayed to the public through the media. This study demonstrates that it is not the experience of sexual assault that drives the reported fear levels, but the threat of it. Perhaps, because it is the intense personal effect of these crimes, either from experience or as told by others, that drives the fear of being the victims of these crimes.

Fear and Psychological Reaction to Victimisation

As in the first phase of the model, the results from the second analysis also demonstrate that, once again, age has the strongest effect. Besides its somewhat predictable relationship with income and education, the effect age has on the other variables is noteworthy. Older women are slightly more likely to report being victims of more serious types of offences and are slightly more likely to know their offender, yet, are more likely to report these offences happening farther in the past. So this victimisation is more likely to have occurred when they were younger. Current trends in victimisation suggest that you are more likely to be a victim of a crime when you are younger and, therefore, this finding would be in agreement with knowledge of our current social environment. Older women are less likely to report being recently victimised, than are younger women.

Also, the age of the respondent had a negative effect on all fear variables with the

exception of fear reported when being home alone in the evening. This may be a function of activity level at different stages of the lifecycle. Younger women are more likely to be active and therefore, more often using public transportation or cars to participate in the workforce, in leisure activities, and so on. According to the VAWS, approximately 2/5 women feel very worried or somewhat worried while home alone in the evening. Therefore, this analysis would suggest that these women who reported victimisation, all experience similar fears at home, regardless of age.

Education, had less of an overall effect on the analysis. The more educated the victimised respondent, the less likely she was to report having been attacked by an intimate, the less likely she was to report being the victim of a more serious crime, and the less severe her injuries as a result of the criminal transaction. Overall, the results of the first and second analyses speak very positively for the higher education of women. However, the mechanism by which education affects these variables is a matter of speculation. Women with higher education may be more aware of the impact of violence and therefore are less willing to tolerate this type of behaviour in either marriage or friendship. As a result, they may choose less violent partners, different peer groups, or less risky work environments. Higher educated women may also have more resources and, therefore, are less dependant on a partner. This may lead to an easier time of leaving an abusive relationship. Given her independence, she is probably less likely to stay involved once a violent incident erupts. However, the level of income reported by the respondent had no effect on the analysis. Therefore, it may be financial resources that play a role in her life decisions that decrease her risk of victimisation.

The first crime characteristic put into the analysis is the relationship between the offender and the victim. The first and second hypotheses in this chapter stated that there would be negative effects with this crime characteristic with both the fear variables and the severity of reactive symptoms. Fear was not found to be significantly affected by the relationship of the victim to the offender. Victim-offender relationship was found to have a significant relationship, in the direction predicted, with the level of reactive symptoms that the victim reported as a result of the victimisation. Therefore, she was more likely to have stronger and more severe symptoms if she was attacked by a stranger.

What becomes interesting in this light is that the relationship between the victim and the offender also strongly predicted the seriousness of the offence committed against the respondent. If the attacker was someone she knew, she was also more likely to be the victim of a more serious offence, report more severe injuries, and have more severe reactive symptoms as a result of the attack. Yet above, I have stated that if she did not know the victim she also had more reactive symptoms. At first, this relationship seems paradoxical. A closer look at the intermediate variables, however, may lead to some possible answers as to why this may be the case.

One answer may lie in the fact that not all women who reported victimisation were recipients of severe victimisation. Of all the women in this analysis, approximately 1/4 of all incidents reported could be classified as sexual (Daily, 1993). Another clue may lie in the fact that approximately 1/4 of women reported being victimised by a stranger. Most were victimised by someone they knew. Therefore, minor assaults by known men represents the majority of assaults that were reported in this survey. As a result, it is not

too surprising that these assaults produce less reactive symptoms. However, when these assaults are more serious, resulting in more injury, women were more likely to report more symptoms as a result of the attack. When people we know act in certain ways, we may tend to disregard these behaviours as 'normal' to some degree. When we come to define the situation as assaultive, we may be more likely to have more severe symptoms due to the added stress of trust violation. These results confirm similar results found in a study by Schepple and Bart (1983) which is discussed in more detail below.

In this phase of the model, there are two measures of crime seriousness. One is the actual criminal act itself. The other is the degree to which the respondent was injured during the attack. The results obtained in this analysis do not confirm our first hypothesis. Neither crime seriousness or degree of injury were found to significantly affect fear of victimisation levels. However, this was not the case with the dependent variable of reactive symptoms. Crime seriousness was not found to have a significant relationship, while the level of injury reported by the victim did have a relatively strong significant relationship to severity of reactive symptoms reported. That is, the more injury the respondent reported, the stronger the symptoms that the woman reported as a result of that attack. This confirms the second hypothesis. However, what is interesting to note here is that it is not the type of crime that is necessarily important in predicting how the respondent will react but the level of physical injury that the person received during the attack.

According to the first analysis, fear levels of those women who have been victimised are slightly higher than those who have not had this experience. Yet according

to this second analysis the most significant effect on fear is not the characteristics of the criminal act but the age of the victim. In essence, this does confirm what was postulated in the previous analysis. It is not the crime itself that induces fear in the female population but the threat of that crime. When looking at victimised women only, the relationship between the independent variables of crime seriousness, injury, and who the offender was in relation to the victim, and four dependent variables looking at fear, disappears. Therefore, it is not the characteristics of the crime that propel the fear of those women who have been victimised. Like those who have not been victimised, it would appear that it is the threat of crime that is still the overriding aspect perpetuating this fear. Both the bivariate analyses carried out in Chapter 5, and the regression analyses carried out in Chapter 6 indicate that those who are victimised differ little in their responses to fear and reactive symptoms than those who had not had this type of experience. Perhaps the marginal increase in the variance explained of the dependent variables is related to the fact that the possibility of being victimised is a little more real to those who have had this experience. It is no longer an event that will happen to someone else. Victimised women not only recognise that it could happen to anyone, but it could happen to them again.

This, however, is not the case with respect to the reactive symptoms a women experiences as a result of the attack. Both the relationship of the victim and the degree of injury were found to have a significant affect on the victim's reaction. The higher the degree of injury, and the more likely the offender is unknown to the victim, the more likely the victim is to report the most severe symptom, sleep disorders. The relationship between injury and level of symptoms is somewhat obvious. However, of interest is the

direction of the other crime characteristic. If the victim reported she was attacked by a stranger, she is more likely to have difficulty adjusting to the victimisation experience. Whether or not the offender was known does, to some degree affect how the victim reacts to the crime, but does not influence her fear of crime generally.

This finding is somewhat unusual. What is at issue here is the concept of trust. It is assumed that there is more trust of a known offender than an unknown one. As children, we are told not to trust strangers and we tend to be more wary of unfamiliar individuals than those who are known to us. Violating this trust, by an act of violence, might cause us to distrust our own judgement. However, according to this analysis this is not the case. It would appear that the unpredictability of the offender, as he is a stranger, would have more severe psychological effects on the victim. Perhaps this is because we assume that, although we are aware that there are dangerous people out there, we do not actually believe that we will be victimised by someone we don't even know.

It is argued that this denial of personal danger is a cognitive activity that people engage in on a daily basis. We read the newspapers and watch the news on television, and therefore aware that the world can be a dangerous place. Yet our activities can be risk taking to some degree. For example, we may enter into a part of town that we would probably not usually enter into, because there is a favourite band playing in a tavern in that area of town. Although we are aware that people get victimised every day, to acknowledge that this risk is very real would socially paralyse us. Instead, we rely on our own judgement to be able to "weed out" strangers who potentially pose a threat as compared to those who don't. For example, unknown women pose less of a threat than

unknown men. Therefore, we tend to fear unfamiliar females less. When we are attacked by an unknown person, it means that our detection mechanisms of such people have failed to some degree. We are surprised that victimisation does happen, and may possibly engage in self-blame for not being more careful.

Although I am aware that the issue is more complicated, many stranger-victim attacks are somewhat the product of the victim being in the wrong place at the wrong time. We are lead to believe that we can control, to some degree, the chance of being victims of crime by not entering into potentially dangerous situations, such as not walking alone after dark, and not being in certain areas of a city with "bad reputations". However, there is little women feel that they can actually do to stop this kind of attack. It makes us feel vulnerable, even when we monitor our own actions. This would appear to be true for both victimised and non-victimised women alike. When women are attacked under these circumstances, they may choose to blame themselves for not taking proper precautions. In addition, being attacked by a stranger may force the victim to lose trust in her world view that society is generally a safe place.

Perhaps one of the keys to this question lies in a study done by Schepple and Bart (1983). In this study, they analysed the responses of raped women, as well as women who had been attacked, but avoided being raped. They asked these women how safe they felt in their environment at the time that the attack occurred. The results they obtained were quite interesting:

> "...there is a geography of fear (a map of times and places where it makes sense to be afraid) and a geography of rape (times and places where rapes actually happen).
>
> (Schepple and Bart, 1983:76).

Results of this study demonstrate that those women who were attacked in what they perceived to be low risk, or safe, situations were more likely to have severe reactions to the event than those who suspected that the situation they were in immediately preceding the attack was dangerous. In essence, there are certain situations where we find more predictably than others. When a woman is attacked in a traditionally safe place, such as in her own home, her world view of safe places may change. In fact she may go as far as to feel that there are no safe places and, therefore, finding the world very unpredictable where there is nothing she can do to protect herself, such as constructing a 'map' of dangerous situations.

Another potential explanation for these results is that although the respondents were asked extensively about fear of crime, there may be other fear variables that may capture the multifaceted aspects of fear. For example, those who are victimised by someone known, may have different fears than those that are simply tied to re-victimisation. Those who have been victimised by their husbands or male family members, for instance, may have a heightened fear of intimacy, or fear of men generally. Women in this survey were not specifically asked these types of questions. There does appear to be a hint that this may in fact be true. Women who reported victimisation were further asked to report on the specific criminal transaction and asked "How has this affected you?" Five hundred and twenty-eight women responded that they had problems relating to men. This was an open ended question and, therefore, responses were categorised as the women mentioned them. It is possible that other women may have had this same difficulty, but did not think of this response or were reluctant to give this response, when they were

contacted by the interviewer and asked this question.

Finally, the last two hypotheses proposed in this analysis had to do with the role of time. It was predicted that farther the victim was removed from the incident in time, the less her fear of crime and the less symptoms she would report. Both of these hypotheses were not supported. Time had no effect on any of the dependent variables. What this suggests is that the event itself was very salient to the victim. That is, even though the event may have occurred many years ago, the responses that were evoked are still very memorable to the victim, even to the point of how she felt after the attack. Traumatic events are often easily remembered. Women also report how the act of violence has shaped, or changed their lives (Schepple and Bart, 1983; Brownmiller, 1975). Obviously, this analysis suggests that this may indeed be the case.

The Criminal Event of Sexual Assault

Recall that the purpose of these analyses was not only to look at the victimisation - fear/reactive symptoms nexus, but also to assess the influence of other, non-central, variables that were entered into the model. As with all other models tested in this dissertation, age has the strongest effect in the analysis. In addition to affecting all but three independent variables (degree of injury, talking to a counsellor, and talking to friends), the age of the respondent directly, and negatively affected 2 of the 4 fear variables (fear while walking home alone in the respondents neighbourhood at night, and fear walking alone in a parking garage). This would suggest that as a woman ages her fear decreases. This may be due to several reasons. As mentioned, one possible

explanation is that she is less likely to be as highly active as a younger woman, and therefore less likely to engage in these activities. Certainly the data would support this. Older women are less likely to report higher numbers of assaults, less likely to report that the offender had been drinking, more likely to report being assaulted by someone they know with a more serious crime, yet less likely to talk to friends or police about the incident.

Another clue may lie in the fact that, as found in the previous analysis, the older the women were in the survey, the more likely the assault took place farther in the past. Until recently, the nature and scope of crimes against women were hidden. These older women may not have reported these incidents for fear of being stigmatised, as in the case of sexual assault. Also, as we look farther in the past, crimes of domestic violence and interfamilial sexual assault were not behaviours heavily sanctioned by police. Older women, therefore, are more likely to have dealt with these actions 'privately'.

The number of assaults also played a key role in this analysis, suggesting that those women who reported at least one assault, tend to have more difficulty in the aftermath. These women tend to be slightly younger, less educated, with a slightly higher income. They were also more likely to report that the offender (or offenders) had been drinking at the time the assault took place, experienced more serious crimes, were more likely to suffer from more serious injuries, and were more likely to have more formal contact with others after the assault. They were also more likely to have stronger fear responses to walking in their area alone after dark, using public transportation, and being in parking garages alone.

Although there are no direct effects on the other dependent variables, the total number of assaults reported by the respondent did indirectly effect the remaining dependent variables in the analysis, thereby affecting directly, or indirectly, almost every variable that came after it, with the exception of the victim-offender relationship. Those women who reported being assaulted more often also reported being more seriously injured more often. These women were also more likely to talk about the incident with friends, even more likely to talk with counsellors, and most likely to come in contact with the police. This would indirectly support findings of Parker (1990) and Gidycz (1995) who found that previous victimisation, whether sexual or otherwise, increased women's overall levels of reported fear.

The role of alcohol in the criminal event, is also noteworthy. Women who reported that the offender had been drinking at the time of the assault were slightly more likely to experience a more serious crime but did not report more serious injury. However, those who reported a more serious crime carried out against them did have a tendency to report more serious injuries. If the offender had been drinking, women were also more likely to report the crime to intimates but not to more formal reporting mechanisms, such as counsellors or police. This suggests that where the aggressor was drinking, women thought the act not serious enough to warrant formal intervention, but rather sought to deal with the problem more informally. The victim may not have reported the crime officially as she felt the offender may have had his judgement impaired due to the alcohol when the incident took place. In essence, women may be excusing their aggressor's behaviour as well as their own injuries, which under other circumstances

might be considered rather serious warranting more formal forms of intervention.

The offender's alcohol intake also had no direct effect on fear variables, other than a slight negative effect on the general fear indicator, walking alone in the respondents area after dark. Because these women may be more likely to not acknowledge the seriousness of the offence committed against them, and the physical and emotional harm this may have resulted in, due to the fact that the incident was partially explained away because the offender had been drinking, lower fear responses. Yet this analysis, as well as other studies (Grey et al, 1988; Downs, 1993) report that consuming alcohol, or being in places where others are drinking (Hindelang, 1978), increases the risk for victimisation. This analysis also reveals that those who reported at least one assault appear to be more vulnerable to subsequent assaults. Thus it would appear that the role of alcohol in the criminal event, where women are victims, leaves these women more vulnerable for repeat victimisation.

Older women, who were less educated, are more likely to report being victimised by a known offender. In addition, those who reported being victimised by a known offender were less likely to report that they were victims of more serious types of crime, yet no more or less likely to report a lower degree of injury. These women were also more likely to report the behaviour to intimates or to a counsellor but not to police. Conversely, those who were victimised by strangers were more likely to report the crime to the police, but not to friends or family or to counsellors. This suggests that the dynamics of the stranger offender-victim relationship creates a situation where the crime is more likely to be reported officially. This is probably due to the fact that those who do

not know their attacker are more likely to be taken more seriously by officials and are more likely not to be in a situation where the victim may have been perceived as precipitating the incident or doing something to provoke the offender into the assault in some way.

Another clue may lie in the responses of the older women. Older women, who were sexually assaulted, were forced to deal with older legislation, which was outlined in the first chapter. Recall that in 1983 the laws regarding sexual assault were changed to include more varied types of behaviour (Hinch, 1991; Roberts and Mohr, 1994). Before 1983, husbands were excluded from being prosecuted for sexual assault where the victim was their wife. Likewise, men could also not be "raped". In addition, only acts where there was penile-vaginal penetration were considered rape, excluding acts such as anal penetration, and foreign object insertion. As a result, many of the acts that women reported in this survey may not have been considered sexual assault and, therefore, not reported.

It should also be considered that those who reported being victimised by a stranger were also more likely to report a more serious crime committed against their persons. The fact that the most serious crime on the scale was sexual assault, may explain this finding to some degree. The crime of sexual assault still has a considerable amount of stigma attached to it. Reporting the crime to a more formal body, such as the police, may be easier than talking to a person who will be more intimate in their discussions about what happened. In other words, although the victim may have realised that the crime was serious enough to prosecute, and was willing to report the crime to officials, the idea of

disclosing this information to friends, co-workers, or counsellors, may have had serious social ramifications. Theoretically, the police will act upon the information to attempt to find the person and lay charges, regardless of their own feelings towards rape and/or sexual assault, whereas people who are more familiar with the victim, may act upon their own misconceptions of this type of crime. Another more "objective" alternative for a sexual assault victim is to use a counselling service. However, calling such a service requires that the victim be aware that she is in need of counsel.

Depending on the woman, and the nature of the crime committed against her, this may not be an option. There are several reasons why this may occur. One reason may be that she may deny that she is in need of counselling. She may think that to ask for this type of help is to admit that she is not strong enough to handle the aftermath of such an event, and therefore be admitting weakness. Finally, although this is not an exhaustive list, she may not be in a situation that is safe enough to contact the counselling service (for example, where the aggressor is the husband).

In addition, if the offender is known, the victim may be more amenable to resolving these instances in more informal ways, for several reasons. Informally dealing with the event may simply be more effective, given the circumstances of the assault. On the other hand, more formal report mechanisms may cause undo hardship for the victim. Known offenders in this sample include not only friends, but family, co-workers, and other known men. Calling the police on a friend, a family member, or a co-worker is bound to have serious repercussions within social groups, family settings, and the work environment, respectively. The victim may chose to try and solve the problem informally, using the

police only as a last resort, and therefore minimise the personal discomfort that comes with official reporting.

Older women, who were slightly less likely to have a higher education, who had reported being assaulted more often, and reported that the offender had been drinking when probed about a single event, and were attacked by a stranger, were more likely to report being the victim of a more serious crime type. However, recall that in the second analysis older women were more likely to have this happen when they were younger. Crime seriousness, as with the last analysis, had only a slight positive effect on the level of injury reported by the respondent. No other variables were directly affected by this variable. Once again, this suggests that it is not the type of crime that is committed against the victim, but the degree of injury received during the incident, that is a deciding factor in overall fear levels and severity of reactive symptoms reported as a result of the attack.

Level of injury had a rather strong effect on the remaining portion of the analysis. The higher degree of injury women reported, the more likely they were to talk to intimates, counsellors and police. Therefore, regardless of the type of crime that was committed against them, if the women reported being seriously injured they were more likely to talk to several people about the incident. This, to some degree makes sense. More women experience physical assault, as opposed to sexual assault. The type of crime, therefore, may play a key role. If there was more evidence of physical damage to the victim, she may be more likely to be questioned about the incident by friends, and, as well as more likely to need medical attention. Therefore, she is probably more likely to

come in contact with people who are more likely to question her about the assault. This is backed by the fact that, in this phase of the model, the higher the level of injury, the more likely a formal complaint was lodged.

Injury did not affect the overall fear levels felt at the time of the survey. However, the more intense the injury, the more likely they were to report more severe reactive symptoms as a result of the assault. If women had reported injuries as serious as fractures or having a miscarriage, they were more likely to report anxiety as a result of the incident, or recalled having sleeping problems after the attack

This third analysis did not confirm many of the initial hypotheses made regarding the relationship between the characteristics of the event and the dependent variables. That is, the event characteristics surrounding the victimisation incident did not affect fear of victimisation or the severity of reactive symptoms as a result of the criminal transaction. Although many of the crime characteristics did have an effect on the overall analysis, very few of the crime characteristics affected the levels of fear or the severity of reactive symptoms reported by the respondent. The relationship between the victim and the offender had no effect on any of the independent variables. Whether the offender had been drinking, only had an effect on the general fear indicator, of walking alone in the respondent's neighbourhood after dark. In addition, the degree of injury reported by the respondent was not found to have an affect on any of the dependent fear variables. However, this same variable was found to have a relationship with the level of reactive symptoms experienced as a result of the assault. Therefore, only two of the possible six hypotheses having to do with the crime characteristics were confirmed.

The third hypothesis in this analysis was confirmed, although not with every independent variable. The more formal contact the victim made as a result of the assault, the less fear that women reported, but only in the special case of being in a parking garage alone. Although there was no relationship between talking to friends, talking to a counsellor was more fear producing over time, than talking to the police. The fourth hypothesis, however was not only not confirmed, but found to maintain a relationship in the opposite direction than predicted. Therefore, going to the police predicted more serious reactive symptoms such as depression and/or anxiety and sleeping disorders.

Who the women talked to after the assault did not have strong influence on the dependent variables. Those who talked to the police, but not to intimates or counsellors, were more likely to have stronger reactive symptoms such as experiencing depression or anxiety, or sleeping problems. Those who talked to counsellors or police, but not to friends had a mixed affect on fear, but only the specific fear of walking alone in a parking garage. Those who had talked to a counsellor were more likely to be afraid under these circumstances, while those who talked to police were less likely to be afraid in the same situation. Therefore reporting a crime to police may result in more severe reactive symptoms, but less fear over time. Those who talked to intimate or to counsellors were not more or less likely to have reactive symptoms.

This suggests, although to a minor degree, that who you talk to after being assaulted does effect what one experiences after the incident is over. Recall that fear questions were asked of all women, at the beginning of the survey, before they were probed about particulars of a randomly chosen reported incident. The fear variables,

therefore, tap on how fearful women were at the time that the survey was conducted, not at the time the transaction occurred. Although there may have been women in the survey who had recently experienced an assault, for the most part women had reported that the assault had taken place more than 2 years before the survey was conducted. The reactive symptoms dependent variable was created based on responses directly after the assault. To report less fear, but more severe reactive symptoms, suggests that reporting the crime to the police is more difficult on the victim, in retrospect, but has an overall potentially positive effect on women in the long term. Not reporting these crimes officially, but talking to people who operate in a less formal capacity, such as intimates or counsellors, may result in lasting fear, even if limited to being in certain situations.

In sum, what this investigation tells us is that those who are less educated, have had more assault-type experiences, who associate with those who drink alcohol, are more likely to be victims of more serious crimes, and therefore be more seriously injured. As a result, they are more likely to come in contact with more formal forms of social control. Because of this more formal contact, they are more likely to have stronger reactive symptoms as a result of the incident, and possibly less fear at the time that the VAW survey was conducted. These results may be due to several factors. Although women may experience less fear as a result of reporting the crime to the police, it may be due to other factors not queried in this survey.

Part of the answer may lie in the fact that those women who report more serious victimisation are more likely to report having some sort of history with these types of events. The reduced fear under these circumstances, such as fear experienced while alone

in a parking garage, may result in desensitisation due to previous victimisation experience. Because these women have coped in the past, they may not fear what can happen to them. They, unlike women who have not had this experience, may not be afraid of the unknown.

What this analysis also suggests is that there is some evidence for double victimisation by the criminal justice system of the respondents of this survey who reported the crime committed against them to police. Reporting this crime, as respondents look back at how they felt and reacted at the time after the assault, was more difficult on their emotional and physical state, in comparison who those who chose not to. However, given their reaction after the event, the overall fear levels of these women tended to be less. Those women who did report some sort of victimisation experience did report higher fear levels on average. However, the more serious the injury, the more formal action women took after the event. If the police became involved, the more severe her cognitive, behavioural and physical reactions were to the incident. Part of this may be due to the nature of the victimisation experience. That is, more serious injuries have a direct positive effect on reactive symptoms. But part of this reaction may also be due to the criminal justice system becoming involved. However, the more qualitative nature of these questions are the subject for future studies in this area.

Finally, reactive symptoms recounted as happening as a result of the transaction were not directly affected by independent variables, that affected fear. Recall that women have a more heightened fear of crime response generally than do men, according to the General Social Survey also carried out in 1993. The results in this analysis show fear being largely directly affected by precursory variables such as age, educational attainment,

and total number of assaults reported. Reactive symptoms are largely affected by the mediating transaction variables. This makes sense, due to the time reference involved with respect to these variables. The fear questions on the instrument asked the respondent about how worried they were in various situations at the time the survey was carried out. The question used to make the reactive symptoms scale asked about how the criminal transaction had affected them directly after the incident, in retrospect. Therefore, in hindsight, respondents may have looked at the mediating transaction variables, such as how severely they were injured or the crime they were subject to, to help understand what had happened to them.

As in the other analyses done in this dissertation, this final analysis does not explain much of the variance in attempting to uncover some of the dynamics of being assaulted. In fact, it explains very little. As I have said, this is a rather complex issue. What is interesting, is that as more variables were added into each analysis, the proportion of variance went up, although slightly. This also suggests that there are several factors that enter into the assault event, that are not included in this analysis. The VAWS, is a good survey, given the subject matter, however, clearly the dynamics of women's victimisation are more complex then the data set will allow for analyses. At best we can only attempt to understand the experience of women's victimisation, a little at a time.

This was a multistage, multivariate analysis. As such, I had the opportunity to look at the proportion of variance explained as the variables were included in the equation. What is interesting is that the highest proportion of variance explained is not a result of any of the dependent variables. The variable that does have the highest proportion of

variance explained is the variable of crime seriousness at 12.1%. Further, crime seriousness only has a slightly positive effect on degree of injury reported. This suggests that crime seriousness has little do with either fear or how a women is affected by the crime. Fear is most heavily influenced by demographic variables such as age and education, and the total number of assaults that the respondent have experienced over this lifetime. Reactive symptoms are largely explained by who the women reported the crime to, and the level of injuries she received as a result of the incident. Logic would dictate that those women who have experienced more serious crimes would be more fearful. This analysis would appear not to support this assertion. In other words, this analysis is a better predictor of what can happen, given certain conditions during a transaction, than it is a predictor of fear.

CONCLUSION:

The experience of victimisation is a traumatic one, especially if that trauma is sexual assault. This analysis has analysed at the role of experience with respect to fear of victimisation and found that although the relationship between these two variables is significant, it was relatively minor. This leads to speculations as to the nature of women's fear. Research in the future should not simply determine that women are more fearful than men, but why they are more fearful. Ultimately, a longitudinal study, which could analyse women's experiences, as they go through the lifecycle, would be best suited to answering some of these questions.

I have adopted the premise that crime is a special form of a social event. Clearly

there is more to crime than the criminal act, itself. What this study demonstrates, is that beyond the criminal experience, there is the fear that is generated by these acts, experienced or not. This would suggest that it is more the idea of the act of victimisation that is more terrifying than the actual experience of victimisation. Both the bivariate and regression analyses suggest this. Women who experience victimisation are only slightly more likely to be fearful than those who have not. More exploration into the after-effects of criminal acts is needed so that we may better understand not only what creates this fear but sustains it more often in the minds of women than in men. Part of this is perpetuated by the media. Leading news stories are often chosen using the motto "If it bleeds, it leads." The most violent stories are the ones likely to reported first to hold the attention of the viewer. Given that women are more often victims of violent crime than they are perpetrators (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994), violence carried out against a woman is quite often a lead story. This distorts our view of the incidence of this type of event and creates fear. Likewise, films often portray women as sexual objects, often being assaulted by the "bad guy". These images also affect how women are perceived, as well as how they see themselves in relation to others (Dines, 1992). This in turn affects socialisation (Gordon and Riger, 1989). Whether due to media, and/or socialisation, according to the CEP, these precursors should also be studied in the context of these events. The data set used in this study did not allow for this type of analysis.

The second analysis was dedicated to looking at the data of only those women who have reported at least one victimisation incident since age 16. Certain precursors to the event, age, income, and education of the respondent, were analysed with respect to the

event characteristics of crime seriousness, injury, and relationship between the victim and the offender, and certain after effects of these crimes: fear and severity of reactive symptoms. Overall, the four fear variables were not found to be affected by the characteristics of the crime in this analysis. The age of the respondent remained the most salient predictor of fear. The reactive symptoms that women experienced as a result of the event, however, were affected by whether or not the offender was known to the victim, and the degree of injury the respondent reported. If the respondent was unknown, and she received more severe injuries as a result of the attack, she was more likely to experience more severe symptoms such as depression or anxiety attacks and or sleeping problems. It suggested that crime characteristics may not have an effect on fear as women may experience different types of fear, other than just the risk of re-victimisation.

The third analysis has been termed an "event analysis" using the Violence Against Women Survey. Although the overall variance explained was not very high in this phase of the model, the relationships that were uncovered were significant. In this analysis, precursory variables had more influence on effects found in the aftermath than the transaction variables. The strongest variables in the analysis were the age of the respondent, the number of assaults the woman reported in this survey, and the level of injury the women received as a result of the assault. The age of the respondent had a negative effect on all of the dependent variables with the exception fear felt at home, and had no effect on the level of reactive symptoms. The total number of assaults women reported had a positive overall, direct or indirect effect on all variables in the analysis that followed it, with the exception of the relationship between the victim and offender. The

level of reported injury did not have an effect on fear, but did have an effect on the level of reactive symptoms experienced after the assault. Who the respondent talked to after the event had relatively little effect on the overall analysis, although some rather interesting effects were found for those women who talked to the police. Those women who talked to the police had more serious reactive symptoms after the assault, but less fear at the time the survey was carried out.

In the final chapter, some implications of all three analyses will be discussed. In addition, various problems that were experienced while carrying out this analysis will be briefly outlined. Some suggestions for future instruments that look at women's victimisation and fear will be offered. Finally some policy implications will be discussed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Some Concluding Remarks

INTRODUCTION

The analyses in this dissertation have examined many differing relationships. Clearly, a variety of information has been presented here. This final chapter is dedicated to discussing some of the major findings presented in the text. First, there was the matter of the design of each analysis. The design of each phase of the model was created as a way of utilising as much of the data as possible, using the Criminal Event Perspective. However there were limitations that had to be overcome in order to make the models work. Second, there is the contentious issue of the consistently small findings. A portion of this chapter will be dedicated to trying to understand what may be happening in the model, either theoretically or methodologically, that may explain the modest explanatory power of each analysis. Finally, a section of this chapter will be devoted to looking at some implications of these findings for policy and future analyses.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The Criminal Event Perspective was used as an organising force in this dissertation. Using the CEP, we have looked at current theorising in the area of crime, and in particular, sexual assault. These theories cover from the precursors of crime, to the aftermath of the transaction and emerge out of different disciplines. Theories dealing with the precursors to crimes primarily are explained using criminological or sociological perspective, while theorising on the aftermath of criminal transactions principally has emerged out of the discipline of psychology.

This perspective has also been used in organising the tri-phase model tested in this dissertation. The principle contribution of the CEP was in aiding the model's design. Because the CEP makes the assumption that criminal events are a specific form of social event, it also assumes that there is a temporal sequence to these events. Certain factors must come before others. Therefore one of the principle contributions of the CEP is in ordering the variables in the model. However, this model was not without its problems.

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN CARRYING OUT THE ANALYSIS

In carrying out these analyses, I came across several problems that limited the scope of the study presented in this dissertation. One of the most notable is that this study was designed to look at male violence against women. The designers, in so choosing this particular type of victimisation excluded many other groups that may have been useful in a more complete analysis. The survey, because it excluded male victims of assault, did not allow for a comparison group. Given that males are more often victims and offenders of

crime, it would appear to be a useful base for comparison. How does what women experience compare to what men experience?

Further, in its construction the survey excluded violence that women may experience by other females. Where the offending female is a spouse, it would have been a unique opportunity to analyse how heterosexual unions differ from homosexual ones, with respect to the occurrence rates for violence in each. What this study does not allow in its design is the accumulation of data on the prevalence of female-female violence in society. This study only looks at male-female violence, and therefore offers an incomplete picture of violence against women.

An additional problem with this survey is that it only asked about victimisation experienced since age 16. Although there are some serious methodological and ethical problems in asking questions about child abuse, this data set excludes cases of incest and physical abuse that may have made our understanding of abuse experienced by females over their lifetime more complete. Therefore, the number of victimised women is seriously underestimated if we acknowledge that abuse experienced at younger ages is not included in this survey. What we have is a study that looks at the violence against women, not females generally.

Another difficulty with the survey is that it did not ask all questions to all people. For example, there were basic affective questions asked of those women who had reported victimisation, but not of those who did not report having these types of experiences. Therefore it is difficult to make any assumptions about victimised women's affective disorders when we have no equivalent measures of this in the general Canadian

population. At best, these analyses taken together can assert that those women who are sexually assaulted have more severe reactive symptoms than those who have experienced other types of violence. But how this compares to the more general adult female population cannot be commented on.

When carrying out the event analysis, several variables had to be dropped from the analysis due to the fact that not all questions were asked of all victimised groups. The designers of this survey made differing assumptions of married and non-married women who had experienced abuse. For example, the final event analysis originally was designed to investigate how women were affected if an act of theft or robbery was also committed during the assault. However the question "Was anything taken?" was only asked of non-married women. It was assumed that married people have common property, and therefore nothing could be taken from the married respondent by her partner. In my experience counselling women who had experienced physical and sexual abuse by their spouses, personal items had been taken, or broken, by the abuser in what might aptly be termed a symbolic gesture. This is a design flaw in the survey. Regardless, because this was not asked of all victimised women, the question was dropped from the event analysis.

Another variable that was dropped in the event analysis, had to do with whether a weapon was used at the time of the assault. Again, this question was not asked of a woman who reported that the abuser had been her husband. Women who experience abuse are often threatened with weapons such as guns or knives (DeKeseredy and Kelly; Johnson, 1996). Certainly there is enough anecdotal information to suggest that weapons have been used against female spouses (see for example Lavalee vs. R. as cited in

Silverman and Kennedy, 1993:150-155; Jones, 1980) Therefore the survey failed to capture this information in the data set.

In addition, it would have been interesting to note whether the victim had been drinking at the time of the assault. This question was not asked of any victimised women. Whether the victim had been drinking may have influenced how she interpreted the event and how she may have reacted to the crime in the aftermath. The only question asked regarding alcohol consumption during, or immediately prior, to the event is whether or not the offender had been drinking. Although this was proven to be useful in the analyses, it presents only a one sided version of events.

Routine activities and lifestyles theories tell us that alcohol consumption, whether on the part of the offender or the victim, can increase the risk of victimisation. It would have been interesting to see whether or not this risk was more prominent when the victim and/or the offender had consumed alcohol. Prevention strategies that came out of such research would be more useful to individuals and services that were concerned with such risk factors.

One reason this question may not have been asked is that it may have influenced the response of the victim. That is, to ask this question may have given the impression of blaming the victim if she was at all defensive about what had happened to her. A defensive respondent may withhold information if she feels she may be prosecuted for her actions. She also may choose to not continue with the interview and thereby lower the overall response rate of the survey. The designers of the survey may also have been considering how this information could be used, after the data had been collected and

made public. One possibility is that it could be used to discredit and blame women for their own assault who may have been drinking at the time the event occurred.

In addition to not asking about alcohol consumption by the victim, another problem with the survey came about because of the awareness of sensitivity of the subject matter that the surveyors were tapping. Although there were many assaults reported in this survey, the opportunity to look at more serious assaults was not taken advantage of. Recall that if a women had reported more than one victimisation incident, the choice on which event to further probe was chosen randomly. This was done so that there was minimal emotional damage inflicted as a result of the survey to the women that were questioned in this survey. These women also had the opportunity to decline being asked about the randomly chosen offence. This may have resulted in women choosing not to talk about more serious offences as they were too embarrassing or emotionally taxing. Women, instead, may have chosen a less serious and therefore less traumatising event to report on. These two factors, coupled together, may have lead to minimised reporting of the details of these types of events. This is ironic as these are the events which the literature has asserted are the crimes that women fear most and would, therefore, be most interested in understanding more about.

The end result is that where there was an opportunity to find out about more serious crimes, it was not taken. It is understandable why this may have been decided. The result is that we know less about the more serious crimes that women experience, in favour of understanding the less serious crimes. Although this is important in getting a full understanding of the nature and scope of women's victimisation, there was potential to

gather information that was not taken. Given that most women reported less serious offences, the majority of information collected deals on less serious assaults. Less serious assaults, although they may reinforce feelings of vulnerability to victimisation, are not in themselves fear inducing in the long run.

A final criticism of the data set is the way that the fear variables were constructed. Responses to fear questions were coded in such a way as to make fear of crime useful as a dependant variable only if a correspondence analysis had been carried out with the "Never walk alone/use public transport/use parking garages/home alone" variables. Recall that these variables had to be corresponded with fear. People who never participated in the situations outlined in the fear questions turned out to feel the safest. As a result they were coded with the lowest value on the fear scales, thus making a four point scale and meeting the minimal requirements of OLS regression. It would have been more useful for analysis if the survey had asked this question using a Likert scale for response values, thus providing a scale that was continuous and did not need further manipulation.

FINDINGS IN THIS STUDY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Overall, these analyses uncovered several interesting findings. The first is that younger women consistently had a higher fear of crime than did older women for the types of victimisation queried in this survey. This is not surprising. Younger women are more at risk for personal victimisation than are older women. Younger women are more likely to be geographically mobile, engage in activities after dark, and so on. In short, younger women lead more active lives that may place them at greater risk for victimisation. This

survey was designed to get at the issues surrounding women's personal risk of violence. Therefore, even though younger women place themselves at higher risk in their daily activities, they are aware of this risk to some degree, evidenced by their higher fear of crime levels.

As each analysis was carried out it was noticed, overall, that the explanatory power of the model went up, although marginally. This would seem to confirm the assumption that the issues surrounding abuse are complex. The analyses did not succeed in encapsulating some of the most primary influences in predicting fear. This is interesting as this was one principal intent of the survey. The implications of this are far reaching. With few exceptions, studies have consistently found that, women overall experience much higher levels of fear than do men (Akers et al, 1987; Lebowitz, 1975; Liska et al, 1988; Warr, 1984). Many of these women have not experienced many of the more severe forms of violence experienced in this survey. What this implies that it is not the act of violence that drives this fear level, but the threat of this violence. This would seem to support previous findings of Warr (1985) and more recently by Ferraro (1996). Therefore it is women's perception of risk of victimisation that drives the fear rate. This perception of risk is driven by what women see on a daily basis, such as in the portrayal of women in films, and the exaggerated media attention that these types of assaults bring.

One of the most consistent findings throughout these analyses of violence against women is that, although there were many significant relationships revealed, all models had very little explanatory value. The variance explained did little in understanding how the precursors of the criminal event, affected the transaction and the aftermath of sexual

assault. One of the more useful findings of these analyses is that, in comparison to other types of victimisation that women experience, sexual assault does produce marginally higher fear of crime rates, and a more severe psychological reaction. This is not surprising, given the nature of the assault. However, being assaulted only explains a marginal increase in overall fear rates. This lack of power in explanation may have occurred for several reasons.

First, the analyses themselves may have not adequately encapsulated the problems facing women who have been, or fear being victimised. That is, the analyses were too simple and did not include other key variables that may have enhanced explanation. We know that, for example, media reports distort the truth about the frequency of women being assaulted or murdered. This, in turn, creates "social panic", which is a product of the elevated levels of fear in women (Fraser, 1995). Media is more likely to report more sensational assaults to boost readership, or ratings. They are also more likely to report stranger assaults, as they are most likely to be believed by police and are, therefore, more likely to be reported officially.

Further, Fraser argues that these media reports reveal little information about the assault that is useful to women, which serves to exacerbate public fear. Unfortunately, the VAWS did not ask about how women were influenced by the media. Given that one of the strongest findings is that fear of crime is almost unrelated to victimisation. Information on media coverage of these types of events might have helped us to understand why this is the case. These analyses were limited to what was available in the survey. It is suggested prior knowledge of others who have been victimised, whether

through media accounts or word of mouth, would be a significant precursory variable where fear of crime was the focus of the study. Perhaps, it would be useful when asking about fear of victimisation to ask women why they are afraid of walking alone in their neighbourhood at night, or being at home alone in the evening. Influence of media events may emerge as one possible explanation women hold.

Second, the low explanation of variance may also be due to the construction of the fear variables themselves. Recall that only four possible responses were allowed for each dependent variable. In part, this was due to the way that the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics designed the survey, and more specifically the fear questions. With respect to the reactive symptoms scale, the Mokken scale construction only allowed for 4 appropriate scale items. Although a four-item scale does meet the minimum requirements of the OLS regression technique, this same scale, because of its lack of real variability, may have actually reduced the potential for the R^2 statistic (Hanushek and Jackson, 1977). Further studies should try and minimise this effect by creating scales with considerably more variation.

Another possible explanation is that sexual assault may operate as a "master offence" (Ferraro, 1996). If we accept Warr's (1985) findings, that women equate the threat of being raped with the threat of being the victim of murder, then fear of sexual assault may serve to "shadow" other offences. This overriding fear of this type of crime may produce an overall heightened fear response for all crime. Results from a study done by Ferraro (1996) demonstrated that this may in fact be the case. Unlike men, women fear rape on a day-to-day basis.

Ferraro performed a study that looked at women's perceived risk of sexual assault and compared it with other fears of victimisation that women hold. He found that perceived risk of sexual assault was a significant influence on all types of fear. In addition, he found that constrained behaviour resulted in further increased levels of fear. Ferraro concluded that when women think about the possibility of being the victim of a crime, they also contemplate the likelihood that sexual assault may accompany a separate offence. The findings in this dissertation – that fear of crime in large part is unrelated to victimisation experience – confirmed Ferraro's findings. He concluded that it matters not whether women have been personally victimised, the imagined horror of sexual assault is salient enough to spark such fear.

The Violence Against Women Survey was designed to uncover the violence that women experience. The questions that were asked in this survey were designed to get at certain issues surrounding violence against women. Another possible reason the models presented in this thesis may have had consistently low explanations of variance has to do with the construction of the dependent variables of fear. It is possible that what these variables are measuring is not fear generally, but a specific type of fear. That is, the fear of violence committed by a stranger.

For example, the question, "How worried do you feel walking in your own area at night?" may be tapping into something other than a general sense of fear. I argue that what people are afraid of in this situation is being the victim of unexpected violence, particularly from an unknown person. This holds true for other fear questions in this survey as well. Women who responded affirmatively to being "worried" or "somewhat

worried" to walking alone to a car or using public transportation are afraid of being attacked by someone they do not know. Even the question "How worried are you while home alone in the evening?" suggests that women who responded as being fearful are afraid of unexpected violence, such as that committed by an unknown man. Women who are in domestic violence situations, where they know the attacker, would feel safer being at home alone as the potential assailant would be out of the house.

However, the VAWS did not ask what women were afraid of when they were in these situations. To my knowledge there has been few studies carried out specifically looking at the construct of fear of violence. In addition, this survey deals with assaults that are personal. This dissertation has focused on the most personal and damaging types of violence women can experience. These questions about fear, if we accept the assertion that what they are actually measuring is stranger violence, may not be tapping the other types of fear that women experience after such criminal transactions.

For example, rape victims have had trouble dealing with sexual intimacy and may cope with this problem by entering into prostitution (Bagley and Young, 1987) or refraining from intercourse (Becker et al, 1986; Westerlund, 1992). In fact, chapter two of this dissertation outlines a host of problems that women who have been sexually assaulted experience, that women who have experienced other types of assault do not. Future studies looking into fear of crime-sexual assault nexus, perhaps should look to other measures of fear rather than the more standard types of fear questions that were used in the VAWS. Perhaps, asking questions that incorporate fear of intimacy, fear of strange men, fear of public spaces, and fear of men known to the respondent may be more

useful measures of fear when looking at fear of violence among women.

Measures of fear of crime, in the future, should receive more attention. For example, if the respondent was asked "What are you afraid of?" in these various situations, we may be able to better understand what exactly the construct is measuring. Women are most afraid of the crimes of rape and homicide (Warr, 1985; Ferraro, 1996). I have argued that what these constructs are measuring is stranger violence. These two ideas are not entirely separate. Holly Johnson (1996:93) noted that 23% of all assaults in her survey were carried out by strangers. What is important is the fact that 78% of these assaults were sexual in nature. Therefore, fear of crime variables which tap into fear of stranger violence in particular, may actually be measuring fear of sexual assault, given that most stranger assaults women reported were sexual.

What these fear variables do not tap into is the most common type of violence that women experience, violence by a known man. Whether using public transportation or walking to a car alone in the evening, women who are abused in the office or in their own home may have different fears. Women who are harassed in the workplace may fear losing their jobs or being ridiculed if others were to find out. Women who are abused in the sanctity of the home may hold fears that come with leaving that situation, such as retribution by her spouse and financial loss if she was to become the sole source of income for herself and any children she may have.

The VAWS acknowledges that women experience different types of violence than do men. This was the principle reason for constructing a survey that looks at victimisation of women only. It is not so unreasonable to assume then that they also have different

types of fear than do men. These fear of crime questions are usually issued to both men and women. Given that men are more likely to be both offenders and victims of crime, these fear questions may also be reflecting this male bias. It is not surprising then that the models in this dissertation have small explained variances.

One way of resolving this methodological issue may be to steer away from these types of fear variables altogether. Fear among women is high in the general female population. Given this fact, the utility of using fear of crime as a dependent variable comes into question. Women who have been victimised are only slightly more likely to have higher fear levels than women who have not had this experience. Perhaps other measures could be used when looking at violence against women. One way that women cope with crime is by changing their behaviour. Women may have higher fear levels generally, but how does that manifest? Do these women vary their way to work every morning? Are women who report higher levels of fear more likely to carry weapons or take self defense courses? Perhaps studies that investigate this area in the future should concentrate more on the behavioural manifestations that fear produces.

Finally, the concept of "dynamic contextualism" as conceived of by Sampson (1993) may also account for the rather low explained variance throughout all three phases of the model. In essence, Sampson argues that there are several macro and micro processes that cross-sectional data cannot hope to capture. In particular, he points to community and structural information that is not collected in most large scale surveys, such as the VAWS. Because the VAWS did not collect data at these levels, the "interactional fields" which are directly related to the definition and conceptualisation of

communities, cannot be measured. Finally, he asserts that the effects of history can also not be taken into account in such cross-sectional analyses. Given that this tri-phase analysis queries women who live in different communities, and represent responses from several generations, Sampson's dynamic contextualism paradigm would predict the low explained variance of each dependent variable. Simply, these variables do not and cannot encapsulate the effects of macro-level influences on micro-level variables such as feelings of safety or psychological reactions to criminal events.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR PREVENTION AND TREATMENT

One of the difficulties in offering recommendations from this tri-phase analysis is that the analysis only explained a very small portion of the fear and psychological reactions women have to violence. However, this is not to say that this study is not informative. In particular, speculation can be made as to what might be causing some of the heightened fear levels. In particular, the media seem to be a logical place to turn to as a source of women's fear of crime.

Certainly the reporting of violence against women has become a common place presence in the news. One interesting trend in news reporting, according to Sharon Fraser (1995), is that news reporting on this issue has actually decreased. This, she argues, is ironic in that the levels of reported crimes against women have been rising. She asserts that what this has lead to is even more sensationalising of the news that the media do choose to report. Therefore the most horrifying stories are the ones that make it to the news. She also comments that the information that these stories give is often of little use

to the reader. The reader is left with the impression that the act was bizarre and uncontrollable. What the reader is left with is a distorted image of the types of violence women are at risk for. This creates a social panic, which in turn feeds the media frenzy. It would seem that this dissertation would not be complete unless it suggested that there be more responsible reporting of these issues by the media. An effort should be made to reduce the panic around this issue as it is leaving a select part of the population terrified to leave the house at night.

Even though women experience more fear of crime than do men, they are less likely to be a victim of crime than men are (Canada, 1990). Regardless, women have taken steps to be a less suitable target of crime. The first is that there is a growing awareness between women that victimisation is not a rare occurrence. Given the fear rates, this is something that we can safely assume is the case. Routine activities theory, which is one of the fundamental theories guiding the Criminal Event Perspective, would suggest that there are things that women can do, such as target hardening, that may serve to reduce their risk of victimisation. For example, one activity that might reduce her risk of stranger assault is to not be out alone after dark. One problem with this prevention strategy is that it is essentially unfair to women. By taking this common sense approach, a "curfew" is unofficially placed on women. What is meant by this, is that women who wish to partake in activities after dark must be escorted, or not go out at all. Although this is sensible, it is a fundamental inequality that women must deal with in their day to day activities.

Feminist and Marxist type philosophies would argue that consciously or otherwise,

this is one the fundamental inequalities between men and women. Further, because it is not part of the male reality, it is difficult for men to understand the full implications of women's reality. There is one possible exceptional group of men who may understand this fear women have day-to-day: those who are in prison. Because of the higher proportion of male-male rape in these institutions Cooley, 1993; Dumond, 1992) this population has probably adopted several adaptive strategies to dealing with the particular threat of sexual violence. It would be interesting to know if there were any similarities in adaptive strategies between these two groups.

Another area of interest are those theories dealing with the aftermath of crime. Clearly those who go through the system are more likely to have more serious injury and therefore have more problems with respect to symptoms as a result of the event. These victims are also more likely to go to the police. One reason may be due to the fact that those who are more seriously injured are less likely to be able to hide their injuries from the public. For example, they may be forced to get medical attention and therefore forced to come in contact with hospital staff who report such suspicions to the police. They also may be less likely to hide more severe injuries from friends and family who they come into contact with on a more regular basis. However the relationship is unclear as to why those who go to the police have more problems in this respect, as it may be due to the increased level of injury, or it may have something to do with the police themselves. Although this study did ask who the respondent thought was especially helpful, of which police was one possible answer, this was not utilised in the final event analysis. This was due to the possible methodological problems this open-ended question might pose and there were

already many other variables being measured in the model. The survey did not ask respondents which services they were mist disappointed with. Future studies may wish to examine the relationship between the victimisation of women, how women who were victimised evaluated the services the came into contact with, and their resulting fear of crime.

One of the more interesting findings in this thesis was witnessed in the last phase of the model -- the event analysis. Where the respondent had reported going to the police, she was more likely to report more severe reactive symptoms but lave less fear while walking alone to her car in the evening or being in a parking garage. At first this seems somewhat contradictory. A hint might lie in the proposed time line of the dependent variables. As stated in Chapter 6, the fear questions are asking about fear in the present, at the time that the respondent answered the survey. The reactive symptoms questions asked how the event had affected them in the past; closer to the time that the transaction occurred. What this implies is that in hindsight, women who reported their crimes to the police had more severe reactions to the event in the short term, but felt safer in the long term. If we accept that those who usually end up going to the police are usually the women who are victims of more serious crimes and have more serious injuries, then it is unexpected that these are the women who would feel the safest. It is possible that these women, by going to the police brought some closure to the event.

What is meant by this, is that these women took the risk of mentioning what had happened to them to the criminal justice system. By doing this, they suffered more severe symptoms directly after the attack. Some of this may have been due to the nature of the

attack. Another factor that may have increased psychological difficulty at the time of the assault may have been how they were treated by the police. However this question is beyond the scope of this study. Whatever women experience going through the criminal justice system, it would appear that it does reduce the overall fear levels of these women.

One conclusion that could be drawn from this study is that going to the police may be hard to do, but may reduce fear levels in the long run. However the social mechanisms by which this occurs is not clear. One contributing factor may be that the criminal justice system has taken steps to deal with the assault of women, especially where that assault is sexual. However, it is still evident that women have a harder time psychologically if they report their abuse to the police. Therefore steps should be taken to continue to reduce the level of trauma inflicted by the justice system on victims of crime.

Fear among women is high in the general female population. Given this fact, the utility of using fear of crime as a dependent variable comes into question. Women who have been victimised are only slightly more likely to have higher fear levels than women who have not had this experience -- that is, if we trust the variables that were utilised in the study. Perhaps other measures could be used when looking at violence against women. One way that women cope with crime is by changing their behaviour. For example, women may have higher fear levels generally, but how does that manifest? Do these women vary their way to work every morning? Are women who report higher levels of fear more likely to carry weapons or take self defence courses? Perhaps studies that investigate this area in the future should concentrate more on the behavioural manifestations that fear produces.

CONCLUSION

Finally, it should be noted that what has been uncovered here is important, even though the overall explanatory power was modest. The results are still significant due to the sample size of the data set. What this implies is that the results found in this survey are likely to hold a clue into the victimisation-fear nexus. Younger women are more likely to be at risk for victimisation, and are more fearful of this type of victimisation. Those women who have been previously assaulted are more likely to have higher fear levels than those who have not. Therefore policies, generally should target these groups. Younger women who have already had the experience of victimisation are the group that is probably most at risk of re-victimisation. Given that 51% of women in this survey had reported being victimised, efforts should be made to ensure that it does not happen again.

Fear of crime is a pervasive phenomenon in people's lives. Although a majority of Canadian women fear victimisation (Johnson, 1996), this fear also affects the people that women come into contact with on a daily basis. Men also fear for women's safety as they recognise the potential vulnerability they have to potential attackers. Children of families whose parents fear victimisation, may have their activities more restricted than those who do not. Companies who have workers who fear being victimised may run the risk of lower worker productivity and higher employee absenteeism. Clearly violence against women affects everyone. It is therefore up to everyone to work to curtail it, by not tolerating violence in their everyday lives.

Another fact that emerges as a result of this analysis is that women who have experienced sexual assault are clearly altered by the experience. Due to the stigma

attached to being sexually assaulted, women are often forced to conceal the fact that they have had this experience, thereby denying themselves the social support that is so often needed with this type of trauma. When they do courageously disclose this information to someone, they run the risk of being blamed for provoking the assault, accused of lying, and/or socially shunned. Indeed, probably one of the most terrifying ideas women associate with the act of rape is having to go through the ordeal alone.

In an effort to realise the violent, rather than the sexual, nature of the act, changes in legislation were made in 1983. Sexual assault legislation was designed to parallel assault legislation. However, women who experience rape are still stigmatised. A women who is robbed and physically assaulted will be questioned by police and the courts trying to get to the identity of the offender. That same women, if sexually assaulted, is asked about sexual history, runs the risk of having anything she has said to a counsellor made public to the courts, and is generally distrusted by the criminal justice system. Therefore, the criminal justice system, in its actions and reactions, recognises that sexual assault is not merely a violent incident where a sex act is performed. Although society is beginning to accept that rape is an act of violence, we still have a long way to go to manifest this belief into action. Until then, women will continue to fear sexual assault more than any other crime, with the exception of murder.

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APPENDIX A

Current Laws Regarding Sexual Assault and Physical Assault in Canada

SEXUAL ASSAULT

SEXUAL ASSAULT / No defence.
(1) Everyone who commits a sexual assault is guilty of
  (a) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years; or
  (b) an offence punishable on summary conviction and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding eighteen months.

SEXUAL ASSAULT WITH A WEAPON, THREATS TO A THIRD PARTY OR CAUSING BODILY HARM / Punishment.
(1) Every person commits an offence who, in committing a sexual assault,
  carries, uses or threatens to use a weapon or an imitation of a weapon;
  (a) threatens to cause bodily harm to a person other than the complainant;
  (b) causes bodily harm to the complainant; or
  (c) is a party to the offence with any other person.
(2) Every person who commits an offence under subsection (1) is guilty of an indictable offence and liable
  where a firearm is used in the commission of the offence, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years and to a minimum punishment of imprisonment of a term of four years; and
  in any other case, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

AGGRAVATED SEXUAL ASSAULT / Punishment.
273. (1) Every one who commits an aggravated sexual assault who, in committing sexual assault, wounds, maims, disfigures, or endangers the life of the complainant.
(2) Every person who commits an aggravated sexual assault is guilty of an indictable offence and liable
where a firearm is used in the commission of the offence, to imprisonment for life and to a minimum punishment of imprisonment for a term of four years; and
in any other case, to imprisonment for life.

PHYSICAL ASSAULT

ASSAULT
266. Every person who commits and assault is guilty of
(a) an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years; or
(b) an offence punishable on summary conviction.

ASSAULT WITH A WEAPON OR CAUSING BODILY HARM.
267. Every one who, in committing an assault
(a) carried, uses or threatens to use a weapon or an imitation thereof, or
(b) causes bodily harm to the complainant,
is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or an offence punishable on summary conviction and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding eighteen months.

AGGRAVATED ASSAULT
268. (1) Every one commits an aggravated assault who wounds, maims, disfigures or endangers the life of the complainant.
(2) Every one who commits an aggravated assault is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years.