THE HELP-SEEKING OF VIOLENT CRIME VICTIMS

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

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In this research I examine the help-seeking strategies used by male and female crime victims. Consideration of the help-seeking strategies used by victims in dealing with violent crime may provide insight into other decision-making processes, including reactions to other life traumatizing events. The analytic framework for this dissertation integrates research on intimate partner violence and police reporting with the wider help-seeking literature. This integration highlights the way in which victims actively engage in help seeking, given social locations that both limit and facilitate the ability to seek social support. The impact of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help are examined within this framework. Although most victims of violent crime do not call the police, many victims rely on family, friends, medical, social service and mental health interventions in dealing with the consequences of violent crime.

The findings from my research are in accord with the wider help-seeking literature that suggests that those who seek help from family and friends and the users of mental health, social service and self-help groups tend to be female. In contrast, most male victims do not seek help. When men do seek help, they are more likely to call the police than to call upon family and friends. The victim-offender relationship is also an
important predictor of help-seeking decisions. Attacks by known offenders lead to help-seeking strategies that rely primarily on family and friends. My research also suggests that female victims of intimate partner violence, and in particular white women, will use a substantial help-seeking strategy that includes help-seeking from family, friends, mental health professionals, social service agencies and the police. In contrast, white women attacked by strangers are the most likely to use a strategy that primarily relies on calling upon the police in dealing with their experiences with violent crime. These findings suggest that the effects of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship on help seeking decisions are not easily conceptualized by contrasting those who report to police with those who do not. The theoretical, methodological and policy implications of these findings are discussed.
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Chapter 1

The Help-Seeking of Violent Crime Victims

1. Introduction

Given the far-reaching social, personal and economic costs of crime and violence, understanding how victims respond to violent crime is critical and may provide insight into people’s reactions to other life traumatizing events. Help-seeking is an important coping mechanism often used in dealing with victimization, illness, divorce and adolescent adjustment (Johnston, 1997; Ullman, 1996; Schoner-Reich and Muller, 1996; Sacco, 1993; Kaniasty and Norris, 1992; Biaggio, Brownell and Watts, 1991). Crime victims often seek social support from family, friends and social services agencies (Lempert, 1997; Dunbar and Jeannechild, 1996; Fattah and Sacco, 1989; Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh, 1985) and some victims call the police. Decisions to report victimizations to the police and seek help from other sources vary along a number of social dimensions, including gender, race and the victim-offender relationship. Recognizing the way in which these reactions to crime are socially distributed is crucial if we are to begin to appropriately attend to the victims of crime.

1.2 The Role of Victims in Policy, Criminal Law and the Public Imagination

An academic interest in the actions, decisions and help-seeking strategies of crime victims reflects the changing role and importance of victims in the public imagination, public policy, lawmaking and criminal justice in recent decades. Prior to the 1960s, both research and the criminal justice system focused on the causes of crime and the rehabilitation and punishment of offenders (Wallace, 1998). The victims of crime have
been largely unrecognized participants in the criminal law (Elias, 1992; President’s Task Force on Victims of Crime, 1982) and the impact of criminal victimization on victims has largely been filtered through their role as witnesses within the criminal justice system. After the 1970s academic research on victims began to expand. Early victimological studies (Fattah, 1981; Ziegenhagen, 1976) drew attention to victims’ functional responsibility for victimization and their role in social control. More recent academic research has focused on the impact of victim participation for the operation of the criminal justice system and the prosecution process. The findings from victimization surveys highlighted the importance of victims as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system reflecting their ability to mobilize a criminal justice response (Birkbeck, Gabaldon and LaFree, 1993; Greenberg, Ruback and Westcott, 1982; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980; Reiss, 1971; Black and Reiss, 1967), providing deterrent value to the legal system (Bachman, 1993, 1998).

Roach (1999) suggests that the high rates of unreported crime uncovered by victimization surveys have been politically constructed as indicating a need to reform the criminal justice system in order to encourage victims to report more crime. The underreporting of crime to the police has been viewed as reflecting apathy and tolerance to crime, as opposed to reflecting the needs of victims being addressed by family, friends, social service agencies, doctors and mental health professionals. The political response to these perceptions of victim apathy has been to create policies that do not rely on a victim’s cooperation (such as mandatory arrest for intimate partner violence), reflecting a state-centered approach to criminal and social justice.
With the advent of victimization surveys, which revealed the extent and nature of crime (Roach, 1999; Fattah, 1992) and a perceived decline in the social distance between the middle classes and criminal victimization (Garland, 2000; 359), a new way of thinking about crime emerged. Garland (2000) suggests that the same social changes that had given rise to increasing rates of crime since the 1960s also transformed the middle-class experience with crime. This collective experience of crime reflects both a conservative shift in penalty and increasing fear of crime among the Liberal Elites (the educated, middle class). This is similar to what Lianos and Douglas (2000) view as the dangerization of society that reflects the tendency to perceive and analyze the world through categories of menace. The development of a collective experience of crime includes a heightened fear of visible minorities and strangers (Ferraro, 1995; Hough, 1995) that accompanied changes in the day-to-day activities of households, increasing evidence of public disorder (Kramer and Michalowski, 1995) and media interest and dramatization of crime (Shichor, 1997; Elias, 1993).

At the same time, the creation and growth of victims’ rights movements, reflecting an expansion of the feminist and civil rights movements, led to the provision of services to victims and an extension of their rights within law and criminal justice (Wallace, 1998; Henderson, 1985; Valentich and Gripton, 1984; Rose, 1977). These changes in criminal justice and the collective experience of crime reflect and reinforce widespread concern about victims and public safety, the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice state, and the politicizing of crime issues and crime victims (Garland, 2000; Roach, 1999; Simon, 1998; Henderson, 1985). The New Penology, representing a dramatic policy shift from penal welfarism toward a punitive, law-and-order approach to
criminal justice (O'Malley, 1999; Shichor, 1997; Bottoms, 1995; Shichor and Sechrest, 1996; Feeley and Simon, 1992) has defined this new collective experience of crime (Garland, 200), while determining and arguably co-opting the direction taken by the victims’ rights movement (Roach, 1999; Elias, 1993; Fattah, 1986; Henderson, 1985).

The actions taken in the name of crime victims and the collective image of victimage (Garland, 2000; 352) have provided a justification for punitive responses to crime and violence that focus on the incapacitation of the offender. Punitive, law-and-order responses to crime and violence that represent the New Penology are often rationalized in the name of victims (Elias, 1993), but more importantly specific categories of victims (Garland, 2000; Elias, 1992). Just as the New Penology is concerned with the managerial control of the aggregate, the image of the victim now represents our collective experience with crime. Just as the New Penology uses specific offenders to present the need for classification, punitive control and management of the aggregate of offenders (Simon, 1998; Schichor, 1997; Garland, 1996), images of particular victims (stalking victims, hate crime victims, victims of drunk drivers) are also used to exemplify a collective image of the aggregate of victims (Garland, 2000; Elias, 1993). These exemplary categories of victims are supposed to represent the interests and lives of all victims, but what is evident is that only the experiences of these celebrity victims will become part of public policy and the criminal law. These help to demonstrate the importance of victims for the proper operation of the criminal justice system, as the new consumers of criminal justice (Roach, 1999). While many programs for victims remain under funded (Elias, 1993; 1992; Smith and Freinkel, 1988), most of the victories of the victims’ rights movement have been in the way in which legislation deals with offenders
(Roach, 1999; Henderson, 1985) and the law's promise to empower citizens (Simon, 1998). It is not clear how incorporating victims into tougher laws and legislation will deal with the consequences of violent victimization and address the needs of all victims.

1.3 The Sociology of Victim Help-Seeking

In outlining the help-seeking strategies of violent crime victims, my research will address a number of important sociological issues and debates. First, I shift the focus toward victim action and help-seeking strategies and away from a focus on criminal justice solutions and the punishment and control of the offender. In doing so, I highlight the victims of crime and the importance of informal agents of social control in addressing issues of crime, while pointing to the importance of family and friends in helping victims. Recent public and political attention to victims has deployed the concepts of victim-hood and victimization as a means to direct particular types of attention (i.e. punitive) toward offenders. In contrast, my research assigns primacy to the actions and decisions of crime victims, while focusing attention on the outcomes and consequences of violence and on victim recovery, and away from the treatment and punishment of offenders.

A second contribution of my research is to integrate the research on police reporting and intimate partner violence while placing the actions of victims within the wider help-seeking literature. Legal approaches to crime stress the importance of achieving social ends through a justice-based social structure (Heimer and Stinchcombe, 1997). Mainstream criminology often relies on viewing the social world as governed by formal agents of social control, where the courts, police and criminal justice system are the only appropriate agents for dealing with crime. Erickson (1998) argues that these types of approaches place primacy on the criminal justice model over social-justice
alternatives. Rather than placing victims’ experiences with violence solely within a legal and justice-based framework (Greenberg and Ruback, 1985), my research draws on the important contributions of intimate partner violence research and the wider help-seeking literature to highlight the importance of a variety of other sources of social support, including networks of family and friends (Lempert, 1997; Sacco, 1993; Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh, 1985; Bowker, 1983).

A third contribution of my research is to emphasize the importance of crime victims to sociology while making help-seeking an important criminological topic. Sociological research has outlined the importance of social support for dealing with a variety of life challenging events, while pointing to the embeddedness of problems and their solutions within a person’s immediate social network. While criminological research has often neglected the victim’s role outside of the criminal justice system, sociological theory and research has sometimes overlooked the actions and decisions of crime victims.

Fourth, an examination of victim help-seeking decisions provides the opportunity to highlight the agency of victims, an important issue in classic and contemporary sociological and criminological theory. Research on the consequences of victimization has often conceptualized many victims as passive and/or impotent by treating calls to the police as a single measure of efficacy. Victims failing to initiate criminal justice responses have often been depicted as lapsing into a state of learned helplessness, unable to find solutions to their distress (Greenberg, Ruback and Westcott, 1983). This assumes that victims’ primary response to their victimization is a sense of injustice that may only be reduced through the criminal justice system’s apprehension and punishment of the
offender and ignores the variety of victims’ responses and needs. The policy initiatives from this perspective suggest that:

“public education programs should be directed at fostering rational decision making by victims. . . Such efforts should be directed at achieving a better match between people’s personal definitions and existing legal definitions of what constitutes a crime. People should be informed on how the stress of the victimization impairs the reasoning capacity of victims, and how victims tend to be particularly susceptible to social influence at such times.”

(Greenberg and Ruback, 1985; 613)

I argue, in contrast, that conceptualizations of victim decision-making need to be expanded to encompass the myriad coping and survival strategies employed by victims (Profitt, 1996). In seeking help from family and friends and talking about the abuse and violence they have experienced, victims are actively engaged in a process of overcoming the negative consequences associated with victimization (Nadler, 1997; Feinstein, Taylor and Falker, 1992; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Family and friends and other social network members are more than an influence on victims’ decisions to invoke the criminal justice system, they are caregivers and advisors (Pescosolido, 1992). A focus on victim agency helps to challenge the myth that victims of violent crime are almost inevitably socially isolated and impaired by their victimization.

Finally, the data I use in my analyses expand traditional legalistic definitions of criminal victimization and help-seeking (Fattah, 1992). These surveys of violence (1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey and the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996) contrast with traditional crime surveys, in that they elicit information on a wide range of responses to victimization. Whereas previous crime surveys relied on criminal justice terms to question respondents, the surveys I analyze substitute behaviour-specific language to cue
respondents to report experiences with violence by known offenders that they may not consider criminal (Johnson, 2000; Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999). This increases the number and type of incidents of violence captured by victimization surveys, particularly crimes committed by known offenders (Bunge, 2000; Bachman and Saltzman, 1995). I am thus able to examine those types of violence most likely to be experienced by women and victims who know their attackers and the help-seeking strategies used by these crime victims.

1.4 Help-Seeking by Victims of Violence: Beyond Police Notification

In this dissertation I further understanding of victim decision-making and expand the scope of analyses of victim help-seeking actions. My thesis integrates research specific to intimate partner violence and police reporting with the wider help-seeking literature and views help-seeking as a set of distinct strategies. I conceptualize help-seeking as over-lapping patterns of decisions that may lead victims to consult with a wide range of lay and professional sources of help (Pescosolido, 1992). This orientation provides the freedom to both isolate a single help-seeking decision, as well as focus on help-seeking strategies. Rather than assigning priority to criminal justice responses, I view police reporting, like any other choice, as enmeshed in a set of help-seeking strategies.

1.4.1 The Police Notification Literature

Throughout this dissertation, I draw on the research specific to victims’ decisions to notify the police about their victimization. The action of victims as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980) and the implications of victims’ decisions not to notify the police for the operation of the criminal justice system
have laid the foundation for an examination of the correlates of police notification. These correlates include gender, race and the relationship between the victim and offender, which have been shown to be important predictors of whether victims report their experiences with violence to the police (Bachman, 1998; Bennett and Wiegand, 1994; Greenberg and Ruback, 1985).

Several theoretical frameworks outline how and when crimes are brought to the attention of the police. Rational choice perspectives assume that victims are rational decision makers and that their decisions to notify the police of a crime are based upon their calculation of the benefits and costs associated with notification. The framework developed by Donald Black focuses attention toward the action and behaviour of law rather than the decisions of individuals, suggesting that the behaviour of law may be studied apart from the motivations of individuals and without reference to the purpose or value of law. A victim’s decision to call the police and report a crime is an increase in the quantity of law and Black outlines the social structural characteristics that determine when, how much and what style of law is likely to be used. In contrast, feminist frameworks suggest that decisions to notify formal agents of social control reflect a wider system of patriarchal social relations. These theories suggest that violence between intimates is less likely to be brought to the attention of the police reflecting a social system that encourages violence between intimates to be defined as less serious while shaping women’s perceptions of the law’s potential reactions to their reports of violence.

The justice-based interventions associated with police reporting provide victims with a number of resources for dealing with the negative consequences of victimization, including compensation from the offender (Steinmetz, 1984). And so, criminological
examinations of victim decision-making (Greenberg and Ruback, 1985; Greenberg, Ruback and Westcott, 1982) have primarily focused on the factors predicting police notification. These models of victim decision-making have developed around an assumption regarding the primacy of the legal system in dealing with violent crime. Yet, the majority of victims do not report to the police (Bachman, 1998; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994; Juristat, 1994) and instead seek help from alternative sources such as family, friends and social service agencies (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994; Bowker, 1983). Consequently, the literature specific to intimate partner violence, which has identified the sources of assistance used by women dealing with intimate partner violence, provides important insights into victim help-seeking.

1.4.2 The Intimate Partner Violence Literature

The intimate partner violence literature has examined the factors affecting women’s decisions to call the police and leave their batterers, while also pointing to the importance of social support and alternative help-seeking for victims (Bowker, 1983). Those women seeking legal interventions and leaving abusive relationships have often experienced the most severe and frequent violence and are more likely to be economically dependent on their partners (Strube and Barbour, 1983). Yet, decisions to not initiate police interventions and engage in alternative strategies to reduce the impact of violent crime are also choices victims make in response to violence (Roach, 1999). These decisions reflect the victim’s social location and the characteristics of the victimization event.

It is important to recognize that many victims define their victimization as a crime (Fenstermaker, 1987), yet this assessment may not include the desire for police
intervention and may sometimes involve attributing responsibility to both the lawbreaker and victim. Baker (1997) suggests that battered women who do not call the police may be attempting to resist the cultural script that accompanies such decisions. This script includes leaving the batterer and initiating legal action. Rather, women who do not initiate contact or cooperate with the criminal justice system often choose alternative strategies for dealing with violence. These decisions to not call the police are in reaction to a number of conditions including emotional attachment to the abuser, economic circumstances, anticipated reactions of family and friends and fear of reprisal (Truninger, 1971).

McCord's (1992) research on the deterrent effect of intimate partner violence interventions argues that those who evaluate the success and failure of these programs are often narrowly focused on the rehabilitative effects on offenders. A more comprehensive examination would look at whether the welfare of the victim had improved after the legal action was taken and whether the action had empowered the victim. This calls into question the assumption that police notification is always or even often a reasonable and rational reaction to crime. Although mandatory arrest polices may provide immediate protection to victims, they may also subsequently limit the choices and options available to some victims. This suggests the need to further question whether legal interventions empower victims and provide them with the social support that they need. We do know that many women who subsequently leave their batterers consult family and friends prior to terminating these abusive relationships. These informal help-seeking strategies may help victims of intimate partner violence deal with a number of the consequences
associated with violence and provide important pathways toward ending violence and terminating abusive relationships (Dunbar and Jeannechild, 1996).

1.4.3 The Wider Help-Seeking Literature

In outlining the factors that distinguish among help-seeking strategies, my dissertation integrates the research on police reporting and intimate partner violence with the wider help-seeking literature. Help-seeking is an important step, offering a number of benefits including social support, coping strategies and positive mental health outcomes (Schoner-Reich and Muller, 1996; Murray and Peacock, 1996; Cauce, Mason, Gonzales, Hiraga and Liu, 1994; Kaniasty and Norris, 1992). Seeking help from family and friends can provide pathways to more formal types of assistance (Snowden, 1998; George and Tucker, 1996; Taylor, Neighbors and Broman, 1993), and reflects the embeddedness of social problems and their solutions within a person's immediate social network (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Pescosolido, 1992; Wellman and Wortley, 1990; Clausen, 1986; Granovetter, 1985; Fine and Kleinman, 1983).

In outlining the help-seeking strategies of those dealing with illness, Pescosolido (1992) suggests a career perspective in which help-seeking decisions are conceptualized as distinct patterns or sets of action. Pescosolido (1992) points out that singular choices do not readily reflect the realities or nature of help-seeking. People rarely make a single choice nor plan a set of choices, rather they seek advice until they have resolved the problem or exhausted all possible options. Help-seeking decisions are best viewed as purposive, made by social actors mulling over the costs and benefits of a particular action in situations with diverse characteristics and within a social structure that offers both constraints and opportunities for seeking help.
1.5 The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking: Opportunities and Constraints

My dissertation first identifies the help-seeking strategies used by violent crime victims using the framework developed by Pescosolido (1992). I also draw attention to the social contingencies that impact on help-seeking decisions. A victim’s decision to mobilize help-seeking strategies is determined by a number of factors related to the victim’s situation and his/her social location. These social contingencies, as measured by gender, race and the victim-offender relationship, affect an individual’s experience with violence as well as the strategies chosen for dealing with traumatic life events. I hypothesize that these social contingencies will not only be associated with help-seeking strategies, but will help to distinguish among strategies.

The literature specific to police notification first drew attention to the importance of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship for the initiation of criminal justice responses to crime and violence (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Garofalo, 1990; Black, 1976). The wider help-seeking literature has also demonstrated that decisions to seek help from family, friends, social service agencies and mental health providers are socially distributed along these dimensions (Snowden, 1999; Schonert-Reichi and Muller, 1996; Kong and Rodgers, 1995; Neighbors and Jackson, 1984). It is important to consider how gender, race and the victim-offender relationship pattern help-seeking because these social contingencies affect the risks and nature of violence that one experiences (Bunge, 2000; Rennison, 1999; Gartner and Doob, 1994; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1993) and how victims, the criminal justice system and others define that violence (Giacopassi and Wilkinson, 1985). Given the importance of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship in previous
research on the risks and consequences of violent victimization and in the wider help-seeking literature, an examination of how these social contingencies shape victim help-seeking strategies is an important academic pursuit.

1.6 Modeling Help-Seeking as Distinct Strategies

My thesis has two specific analytic objectives. First, I aim to determine whether help-seeking exists as isolated choices or whether help-seeking decisions are patterns or combinations of strategies. The question to resolve is whether there is a discernable set of help-seeking strategies used by crime victims. This framework first requires the identification and explication of the dependent variable, that is, qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies. My effort to formulate an alternative conceptualization of help-seeking requires methodological approaches tailored to my theoretical framework (Pescosolido, 1992). The methodological technique I use, specifically latent class analysis, is a clustering technique, which allows me to see whether there is a limited set of distinct help-seeking strategies used by victims. Although victim help-seeking is conceptualized as a strategy, the limitations of existing data permit me neither to examine all possible strategies used by victims nor to address the time ordering of help-seeking decisions. As indicated earlier, traditional criminological research has primarily focused on the reporting of violent crime to the police. I therefore draw on the research specific to intimate partner violence, which has attempted to examine the interconnections and patterns of help-seeking used by victims of violence.

Second, my research will also identify the social contingencies of help-seeking strategies. Here, I do not simply estimate the effect of these correlates on individual help-seeking decisions. Rather, I outline the way in which gender, race and the victim-offender
relationship help to distinguish among distinct help-seeking strategies. This first involves treating the categories of help-seeking identified by the latent class analysis as mutually exclusive help-seeking strategies. I then use multinomial logit modeling to estimate the way in which social contingencies (gender, race and the victim-offender relationship) distinguish among these strategies.

1.7 Description of Chapters

My examination of victim help-seeking strategies is organized into seven chapters. This chapter situates the study within a particular historical and social context. In this chapter, I have outlined the role of victims in the wider public imagination and the importance of victims for public policy and lawmaking. I have suggested that the focus on criminal justice responses to crime and violence has not addressed the needs of victims and has often not highlighted the importance of help-seeking and social support. Next, I outlined research on victim decision-making and how this became synonymous with police notification. This reliance has been reflected in the types of research questions posed by academics and the use of traditional victimization surveys that frame themselves as crime surveys. I challenged the assumption that seeking help from the criminal justice system is always the appropriate response to victimization. I then pointed to the need for criminological research on violent victimization to examine the role of informal social control in addressing the consequences of violent victimization, thereby integrating the research specific to intimate partner violence and the wider help-seeking literature. Chapter One briefly outlined recent theory and research on how gender, race and the victim-offender relationship shape help-seeking and reporting decisions. I then discussed how my research will draw on the wider help-seeking literature and Pescosolido’s (1992)
social organization strategy in examining help-seeking decisions as qualitatively distinct patterns of action and concluded with a brief discussion of the data and research agenda.

I begin Chapter Two by outlining the theory and research that has guided examinations of broad categories of help-seeking and the factors associated with these help-seeking decisions. This includes the research specific to help-seeking from family, friends, social service agencies, doctors, mental health professionals, clergy and police. I then outline the three research traditions that frame my analyses. Research on the reporting of criminal victimizations to the police has outlined the correlates of police notification, while the intimate partner violence literature drew attention to help-seeking from a wider range of sources, especially family, friends, doctors, mental health providers and social service agencies. I integrate these research literatures with the wider help-seeking literature to view help-seeking decisions as distinct strategies. The conceptual model for the research views help-seeking as a dynamic process of coping that is determined by the social location of crime victims, as indicated by their gender, race and relationship to their victimizer. Chapter Two concludes by outlining specific research hypotheses, which will frame my study of help-seeking strategies.

In Chapter Three I provide an overview of the research methods I use to address my research questions. I use three victimization surveys to examine the effects of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. The 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk, which is a representative survey of Canadian men and women, allows me to examine how gender and the victim-offender relationship shape the choice of three distinct help-seeking strategies. I use latent class analysis to analyze data from the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey and the Violence and
Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 to identify qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies. Multinomial logit models are used to estimate the direct and conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions.

In Chapter Four I analyze the victimization data from the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk. In that chapter I examine the direct and conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to report violent crime to the police and seek help from family, friends and other help sources. Using a three-category measure of help-seeking, I find that gender and the victim-offender relationship distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

Chapter Five examines the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions with data from the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey. This chapter further explores the overlapping nature of help-seeking strategies and how these help-seeking decisions are related to the victim’s relationship with her abuser. Using latent class analysis, I identify three qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies used by both recent and lifetime victims of violent crime and demonstrate how the victim-offender relationship helps to distinguish among these strategies.

Finally, in Chapter Six I present the results of my analyses of data from the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 (NVAWS). These data allow me to examine the effect of race on victims’ decisions to report violent crime to the police and seek help from other sources. As in Chapter Five, I use latent class analysis to identify mutually exclusive help-seeking strategies. In this chapter I show how race and the victim-offender relationship
distinguish among these strategies. I also explore the conditional effects of race and social relationship on decisions to seek help.

In Chapter Seven, I outline the theoretical, empirical, methodological and policy implications of my research. First, I highlight my findings and their contributions to research on victim decision-making. The summary of the findings includes a discussion of the theoretical significance of my research. I also discuss the policy implications of my dissertation and how these findings highlight the importance of victim action and decision-making for other sociological research and the wider implications for how we think about crime and violence. Chapter Seven outlines a few of the limitations of my dissertation research and how future research may address these important issues. I conclude with some general statements on the importance of crime victims and violent victimization for other aspects of public and private life.
Chapter 2

Literature Review: The Social Organization of Victim Help-Seeking

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the conceptual framework, previous literature and research objectives pertinent to my examination of the help-seeking strategies of violent crime victims. I begin by outlining the theoretical literature that has guided social scientific inquiries of help-seeking. I then summarize the research on the factors associated with different types of help-seeking and those specific to violent victimization. These categories include help-seeking from family and friends, doctors, mental health providers, social service and crisis agencies and the police. Informal help-seeking from family and friends includes both material and emotional types of aid, whereas police reporting primarily invokes a criminal justice-based response to crime. The next section of this chapter summarizes the conceptual frameworks that have been used by researchers to operationalize help-seeking as strategies and decision-making. I then explicate the conceptual framework used in my dissertation. Finally, I outline a series of research questions that will be addressed in the remainder of the dissertation, including specific hypotheses that will guide my analyses of the factors associated with help-seeking.

2.2 Informal Help-Seeking

Informal help-seeking from family and friends is important in providing assistance and social support to those who have experienced emotional and physical distress. Schwarzer and Leppin (1991) and others have referred to social support as the relational content of social network structures as it includes emotional support, the provision of
information, material aid and companionship (Douglas, Suurmeijer, Briancon, Muom, Krol, Bjelle, Sanderman and Van Den Heuvel, 1996; Cohen and Syme, 1985). There are a number of theoretical frameworks that have been used by researchers to explain decisions to seek help from family and friends and the factors associated with these help-seeking decisions. The literature I review includes research on mental health, adolescent maladjustment, marital dissolution and violent victimization. I also review research on the correlates of family and friend help-seeking, specifically gender and race. This literature suggests that gender is an important predictor of decisions to seek help, but provides conflicting evidence with regard to the effect of race.

2.2.1 Informal Help-Seeking: Theoretical Frameworks

A number of theoretical frameworks have guided research on informal help-seeking. Social network theorists have examined the types of networks and social ties most likely to provide social support. Psychologists view help-seeking as a dimension of coping used to deal with personal and emotional problems that buffers the negative effects of traumatic life events. Family and friends are also important in facilitating help-seeking, providing pathways to formal types of social support.

Substitution or Complementary Help-Seeking: The Pathways to Care Thesis

Informal social support and help-seeking from family and friends is an important coping mechanism for those dealing with personal problems and may serve as either a substitute or complement to professional help-seeking (Snowden, 1998; Schonert-Reichl and Muller, 1997; Pescosolido, 1992; Greenley and Mullen, 1990). Support networks are often accessed in conjunction with professional mental health providers (Snowden, 1998; Caldwell, 1996). In a study of people suffering from serious personal problems, Taylor,
Neighbors and Broman (1989) found that half of those who sought help from a social service agency indicated that a family member or friend had initially told them of the service. Mindel and Wright (1982) suggest that among African Americans, family and friend support systems are supplements to formal services including the police and mental health providers. These findings of complementary help-seeking have led some researchers to suggest that help from family and friends facilitates professional interventions. Family and friends encourage the help-seeker to find professional help and recognize his or her need for care (Snowden, 1998; George and Tucker, 1996). Informal helpers provide important and critical links to social service agencies and other types of care (Taylor, Neighbors and Broman, 1989).

The wider help-seeking and mental health literature provides numerous examples of this pathway to care thesis (Aday, Andersen and Fleming, 1980). Among those suffering interpersonal and emotional problems, help from formal systems of support was initiated only after individuals had sought help from informal networks (Washington, 1996; Caldwell, 1996). For example, Mays, Caldwell and Jackson (1996) found that those individuals who were married or involved in ongoing intimate relationships were more likely to seek help and care from mental health professionals than those who were not. Help-seeking also appears to be patterned by a number of factors, including gender and race.

The victimization literature also points to the importance of informal help-seeking in subsequent decisions to call the police. Greenberg, Ruback and Wescott (1982) outline a model of victim decision-making in which informal help-seeking provides an important pathway to police reporting. This suggests that the circumstances under which victims
seek help from the police may be affected and sometimes delayed by the social influence of others. Significant others and in particular family members are important influences on subsequent decisions to report to police (Ruback, 1994). Among older persons, contact with family and in particular children lead to a greater likelihood of reporting to the police. This contact provides both emotional support and encouragement for people to report being a victim of crime (Starrett, Connolly, Decker and Araujo, 1988).

**Social Networks Framework**

Social network theorists point to the embeddedness of problems and their solutions within a person’s social network (Pescosolido, 1992; Clausen, 1986; Granovetter, 1985; Fine and Kleinman, 1983) including the resort to network contacts for social support, emotional aid and financial resources (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). Social networks provide the mechanism through which individuals come to recognize the need for help, which can lead to contact and compliance with professional help providers. The consultation of network ties is a choice for actively dealing with a variety of stressful events. These community ties with friends and relatives provide social support to network members that transcends narrow expectations of reciprocity (Wellman and Wortley, 1990; 559). Relationships among kin combine a number of structural and cultural elements that stress normative obligations among densely knit relationships. These kinship norms idealize the promotion of family welfare in ways that encourage kin to share resources, urge them to give other kin privileged access to these resources, and cherish long-term reciprocity (Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

The social networks framework often focuses on the characteristics of networks and ties that are most likely to provide social support, rather than the types of individuals
most likely to seek social support (van Duijn, van Busschbach and Snijders, 1999; Frank and Wellman, 1998 for multi-level analyses of social support). Relationships between ties may be categorized according to strength, contact and kinship. The relationship between kin and in particular the parent/child bond is the most supportive of all role types (Wellman and Wortley, 1990; Erickson, Radkewycz and Nosanchuk, 1988). These relationships are broadly supportive and usually provide social support including emotional aid. The number, strength and type of ties interact with attitudes toward help-seeking to influence help-seeking decisions (Pescosolido, 1992).

The personal characteristics of the help giver and help seeker have important implications for the seeking, provision and receipt of social support. These characteristics are positional statuses that network members "possess" rather than qualities of their relationships. Within the social networks approach, Pescosolido (1992) re-conceptualizes how these socio-demographic contingencies influence help-seekers by constraining or facilitating help-seeking decisions. Rather than viewing these roles as simply sets of behavioral guides, they are seen as real identity-confirming actions. These roles provide and give regularity to social interaction and link it to social structure. People see themselves and others as occupants of identities that evoke sentiments about moral value, norms and power. Research using a social networks approach finds that gender is related to the provision and receipt of support, with women providing, seeking and receiving more emotional support from network members as compared to men. Gender is in many ways relational, it reflects and determines social relationships. The involvement of women in providing emotional support to women friends and kin of both sexes is a product of their work as domestic relations specialists (Wellman and Wortley,
1990; Rosenthal, 1985). Women have significantly larger networks providing emotional support than do men and are more satisfied (Cahill and Sias, 1997) and maintain their friendship networks over the lifecourse (Field, 1999). Women are also more often the ones who are responsible for and maintain familial and friendship relationships (Yaughn, Nowicki, 1999; Moore, 1990; Perlman and Fehr 1987).

**Informal Help-seeking: Objective and Subjective Social Support**

An important predictor of emotional well-being and general life satisfaction is the availability and receipt of social support (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason and Joseph, 1997; Schoner-Reich and Muller, 1996; Murray and Peacock, 1996). Seeking help is argued to buffer the negative effects of many stressful life experiences (Johnston, 1997; Cauce, Mason, Gonzales, Hiraga and Liu, 1994; Kaniasty and Norris, 1992) and lead to positive post-trauma outcomes (Ullman, 1996). Yet, more recently social support has been conceptualized as a multidimensional construct, encompassing both objective and subjective components (McNally and Newman, 1999).

The distinct dimensions of support include structural, functional, enacted and perceived elements (Bates and Toro, 1999). Structural elements refer to a person's embeddedness within a social network, such as network size and density (McNally and Newman, 1999). Functional measures assess the objective availability of support including monetary assistance, advice, companionship and emotional support. Enacted support is the extent to which social support has been received in the past. Social support is also subjective and this places the focus on the help seeker's perceived receipt and satisfaction with social support. Perceived measures of social support assess either the perception that support is available if needed or is adequate once obtained (McNally and
Perceptions of support buffer the relationship between stress and psychological outcomes, whereas structural measures of received support do not (McNally and Newman, 1999). Perceptions of social support may also affect subsequent decisions to seek help. Perceived social support and encouragement increases the likelihood of seeking help (Delaney, Grube and Ames, 1998). The subjective and perceived dimensions of social support are integral to help-seeking decisions.

The violent crime literature offers clinical and qualitative data to suggest that perceived and actual receipt of social support from informal sources buffers the negative effects of victimization (Lopez and Heffer, 1998; Widom and Ames, 1994). These negative consequences affect the victim’s self-concept and often lead to heightened levels of fear and anxiety. Yet, many of these negative outcomes may be minimized through seeking help and the acquisition of informal social support. Although some victims are reluctant to report their victimization to the police, they are often willing to discuss their experience with crime and violence with close ties who are subsequently viewed as highly supportive (Biaggio, Brownell and Watts, 1991). In cases of childhood sexual and physical maltreatment, current psychological adjustment appears to be strongly mediated by the perceived receipt of social support and positive coping strategies (Runtz and Schallow, 1997). A victim’s perception of social support alleviates the negative outcomes associated with crime, while promoting well being (Kaniasty and Norris, 1992).

**Informal Help-Seeking: The Behavioral Dimension of Coping**

Within psychology, help-seeking and social support from informal networks are viewed as an important dimension of coping (Foster, 2000; Nadler, 1997). Coping is the
changing cognitive and behavioral efforts used to manage specific internal and external demands that are viewed as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). These coping patterns are categorized as cognitive, resigned and behavioral. Cognitive coping strategies involve attempts to handle the problem through rational and thoughtful reasoning. This may include minimizing and reinterpreting a situation. Many individuals who engage in these resigned strategies eventually come to accept and endure a problem.

In contrast, behavioral coping strategies are attempts to change a problem situation and include seeking help from informal sources. These strategies overlap and may be continually used by people attempting to cope with traumatic life events. The choice of one coping strategy over another depends on the type of problem or stressor experienced and varies across a number of social status factors including age, gender, education and income (Snowden, 1998; Snowden and Hu, 1997; Broman, 1996; Broman, 1987). Gender differences in coping strategies and help-seeking decisions (Gianakos, 2000; Neighbors and Jackson, 1984) are explained in terms of socially constructed feminine and masculine sex roles. Help-seeking is argued to be more consistent with the feminine sex role, which encourages women to rely on other women who are expected to be nurturing and emotionally supportive. Women are suggested to be more tolerant of the stigma associated with seeking professional help, more willing to recognize a personal need for help and more open to sharing problems with others. In contrast, the male sex role requires men to demonstrate strength and independence (Nadler, 1997).

The wider help-seeking literature provides numerous examples of the importance of help-seeking for lifecourse outcomes and for alleviating the negative effects of
stressful life experiences. Social support and advice from within one’s network is a coping strategy that has been associated with proper childhood adjustment (Ebata and Moos, 1991). One of the critical factors predicting successful navigation through the adolescent period is the utilization of different forms of informal and formal support. This includes seeking help and advice from family, friends and peers in addition to counseling from teachers and mental health providers (Schonert-Reichl and Muller, 1996). Supportive relationships with family and friends may also provide crime victims with important means for dealing with the trauma of violence (Saccco, 1993; Fattah and Sacco, 1989). Social support acts as a buffer to the negative effects of stress, thereby providing a social safety net (Cauce, 1994).

2.2.2 Family and Friend Help-Seeking: Research Findings

There is a wide and diverse literature pointing to the importance of informal social support. This research suggests that although most people are unlikely to engage in formal help-seeking strategies, they often call upon family and friends in dealing with death, divorce, childrearing and victimization (Frank and Wellman, 1999; Snowden, 1998; Broman, 1996; Johnson, 1988). This literature is consistent in finding that women are more likely than men to seek social support from informal ties. There is inconsistent evidence with regard to the role of race in decisions to seek help.

Although the literature on violent crime and victimization has primarily focused on victims’ decision to call the police, some research has identified the importance of alternative help-seeking. This literature has largely focused on the help-seeking behaviour of women dealing with intimate partner violence (Bowker, 1983; Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh, 1985). Lempert (1997) suggests that social support and assistance
is often sought by abused women through the disclosure of violent experiences to close family and friends. The telling of these stories affects perceptions of the violence and the marital/intimate relationship. Many women also turn to friends and family for material help and shelter. Women typically consult their mothers at the time of the first battering and become steadily more reliant on friends in efforts to end violence and abuse. Dunbar and Jeannechild (1996) demonstrated that strong relationships with family and friends are also important for women who subsequently leave abusive relationships.

The importance of help-seeking is also evident in the divorce and marital dissolution literature. There is variation in the use of social support among persons in the process of divorce. While many people seek help from friends and counselors, men and older respondents are less likely to do so. Perceptions of the degree of stress evoked by divorce appear to be a major force behind the decision to seek social support (Chiriboga, Coho, Stein and Roberts, 1979). Women in the process of divorce, who receive emotional support, experienced a number of benefits (Miller, Smerglia and Gaudet, 1998) including lower levels of post-separation stress and depression (Sanson and Farnill, 1997; Horwitz, White and Howell-White, 1996). Family and friends are also crucial in dealing with issues related to mental health (Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1998; Snowden, 1998). Although people are often unwilling to seek help for mental health problems from a psychiatrist, a study conducted by Zhang, Snowden and Sue (1998) found that 12 to 26 percent of men and women discussed mental health problems with a friend or relative.

The victimization literature has also highlighted the importance of family and friends for providing victims with the means by which they may cope with the trauma of violence (Sacco, 1993; Fattah and Sacco, 1989; Janoff-Bulman, 1985). Yet, this research
has primarily focused on the help-seeking behaviour of women and has not often compared the use of informal social support across gender. In one study of intimate partner violence, Cross (1992) found that women were more likely than men to seek support under less severe conditions of intimate partner violence and that men preferred not to make use of informal sources of support. When men do engage in help-seeking they are much more likely to go to formal help sources than informal sources (Bunge, 2000; Gary, Leashore, Howard and Buckner-Dowell, 1983).

Some research has outlined the importance of extended family and social support networks for African American women (Caldwell, 1996; Mindel and Wright, 1986; Mindel, Wright and Starett, 1986), which provide financial support and other tangible services. Other research suggests that visible minorities are less likely to call upon informal networks. For example, African Americans, Hispanics and low-income families are less likely to seek help from friends in dealing with issues related to parenting (Keller and McDade, 2000) and both Asian and African Americans are less likely than whites to seek help or discuss mental health and emotional problems with family or friends (Snowden, 1998; Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1998). Snowden (1998) suggests that racial differences in the stigma associated with mental illness may help to explain differences in the consultation of family and friends in dealing with these more sensitive issues.

2.3 Social Service Help-Seeking

Social service agencies are important in providing counseling and other tangible resources to crime victims, the mentally ill and others facing formidable life challenges (Johnson, 1997; Sullivan, Basta, Tan and Davidson, 1992). The literature I review includes research on mental health and violent victimization. I also outline the research
findings on correlates of decisions to seek help from public and private social service agencies. This literature points to the importance of gender and race for social service help-seeking.

2.3.1 Social Service Help-Seeking: Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Within the literature on mental health and intimate partner violence, the utilization of social services has received considerable attention. Help-seeking from social service agencies provides aid in emergency and crisis situations, is an important stage in dealing with the consequences of victimization and a crucial step in the process of ending violent relationships.

Social Service Help-seeking: The Process of Ending Violence

As in the literature on family and friend help-seeking, social service agencies are often viewed as providing an important step in coping with violence and providing a pathway to care. Access, availability and willingness to use medical and psychological services are important personal and sociocultural resources for victims dealing with the various stages of victimization (Casarez-Levison, 1992). These services affect mental health and provide coping strategies for victims of crime. Victims of intimate partner violence often have initial contacts with social service agencies and domestic violence shelters in an ongoing process of ending violence and separating from their abusers (Audy, 1994). Some research (Sedlak, 1988; Snyder and Scheer, 1981) suggests that victims of intimate partner violence who subsequently separated from their attackers were more likely to have had previous separations from their abuser and longer stays in shelters. Women seeking refuge from shelters often point to the important role it provides as a catalyst in transforming their lives (Angless, Maconachie and Van-Zyl,
In a study of rape victims, Ruback and Ivie (1988) found that among those who visited a crisis centre, 67% had previously talked to someone prior to informing the police about the incident. These initial help-seeking decisions may provide a pathway toward obtaining subsequent care.

Social service resources are often used when individuals are faced with a crisis situation (Cantin and Rinfret-Raynor, 1993) and dealing with the immediate needs associated with victimization. Victims of intimate partner violence often experience multiple attacks and/or a serious victimization resulting in physical injury (Gelles, 1987). These types of victimizations reflect a woman’s need for immediate protection.

### 2.3.2 Social Service Agency Help-Seeking: Research Findings

As in the literature on family and friend help-seeking, gender is an important predictor of social service help-seeking. The users of social and mental health services and self-help groups are most often women (Snowden, 1999; Schonert-Reichl and Muller, 1996; Mechanic, 1976). The gender differences in social service and mental health help-seeking reflect a greater willingness among women to seek help (Kessler, Brown and Broman, 1981) in addition to the failure of these agencies to provide services to men or properly attend to the needs of male victims. Traditional gender-role stereotypes, lack of responsiveness to male victims and gaps in service provision may therefore prevent sexually assaulted men and other male victims from getting the help they need (Donnelly and Kenyon, 1996). Yet, men are equally likely to use anonymous services such as on-line depression groups. A number of factors encourage men to make use of these types of mutual self-help groups, including ease of access, greater social
distance and the ability to selectively contribute and respond to questions (Salem, Bogat and Reid, 1997; Black, Levin, Mehan and Quinn, 1983).

There is conflicting evidence with regard to the role of race and ethnicity in the utilization of mental health services. Other research suggests that race differences are particularly evident when contrasts are made between the public and private sector and across in-patient and out-patient services. While African Americans are more likely to use public-sector therapists and emergency room treatment, whites are more likely to seek help from therapists and physicians in private practice (Snowden, 1999; Snowden, Libby and Thomas, 1997). The reliance on emergency room treatment among African Americans reflects a crisis-oriented approach to help-seeking resulting from a lack of financial resources and in particular health insurance (Snowden, 1999). The help-seeking of African Americans will therefore be directly affected by political decisions which may affect the allocation of resources to community-based social service agencies.

Asian Americans are significantly less likely to use mental health services, including physicians, psychiatrists and other health services. This difference may be the result of cultural barriers to mental health disclosure among Asian Americans (Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1998) and the failure of services to provide cultural sensitivity to Asian American patients (Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1998; Takeuchi, Sue and Yeh, 1995). Latina women who have experienced intimate partner violence are also less likely to use either formal or informal resources than white women (West, Kantor, Jasinski, 1998). The lack of diversity among social service agencies, the failure to address cultural and language barriers (Mendez, 1996) and the stigma (VanHook, 1999) associated with seeking help may also explain differences in the use of mental health and social services.
2.4 Formal Help-Seeking and Police Reporting

Victimization surveys have provided a valuable source of knowledge about the extent and nature of criminal victimization. Victimization surveys and official statistics provide a different picture of the amount and character of crime. These differences may be traced to the victim’s decision to notify the police of a criminal victimization (Reiss, 1971). Data on police reporting suggests that 70 to 85 percent of the crimes investigated by the police result from citizen notification and that the majority of these reporters are victims (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Canadian General Social Survey, 1993; Ruback, Greenberg and Westcott, 1983; Black and Reiss, 1967). This has led Gottfredson and Gottfredson (1980) to refer to victims as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system.

The research on the reporting of violent crime to the police is important in that it draws attention to the fact that the crimes brought to the attention of the criminal justice system are not representative of all criminal activity and that the majority of crimes remain unrecorded by official statistics. The integration of this literature into an examination of help-seeking is important for theoretical development and conceptualizations of help-seeking strategies. The findings from this research also provide a framework for examining the factors associated with help-seeking. The likelihood of reporting a crime to the police varies from offence to offence; approximately 50 to 65 percent of all non-sexual violent victimizations are brought to the attention of the police (US Department of Justice, 1998; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994; 1993 Canadian General Social Survey). Although women are more likely to report violent victimizations to the police than men, the majority of sexual assaults are not
reported to the police (Gartner and Doob, 1993). This is consistent with other research that suggests that rape and sexual assault are the crimes least likely to be reported to the police in both Canada and the United States (Easteal, 1994; Winkel and Vrij, 1993; Skelton and Burkhart, 1980).

There are a number of reasons why victims do not report crime to the police. Many victims view the crime event as one that is best dealt with another way, reflecting a belief that the crime is too minor to report or that the police could not do anything about it (Gartner and Doob, 1993). The most frequent reasons given for not reporting crime to the police are viewing the incident as a personal matter, dealing with the event in another way and fearing revenge from the offender (United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994).

2.4.1 Formal Help-Seeking: Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Donald Black's Behaviour of Law Approach

The theoretical frameworks used to understand a victim's decisions to report crime to the police emerge from different traditions within sociology. Donald Black (1976, 1979) draws attention to the behaviour of law rather than the actions and decisions of individuals. Black argues that the behaviour of law may be studied apart from the motivations and interests of individuals and without reference to the purpose, value or impact of law. Law is a quantifiable variable that increases and decreases from one setting to another (Black, 1976). The quantity of law varies in space and time; it varies with who complains about whom, who the legal official is and who the other parties are. It also varies with the ranks of these people, their integration into social life and their intimacy with each other (Black, 1976: 4). The reporting of a crime to the police is an increase in the quantity of law. Black outlines the social structural characteristics that
determine when, how much and what style of law is likely to be used. These include the relational distance between the victim and offender and the social attributes of the victim.

The relational distance between the victim and offender is what Black refers to as "morphology." This is the horizontal aspect of social life, the distribution of people in relation to one another, including their networks of interaction, intimacy and integration. Black suggests that law is less likely to intervene in relationships between intimates and increases as the relational distance between people increases. He suggests that the law assigns priority to the protection of strangers from strangers while it is more likely to leave vulnerable intimates to intimates. This is because victimizations by strangers are viewed as more damaging to the social order and requiring more attention from formal agents of social control. Intimate social networks are more likely to have informal systems of social control operating. The law, according to Black, acts to define crimes between intimates as less serious than those same crimes between strangers. The law also varies inversely with other types of social control. Families are more likely to be organized by informal social control and relationships between strangers are more likely to be organized by formal social control. The police are therefore less likely to hear about a crime or dispute within a family as compared to a crime between two strangers.

Victim attributes are a second set of structural characteristics that predicts the involvement and type of law. The quantity of law varies directly with an individual's social rank. This means, all else constant, individuals of lower rank have less law than those of higher rank (Black, 1976; 17). Downward law (such as a complaint by a wealthier person against a poorer person) is more likely than upward law. Black's framework predicts that the proportion of victims reporting their victimizations to the
police will increase with the rank of the victim. Those individuals with less wealth or status have less law and are less likely to call upon the police in dealing with one another, and when they do, they are less likely to be successful. As applied to gender, race and socio-economic status, disadvantaged women, visible minorities and lower socio-economic groups will be less likely to report violent victimizations to the police.

Black critiques the use crime victimization data in testing his theory and challenges the idea of incorporating measures of offence seriousness into an examination of police reporting. Black argues that traditional crime victimization data capture only incidents labeled as crimes. The variation in this labeling process is obscured, in that the seriousness of crime is an evaluation by victims and not an objective fact. It is a response to crime, not a characteristic of the crime incident (Black, 1979; 25). Black suggests that the seriousness of the criminal incident may also depend upon the social conditions under which the violent victimization occurs and may determine whether an individual defines an incident as a crime. Yet, Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979) suggest that the seriousness of a crime may be conceptualized and operationalized independently of the quantity of law. They point to data supporting the notion that within societies there is general consensus regarding the rank order of common-law infractions by seriousness. More recent research (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995) has included a variety of seriousness measures such as physical injury, weapon use and loss of property to examine the factors associated with police reporting.

The data from the CVAWS and NVAWS used in my dissertation analyses also overcome a number of the shortcomings of victimization surveys as outlined by Black. Given the methodology and scope of these datasets, they are much more likely to capture
the full range and continuum of violence experienced by women. Rather than asking women about specific types of crime, the surveys each describe violent and criminal incidents in everyday language to ascertain whether the respondent had a violent experience along a continuum of offense severity. Whereas crime surveys capture only a small proportion of victimization and those most serious incidents, the CVAWS and NVAWS capture a more representative range of incidents of violence by both strangers and known offenders.

**Rational Choice Perspectives**

Rational choice perspectives also provide a framework for examining a victim's decision to notify the police. Victims are assumed to be rational and cognitive decision makers. Victims act on the basis of what appears to be reasonable assumptions about their crimes (Skogan, 1976). A victim's decision to notify the police of a crime is based upon his/her calculation of the benefits derived from reporting and the costs incurred. These costs and benefits vary by type of crime, victim and situation. This approach stresses the importance of the symbolic forces in a victim's entire experiential world.

There are both social and economic costs, which may affect a victim's decision to call the police (Block, 1974). These costs include potential reprisal by the offender, public awareness of personal situations and social embarrassment, and "secondary victimization" by the criminal justice process. Yet, there are also a number of benefits derived from reporting violent crime to the police. These include preventing further crime, recovering property, making insurance claims and obtaining social support. The most powerful determinants of reporting relate to the victims' direct experience with violence including crime severity, injury and weapon use (Conway and Lohr, 1994;
Bennett and Wiegand, 1994). Those victimizations that result in the most negative outcomes provide the greatest rewards for reporting.

Proponents of rational choice perspectives identify three important determinants of police reporting. These include the attributes of the victim, the relationship between the victim and offender and the seriousness of the crime (Skogan, 1976; 536). A number of victim attributes influence victims’ decisions to report crimes to the police including gender, age and race. Women and older respondents are more likely to initiate criminal justice responses. The sex differences in reporting practices may be best understood in terms of the socialization of individuals to legal norms: in general, women are more compliant with and deferential to legal authority (Skogan, 1976). In contrast, men are socialized in such a way that they are more likely to be expected to handle violent situations themselves and reporting may jeopardize their masculine identity (Pino and Meier, 1999). The higher rates of police reporting by older victims may reflect the ease of their relationship with the police and their confidence that they will not be penalized by the law (Skogan, 1976).

In contrast, groups that feel that the criminal justice system will not respond fairly to their victimization reports will be less likely to call the police. Low status groups including disadvantaged visible minorities and younger victims are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police in general (Huang and Vaughn, 1996) and are less likely to believe that the police have the ability to be fair and just (Myers, 1996; Wortley, 1996; Hagan and Albonetti, 1982). Some research suggests that disadvantaged visible minority and low income groups also feel that the criminal justice system does not provide help to the victims of crime (Kaukinen, 1999; Kaukinen and Colavecchia, 1999),
while African American victims feel that the police will not take seriously their reports of victimization (Block, 1974). The historically poor relations between the police and the African American community and the fear among African Americans of the police are likely to inhibit the reporting of their crime experiences (Skogan, 1976).

A second determinant of police reporting is the social relationship between the victim and offender. The costs/benefits approach predicts that the closer the relationship of the victim to his/her attacker, the less likely it is that he/she will notify the police. The probable social cost of notifying the police of a crime committed by a known offender is greater than that of notifying the police of an attack by a stranger (Block, 1974). Criminal acts within a social network often reflect the dynamics of a continuing interpersonal relationship, and the decision to report such events to the police may require a more complex calculation of the costs and benefits associated with reporting than decisions regarding attacks by strangers. The costs of reporting for those victims who know their offenders include damage to the relationship, potential reprisal by the offender and public awareness of their private troubles (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995).

The third determinant of crime reporting incorporates consideration of the nature of the violent incident. Those crimes that are viewed as the most serious are more likely to be reported to the police (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995; Birkbeck, Gabaldon and LaFree, 1993; Skogan, 1984). There are a number of dimensions of seriousness including the value of the stolen or damaged goods, the extent of personal injury, the use of a weapon which threatens death and the extent to which the crime intrudes into the secure lifespan of the victim (Skogan, 1976). The greater loss, harm, threat or insecurity generated by the incident, the more likely it is to be reported.
Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979) argue that objective seriousness may be operationalized and measured and point to the Sellin-Wolfgang (1964) seriousness scale which was developed using a magnitude estimation procedure designed to take into account the extent and nature of bodily injury, weapon use, intimidation, forcible sexual intercourse and financial loss. Using data from the National Crime Survey, Gottfredson and Hindelang (1979) examined the effect of crime seriousness on police reporting and concluded that any adequate theory of reporting must incorporate a proposition stating that the quantity of law varies directly with the seriousness of the infraction.

**Feminist Perspectives**

Feminist frameworks have also explored the reporting of violent crime to the police. These perspectives take as a starting point that violence between intimates is less likely to be brought to the attention of formal agents of social control. The systematic under-reporting of intimate partner violence to the police is argued to reflect the wider system of patriarchal social relations. This system allows the systematic battery of women (MacKinnon, 1987; 1989) and encourages violence between intimates to be defined as less serious (Kuhl and Saltzman, 1985), while subsequently shaping women’s perceptions of the law’s potential reactions to their reports of violence.

Gartner and Macmillan (1995) have suggested that there are two general processes that may explain the decreasing chances of legal intervention with increasing intimacy between victims and offenders. First, victims of intimate partner violence may be less likely to define their experiences of violence within a criminal justice framework. Violence between intimates is often viewed as less serious than stranger violence, reflecting the placement of intimate relations within the private sphere (Marcus, 1994).
The placement of intimate partner violence within the private sphere is a political decision (Schneider, 1994), which masks inequality and subordination. That which is defined as private implies something that should be kept secret and out of the public and collective realm. Rather than viewing intimate violence as a crime of assault it has often been viewed by the public, policy makers and the criminal justice system as an unfortunate but non-criminal social problem (Kuhl and Saltzman, 1985). The identification of intimate violence as a private, family issue as opposed to a criminal or social issue acts to reinforce the violent behaviour of offenders and the reluctance by victims to report these crimes (Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; 397).

A second process that discourages the reporting of intimate partner violence to the police results from women’s perceptions about the law’s potential reactions to reports of intimate partner violence. Women’s decisions to not report reflect a rational calculation of the costs and benefits derived from invoking a criminal justice response. Women often choose not to call the police because they feel that the law will not take seriously their reports of violence or that they may suffer tangible costs from reporting. These include retribution from the offender, social disgrace from family and friends and loss of their home and children. Smart (1995) suggests that this process of under-reporting is reflective of a failure of the police and judiciary to properly implement intimate partner violence legislation. While laws exist to protect women from violence by intimate partners, legal agents have often failed to exercise the powers provided under this legislation. This includes police discretion and restrictive interpretations of the legislation on the part of the judiciary. Smart (1995) argues that the law-as-legislation has been undermined by what she refers to as the law-in-practice. This problem is further
compounded by the fact that there has not be an adequate allocation of funds to provide social services and help house women who leave violent intimate relationships.

2.4.2 Police Reporting: Research Findings

There exists an extensive research literature that has examined the factors and circumstances related to a victim's decision to notify the police. This literature has pointed to the importance of a number of factors associated with police reporting. These include: 1) the attributes of the victim; 2) the victim-offender relationship; and 3) the seriousness of the victimization.

The Role of Victim Attributes on Police Reporting

The research on the effects of victim attributes on reporting decisions has produced inconsistent findings. While many researchers have found that the attributes of victims affect decisions to report (Bennett and Weigand, 1994; Skogan, 1976; Block, 1974), most studies have found little support for a relationship between socio-economic factors such as income, education, employment status and residential location and the reporting of crime to the police (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995; Bachman and Coker, 1995; Ruback, Greenberg and Westcott, 1984; Fishman, 1979; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979). In contrast, cross-national comparisons of men and women find significant effects of education and income on decisions to report violent assaults (Birkbeck, Gabaldon and LaFree, 1993). The seemingly contradictory findings may be viewed as largely the result of the type of victimization and victim attribute being examined.

The research specific to violence against women has provided some evidence of a relationship between socio-economic status and police reporting. Income, employment
and access to family resources are relatively powerful predictors of police and other semi-formal reporting among samples of battered women (Bennett and Wiegand, 1994; Kaukinen, 1997). Specifically, women with higher incomes are more likely to report crimes to the police and employed women are less likely to report intimate partner violence to social service agencies. Yet, other research (Skogan, 1984; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979) suggests that once other relevant factors are controlled these income-related differences in reporting disappear. The inconsistent findings within the literature on the effects of income and social class on reporting may reflect issues of data and sample selection. While some analyses have looked at the effect of victim attributes across a variety of crime victims and crime types (Skogan, 1976), other research has examined very specific types of violence (Winkel and Vrij, 1993; Bachman, 1993; Skelton and Burkhart, 1980).

The framework outlined by Black and rational choice perspectives suggest that decisions to report to the police are related to the race of the victim. Specifically, visible minorities should be less likely to access the law in dealing with crime. Research on race differences in police reporting find only small differences (Skogan, 1984; Skogan, 1976; Block, 1974). Crime specific analyses suggest that the relationship between race and reporting is more complex. Among samples of intimate partner violence victims, race appears to be an important predictor of decisions to notify the police. Specifically, black women are more likely to use the police for dealing with intimate partner violence than white women (Bachman and Coker, 1995; Hutchinson, Hirschel and Pesackis, 1994; Miller, 1989).
In terms of gender differences in reporting, across all crime categories, women are more likely than men to report their victimization to the authorities (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994b; Birkbeck, Gabaldon and LaFree, 1993; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980). Perhaps women are more often encouraged to report, reflecting traditional gender roles in society that consider females more vulnerable than males (Ruback, 1994; 424). These consistent gender differences have lead to research on women’s decisions to report to the police, primarily with regard to crimes specific to women, including rape and intimate partner violence (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995; Hutchinson, Hirschel and Pesackis, 1994; Biaggio, Brownell and Watts, 1991).

The Victim-Offender Relationship and Police Reporting

Research on police notification has also looked at the effect of the victim-offender relationship on police reporting decisions. Donald Black and rational choice frameworks predict and some research indicates (Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Ruback, 1994; Worral and Pease, 1986; Skogan, 1976) that stranger attacks are more likely to result in police notification. For example, Ruback (1994) finds that 30% of attacks by known offenders versus 45% of stranger attacks lead to police reporting. Yet, most studies find no or trivial differences in police reporting across the victim-offender relationship (Bachman, 1998, 1993; Silverman, 1992; Kennedy, 1988; Lizotte, 1985; Skogan, 1984; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979). The more recent research (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Jensen and Karpos, 1993) suggests that the relationship between crime reporting and the victim-offender relationship may have changed over time. For example, Gartner and Macmillan (1995) find that although intimate violence (spousal and dating violence) is less likely than stranger violence to be
reported to the police, the difference in reporting of violence by strangers and non-intimate known offenders (friends, co-workers) appears to have diminished. This change is further illustrated by Felson, Messner and Hoskin (1999) who find that the victim-offender relationship is a significant predictor of police notification, but it is attacks by previous marital partners that are most likely to be reported.

**Sexual Assault and The Victim-Offender Relationship**

The clearest evidence of a relationship between the victim-offender relationship and police reporting may be found in studies of sexual assault (Esteal, 1994; Lizotte, 1985; Williams, 1984). Sexual attacks by dates and acquaintances are less likely to be reported and viewed as crimes (Esteal, 1994; Gordon and Riger, 1989; Smith, 1989; Klemmack and Klemmack, 1976). The likelihood of reporting is a function of whether the circumstances represent a 'classic rape' where the rapist is a stranger and whether it occurs in a public place (Pino and Meier, 1999; Skelton and Burkhart, 1980). These attacks are often viewed by victims as private matters, not requiring police action (Fattah, 1981).

**Conflicting Empirical Evidence: Victim-Offender Relationship and Reporting**

There are a number of explanations for the inconsistent findings regarding the relationship between the victim-offender relationship and police reporting. First, these different findings may be a function of the different types of surveys used in the analyses. Prior to the revamping of the NCVS, changes in the GSS and the development of the CVAWS and NVAWS, survey data may not have reflected the extent and character of the full range of violent experiences. For example, victim surveys may not have adequately capture the extent and frequency of non-stranger assaults (Skogan, 1984). Victimization
surveys often frame their questions with reference to experiences with crime and this survey format may not encourage respondents to discuss their experiences with intimate partner violence or violent attacks by other known offenders (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995; 399).

A second explanation for the divergence in the literature is the existence of subtle differences in the reporting of attacks by marital partners, sexual intimates, family members and acquaintances that may be obscured through the use of stranger and non-stranger categories (Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979; Skogan, 1976; Block, 1974). It may be that the victim-offender relationship is best examined using separate analyses for men and women. Women, across all crime categories, are more likely to report violent victimizations to the police and the effect of the victim-offender relationship may be gender specific (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and MacMillan, 1995).

**Seriousness of Victimization and Police Reporting**

Crime seriousness is a powerful predictor of reporting across all types of criminal offences (Bachman, 1998; Bennett and Wiegand, 1994; Conway and Lohr, 1994). Victimization in which the victim suffered injuries or where a weapon was used are more likely to be reported to the police (Conway and Lohr, 1994; Laub, 1981). The reporting of criminal incidents to the police is largely an incident-specific phenomenon (Skogan, 1984). Situational and event characteristics are particularly important in predicting whether women will report. Crimes in which women perceive immanent danger from an attacker or intruder are more likely to lead to calls to the police (Kaukinen, 1997; Bachman and Coker, 1995; Greenberg, Ruback and Westcott, 1982).
2.5 Operationalizing Victim Action: Help-Seeking Strategies

As noted in the preceding sections, there has been considerable research and theoretical work addressing help-seeking actions and decisions. The literature specific to violent crime has examined victim decision-making within a police reporting framework, while research specific to intimate partner violence has focused on the use of crisis and social service agencies and the important role of family and friends. The wider help-seeking literature and the social organization strategy framework developed by Pescosolido (1992) may provide important insights into the help-seeking actions of violent crime victims. The help-seeking decisions of crime victims may be conceptualized as strategies that include help-seeking from a variety of people and organizations. My analyses will integrate these literatures to provide an understanding of how gender, race and the victim-offender relationship distinguish between qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies.

2.5.1 Victim Decision Making and Police Notification

The police reporting literature has laid the foundation for looking at victim help-seeking and provides insight into understanding the conditions under which victims invoke the criminal justice system. The police notification tradition has primarily looked at reporting decisions across a variety of victimization types, yet recent research (Bachman, 1998) has suggested that analyses specific to different categories of crime victims further elaborate reporting decisions. A number of theoretical traditions have drawn attention to the effect of the victim-offender relationship on reporting, yet findings are largely inconsistent and more recent research suggests that the effect has changed over time. In contrast, research has consistently found that women are more likely than men
to call the police and that race is an important predictor of reporting among samples of intimate partner violence victims.

2.5.2 Social Service Help-Seeking and the Intimate Partner Violence Literature

The literature specific to intimate partner violence has been crucial in outlining the help-seeking of violent crime victims. Although largely relying on clinical samples identified by social service agencies and the police, the intimate partner violence literature has helped to elaborate the help-seeking actions taken by women dealing with intimate partner violence. Research specific to domestic violence shelters first drew attention to the important role of family and friends (Davis, Luigio and Skogan, 1999; Ruback and Ivie, 1988). This literature suggests that decisions to seek help from family, friends and social service agencies help to facilitate later initiations of the criminal justice system. Hutchinson and Hirschel (1998) find that only a small number of intimate partner violence victims fail to seek some type of assistance. Rather, most have used a variety of sources, including lawyers, counselors, ministers, shelters, family, friends or the police.

The primary focus of intimate partner violence research has been an examination of the types of women most likely to access social services and leave abusive relationships. This research has also drawn attention to the importance of narrowly defined victim-offender relationship categories. This literature concludes that women in legal marriages (Hutchinson and Hirschel, 1998) and those who have experienced serious and repeated episodes of violence (Kaukinen, 1997; Bachman and Coker, 1995) are most likely to use social service interventions. The impact of the intimate partner violence literature on help-seeking research highlights the importance of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking and reporting decisions.
2.5.3 Help-Seeking: Overlapping Patterns and Strategies

The social organization strategy developed by Pescosolido (1992) views help-seeking within a career perspective. The help-seeking career starts with the victimization event that triggers a dynamic, social process of coping. The focus is on a multi-phased decision process as opposed to any particular help-seeking decision. Pescosolido (1992) argues that singular choices do not readily reflect the realities or nature of help-seeking. People rarely make a single choice or plan a set of choices, rather they seek advice until they have resolved the problem or exhausted all possible options. Under the social organization strategy, the focus shifts to patterns, combinations or sequences of a wide range of lay and professional sources of help. It is through contact with others that individuals are able to solve emotional and physical problems. Pescosolido (1992) suggests that systems of care are best conceptualized as dynamic networks of interaction. These systems are generated by the actions of those who seek help in alleviating the consequences of life changing events.

This view of victim decision-making calls for more dynamic ways of modeling help-seeking. These modeling techniques require identifying the overlap in victim help-seeking, rather than making assumptions about the nature of the help-seeking behaviour. This framework also points out that the use of official social control such as the police is enmeshed in a wider pattern of general help-seeking. Hence, there is a shift of focus from singular help-seeking decisions toward an examination of help-seeking strategies.

2.6 Research Questions and Hypotheses: The Help-Seeking Strategies of Victims

The review of the previous research on police reporting and alternative help-seeking suggests a number of important conclusions. Previous empirical work illustrates
that the majority of victims do not seek police interventions, yet many victims engage in informal help-seeking strategies. In an effort to tie together theory and research on police notification and alternative help-seeking, I draw on the framework developed by Pescosolido (1992) and argue that there are a variety of help-seeking strategies used by victims. The theoretical literatures specific to police reporting and intimate partner violence provide important tools for understanding why particular types of victims are likely to engage in any one specific help-seeking strategy. In building upon the intimate partner violence and police reporting literature, my research has two primary objectives. I first empirically identify and describe the help-seeking strategies of violent crime victims. Second, I outline the social contingencies or factors—including gender, race and the victim-offender relationship that distinguish among these help-seeking strategies. Given these objectives, my analyses will be guided by a number of research hypotheses.

**Research Hypotheses: The Help-Seeking Strategies of Violent Crime Victims**

**Hypothesis 1: Substantial/Comprehensive Help-Seeking**
As suggested by the intimate partner violence literature and consistent with Pescosolido (1992), I expect that many victims will use a variety of help sources in dealing with violence including family, friends, psychiatrists, doctors and social service agencies (Fleury, Sullivan, Bybee and Davidson, 1998; Kaukinen, 1997). Many of these women who seek help from family, friends and social service agencies will also report their experiences with violence to the police.

**Hypothesis 2: Primarily Police/Legal Strategy**
Given the importance of the police and other legal agents for the initiation of the criminal justice system, I expect that a small number of victims will rely primarily on the police and other legal agents in dealing with violence.

**Hypothesis 3: Primarily Family and Friend Help-Seeking**
As suggested by the wider help-seeking literature, I expect the majority of victims will only seek help from family and friends. The primacy of family and friends in help-seeking decisions is consistent with the intimate partner violence and mental health literatures, which suggest that this is a distinct strategy for dealing with crime.
Hypothesis 4: Minimal Help-Seeking
Research on police reporting and the life course outcomes associated with violence (Macmillan, 1995) suggests that many victims will avoid seeking help altogether. Victims who are severely traumatized by violence often do not seek help and suffer the trauma of crime alone (Stanko, 1990).

Research Hypotheses: The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking

Having outlined my expectations with regard to four distinct help-seeking strategies available to victims, I argue that the traditional correlates of police reporting, or what I call social contingencies, will also distinguish among these strategies. An integration of the research specific to police reporting and intimate partner violence with the wider help-seeking literature provides a framework for understanding how these social contingencies help to distinguish among help-seeking decisions.

The Social Contingencies that Shape Help-Seeking (Sample of Men and Women)
Numerous researchers have suggested that the predictors of help-seeking and reporting vary across samples of men and women (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995). I therefore provide four hypotheses about the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking that I will be able to test in my analyses of the CGSS data.

Gender, the Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-Seeking
The wider help-seeking and recent police reporting literatures suggest that women and victims of attacks by known offenders go to family, friends, doctors and social service agencies and the police, I expect that:

Hypothesis 5:
Gender and the victim-offender relationship will help to distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

Hypothesis 5a:
Given that gender is associated with help seeking, I expect that women will be more likely than men to use a variety of strategies, including the police and alternative help sources such as social services, family and friends.

Hypothesis 5b:
The victims of attacks by known offenders will be more likely to use alternative help-seeking strategies that include help from family and friends.
Hypothesis 5c:
The victim-offender relationship will contextualize the relationship between gender and help-seeking. Women attacked by known offenders will be most likely to use alternative help-seeking strategies including help from family, friends, social services agencies and others.

The Social Contingencies of Women’s Help-Seeking
My analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS data allow me to estimate the help-seeking strategies of female violent crime victims and to examine help-seeking across narrowly defined victim-offender relationship categories. I outline a number of hypotheses that are unique to these sets of data and these samples of female victims.

The Victim-Offender Relationship
Based on the research and theoretical frameworks specific to police reporting and intimate partner violence that I have reviewed in this chapter, I expect:

Hypothesis 6:
The victim-offender relationship will distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

Hypothesis 6a:
Given a substantial help-seeking strategy, victims of intimate partner violence will be most likely to pursue a substantial help-seeking strategy.

Hypothesis 6b:
Given a distinct police/legal strategy, women attacked by strangers should be more likely to call the police and seek alternative legal help.

Race, the Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-Seeking
The analyses of the NVAWS data permit an examination of the effect of race on help-seeking. Theoretical work on police reporting and research on alternative help-seeking suggests that white women will be more likely to seek police interventions and access help from social service agencies, mental health professionals and family and friends. I therefore provide five hypotheses on the effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking that are unique to the NVAWS analyses. I expect that:

Hypothesis 7:
The race of the victim will distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

Hypothesis 7a:
White women will be more likely to seek help from family, friends, social service agencies and mental health professionals.

Hypothesis 7b:
Race will contextualize the relationship between the victim-offender relationship and help-seeking.
Hypothesis 7c:
White women attacked by a spouse or partner will be more likely to use a help-seeking strategy that includes social services, psychiatrists and family and friends.

Hypothesis 7d:
White women attacked by strangers will be more likely to use a police or legal strategy in dealing with violence.

2.7 Summary and Direction for Chapter Three

In this chapter, I have adopted a framework that conceptualizes help-seeking as coalescing into qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies. Decisions to seek help are determined by the social location of the victim within a particular social context. These social locations, as measured by gender, race and the victim-offender relationship, shape an individual’s experience with crime and the strategies chosen for dealing with violence. I expect these social contingencies to not only be associated with help-seeking, but also to distinguish among strategies. More specifically, I use these social contingencies as the basis for a number of predictions regarding help-seeking. My overall model links together gender, race and the victim-offender relationship in examining violent crime victims' decisions to use a number of help-seeking strategies.

In the following chapter, I describe the data, measures and research methods used in my examination of the factors associated with help-seeking. This includes an outline of the three data sets used in my research and how each taps into specific research questions. Data from the Canadian General Social Survey are used to examine the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help from the police, family and friends. Using data from the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, I examine help-seeking strategies across narrowly defined victim-offender relationship categories. Finally, data from the Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women
Survey, 1994-1996 allow me to examine the effect of race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help.

In Chapter 3, I also describe the statistical and analytic procedures used in my research. I outline the clustering techniques required to identify qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies and the multivariate analyses used to determine whether and how gender, race and the victim-offender relationship help to distinguish among strategies.
Chapter 3

Data, Measures and Analytic Strategies

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the data, measures and research methods used in my examination of the factors associated with violent crime reporting and help-seeking. In the first section, I outline the three data sets used in this research. These include the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey (Cycle 8 Personal Risk), the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, and the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 (National Violence Against Women Survey). For each data set, I describe the research design, sampling procedures and data collection procedures. I also describe the operationalization of the dependent variable and how this varies across data sets. Additionally, I outline the specific research questions each data set is able address. In the second section I describe the statistical and analytic procedures used in this research. The specific features of each analytic technique are outlined and their application to the research is examined.

3.2 Data

This research examines the role of a number of factors associated with violent crime victims’ decisions to seek help in dealing with victimization. Specifically, I look at the role of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help in dealing with violence. Across a variety of life traumatizing events, researchers have consistently identified differences between men and women in their decisions to seek help. My research examines these differences among a sample of violent crime victims.
The opportunity to look at the effect of the victim-offender relationship is important given that some relationships between victims and offenders (intimate relationships) affect the way in which victims and others come to define and deal with violent crime. Given the persistent over-representation of certain ethnic/racial groups among particular categories of crime victims, it is crucial that differences in help-seeking decisions are identified. This may help in the provision and allocation of resources to those victims who are most likely to be under-served by existing agencies and resources. The need for a large, random sample of violent crime victims required the use of data from large population-based surveys. Because the factors associated with reporting and help-seeking were not easily addressed with one data set, I chose three large, representative surveys collected in Canada and the United States.

Data from the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey allows me to first examine the effect of gender on decisions to seek help from a variety of sources. The wider help-seeking literature suggests that women are more likely than men to seek help from family and friends and social service agencies. The sample of female victims in the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey permits an examination of the effect of the victim-offender on help-seeking decisions across various known relationships. Using data from the Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, I explore the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship across various help-seeking strategies. Given that two of the surveys specifically focused on violence against women, it allows me to make comparisons across Canada and the United States. The data available in each of these surveys are
complementary to one another, allowing for an examination of the distinct help-seeking strategies used by crime victims.

The Canadian General Social Survey, Cycle 8 - Personal Risk (1993)

The Canadian General Social Survey (hereafter CGSS) is an annual cross-sectional survey of Canadians. The general objective of the survey is to gather information needed for policy formulation, programme development and evaluation not otherwise filled through existing data sources. The survey is designed to obtain information to monitor social trends related to living conditions. Cycle 8 of the General Social Survey gathered information on criminal victimization and accidents from a random sample of Canadians and is used to complement officially reported data for these incidents.

The target population for the CGSS is all persons fifteen years of age and over in Canada, excluding residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories and full-time residents of institutions. The survey employed Random Digit Dialing (RDD), a telephone sampling method. Households without telephones were therefore excluded. However, persons living in such households represent less than 2 percent of the target population and survey estimates have been adjusted to represent persons without telephones. Using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI), the survey questions appeared on a computer monitor and the interviewer asked the respondent the questions and then entered the responses into the computer as the interview progressed. These built-in edits and fewer processing steps result in better quality data.

Sampling for the CGSS involved dividing each of the ten provinces into strata or geographic areas. Generally, for each province, one stratum represented the Census
Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) of the province and another represented the non-CMA areas. There were two exceptions. First, Prince Edward Island does not have CMAs and therefore did not have a CMA stratum. Second, Montreal and Toronto were each represented by a separate stratum. For each province, lists of telephone numbers were extracted from working banks of telephone numbers. Each bank was assigned to a stratum within its province. In each survey month, a random sample of telephone numbers was generated for each stratum from the working banks. For Cycle 8 of the CGSS, 46 percent of the numbers dialed reached households. When a private household was contacted, all members of the household were enumerated and basic demographic information was collected for each household member. The CATI computer then randomly chose a respondent fifteen years of age and older for an interview. The relationship of each household member to the selected respondent was collected and the questionnaire was completed for this person. Proxy interviews were not accepted. The final sample consisted of 10,385 Canadians, an overall response rate of 82 percent.

The respondents from the CGSS do not form a simple random sample of the target population. Instead, the survey had a complex research design, with stratification and multiple stages of selection and unequal probabilities of selecting respondents. For example, non-respondents are more likely to be males and younger. In the responding sample of the CGSS, 3.2 percent were males between the ages of 15 and 19 years. In contrast, in the overall Canadian population approximately 4 percent are males between 15 and 19 (Statistics Canada, 1994). Additionally, the CGSS used a stratified design with significant differences in sampling fractions between strata. Thus, some areas and categories of respondents are under-represented in the sample relative to their populations.
while others are over-represented. Statistics Canada therefore recommends the use of survey weights when producing estimates or performing analyses in order to account for this over- and under-representation.

The CGSS has a number of design features that provide for an examination of the help-seeking behaviour of violent crime victims. First, it collects detailed information on the most serious victimization experienced by the respondent within the last twelve months. This design is consistent with most of the prior research and the analyses of the other data sets used in this analysis. The sample from the CGSS is therefore a sample of victims who have experienced a violent crime within the twelve months prior to the survey. The CGSS included details on the reporting and help-seeking strategies used by crime victims. This provides an additional advantage over other victimization surveys that have failed to gather details on alternative help-seeking and have focused primarily on police reporting.

The sample design of the CGSS has a second strength. The collection of data from a large, national sample limits the potential for systematic error. The research questions I address require the identification of a large, random sample of crime victims. Previous research examining the alternative help-seeking behaviour of crime victims often relied on clinical samples identified by the police or social service agencies. This is problematic given that the majority of victims do not go to the police or social service agencies, precluding an examination of the factors predicting help-seeking. The large sample of victims contained in the CGSS provides an additional advantage. As victimization is a statistically rare event, the use of a large sample is required to identify a sample of victims large enough for a multivariate analysis. The CGSS subset of victims
includes 487 men and women who have been the victims of sexual assault, robbery and assault.

Victimization Measures: The CGSS Sample of Victims

During the survey, the CGSS respondents were asked whether they had been a victim of sexual assault, robbery (attempted or completed) or a non-sexual assault within the twelve months prior to the survey. Sexual assault in the CGSS includes rape, attempted rape, molesting and attempted molesting. According to the CGSS, robberies (attempted and completed) include those incidents in which something is taken or an attempt was made to take something and the offender had a weapon or there was an attack or threat of violence. Assault refers to when a weapon is present or there is an attack or threat of attack. This measure of victimization is similar to that used by other survey instruments. For example, the National Crime Victimization Survey includes similar categories of violent crime. These categories are rape/sexual assault (rape, attempted rape and sexual assault¹), robbery (attempted and completed), aggravated assault and simple assault. [See A.1 in the Appendix for the CGSS crime screen]

Respondents who had indicated that they had experienced any one or more of these victimizations in the twelve months prior to the survey form the sample for my analyses of help-seeking. These respondents were then asked to complete a victimization report. [Refer to Appendix A.1 for an outline of the victimization screen used in the 1993 CGSS] For those having more that one victimization, only the most serious victimization was included in the analysis. Descriptions and univariate statistics for the CGSS victimization and help-seeking measures can be found in Table 3.1. Among the sample

¹ This includes threats of rape and threats of violence.
of victims in the CGSS, the majority (75 percent) had been the victim of a physical assault. The remaining victims had experienced a sexual assault (13 percent) or robbery (12 percent).

Table 3.1 Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Victimization, Victim-offender Relationship and Help-seeking Measures
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victimization</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>Robbery Victimization</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Help-Seeking Measures</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to Police</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Alternative Help-seeking</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Victim Service Agency, Minister, Family, Friend or Other</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim Service Agency</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Victim Service Agency</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family Member</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Friend or Neighbor</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family/Friend</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Help-seeking</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Other non-specific help source</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Help-seeking Measures

The CGSS gathered information on various types of reporting and help-seeking strategies used by crime victims. [Refer to Appendix A.2 for an outline of the victimization report used in the 1993 CGSS] Respondents who identified themselves as having been the victim of a violent crime in the twelve months prior to the survey were asked if the incident was brought to the attention of the police. They were also asked whether they themselves had reported the incident to the police. This measure is similar
to that used in the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey and the Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996. Among the sample of victims from the CGSS, 23 percent reported their victimizations to the police. This is consistent with other research, which suggests that approximately 25 percent of victims report their victimizations to the police (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999). Respondents were also asked if they sought help from another person and/or organization. Among the respondents in the CGSS, 29 percent had engaged in some type of non-legal help-seeking. The list of help sources included family, friends, victim/help agencies or unspecified others. The majority of this help was sought from family and/or friends; 16 percent of victims seek help from family and/or friends.

The reporting and help-seeking measures available in the CGSS provide a number of advantages over the previous reporting literature. First, they provide a better description of the actions of those victims who do not report to the police in dealing with violent crime. Other research looking at police reporting (Gartner and MacMillan, 1995; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979; Skogan, 1976; Block, 1974) often does not draw attention to the variety of help-seeking behaviours used by victims of violent crime. Second, researchers who have looked at the utilization of alternative help sources have often done so in ways that obscure the actions of crime victims. For example, Johnson's (1998) analysis of the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey looked at the factors predicting police reporting and help-seeking from various sources. Yet, her operationalization of reporting and help-seeking into a series of dichotomous comparisons ignores the fact that many victims seek help from more than one help source. In her analyses she set up a series of dichotomous reporting versus non-reporting
comparisons (police, family, friend, social services). These types of analyses imply that these reporting decisions are (largely) mutually exclusive events, which obscures the fact that some women may go to their family and/or a doctor but not to the police. It is important that analyses of help seeking take into account these overlaps in help-seeking.

**The 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey**

In 1991 the Canadian federal government announced a 4-year extension of the Family Violence Initiative. Health Canada identified as a priority the collection of national data on violence against women and requested Statistics Canada to administer the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey (hereafter CVAWS). The survey was designed to examine women’s fear of violence and provide reliable estimates of the nature and extent of violence against women by male partners, acquaintances and strangers. The target population for the CVAWS was all women over the age of eighteen in Canada (excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories and institutional residents). The survey employed Random Digit Dialing (RDD). Survey estimates may be adjusted to represent persons without telephones.

To carry out sampling, each of the ten provinces was divided into geographic strata. For each province one stratum represented the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) and another represented the non-CMA areas (with the following exceptions: Prince Edward Island does not have CMAs and two separate strata represent Montreal and Toronto). For the CVAWS, 48 percent of the numbers dialed reached households (22 319 households). Of the households contacted 19 309 included an eligible respondent. The final response rate for the survey was 64 percent (12 300 respondents).
The CVAWS questionnaire collected information on a number of topics including: fear of victimization and perceived safety; sexual harassment; threats, sexual and physical assaults committed by strangers, known men, dates and boyfriends; violent and emotional abuse in current and previous marriage/common-law relationships; socio-economic and demographic characteristics; and the abuse history of the respondent's mother, current mother-in-law and previous mother-in-law. Respondents who indicated that they had experienced a violent victimization since the age of sixteen also completed an incident report. [Refer to Appendix A.3 for the victimization screen used in the CVAWS] To reduce respondent burden, details were collected for only one type of victimization randomly selected among those experienced by the respondent. If the type of victimization selected was non-spousal, questions were only asked about the most recent incident of that type of violence.

The CVAWS is ideally suited to an examination of the help-seeking strategies of female victims of violence, since it has detailed information on the types of help sources used by victims. The survey uses refined techniques of sample selection, interviewing and weighting to produce reliable estimates of the nature and extent of crime (Johnson, 1995). Despite these advantages, the data set, like other general population surveys, is somewhat limited because of the nature of the phenomenon: it contains very few cases involving severe assault, the findings therefore tell us little about the most serious cases of violence (Straus, 1993: 77). A second limitation of the CVAWS data is that the help-seeking information is based on a randomly chosen victimization. Women may have a

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2The categories of violence used for this selection were: 1) Sexual assault by a stranger; 2) Sexual assault by a date/boyfriend; 3) Sexual Assault by an acquaintance; 4) Physical assault by a stranger; 5) Physical assault by a date/boyfriend; 6) Physical assault by an acquaintance; 7) Spousal violence with a current spouse; 8) Violence by a previous spouse or during a previous spousal relationship.
number of experiences with violent crime, yet detailed information was gathered on only one incident. The CVAWS does not provide a complete picture of women's experiences with violence, rather it depicts the help-seeking with regard to with a specific violent incident for which there is a great deal of information.

*Victimization Measures: The CVAWS Sample of Victims*

In the CVAWS, victimizations were defined so as to measure offenses in the Canadian Criminal Code using everyday descriptive language and not legal language. These male-on-female victimizations\(^3\) include: sexual assault, physical assault, unwanted sexual touching (by stranger or non-intimate, known male), violent threats of assault and intimate violence between marital/common-law partners. These victimization measures are different from those used by other survey instruments. Yet, the CVAWS data helps to tap the types of victimizations most likely to be experienced by women and violence between intimates which are often less likely to be defined as crime. Descriptions and univariate statistics for the CVAWS victimization and help-seeking measures are shown in Table 3.2 for the sample of recent victims (within the twelve months prior to the survey) and in Table 3.3 for the complete sample of victims (all respondents who reported any victimization since the age of sixteen).

As indicated in Table 3.2, among recent crime victims (within the twelve months prior to the survey), 15 percent were sexually assaulted, 28 percent were assaulted, 16 percent threatened and 41 percent sexually touched by a stranger or non-intimate known male. In contrast, among lifetime crime victims 29 percent were sexually assaulted, 31

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\(^3\) The CVAWS is a sample of women who were asked about their experiences with violence at the hands of male offenders. It is therefore a survey of male-on-female violence.
percent were assaulted, 9 percent threatened and 31 percent sexually touched by a stranger or non-intimate known male.

Table 3.2  Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables  
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey  
(Recent Victims, N=707)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Victimization</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>Violent Threat</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexually Touched Against Will</td>
<td>Sexually Touched Against Will</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Help-seeking Measures</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to Police</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Social Service Agency</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Doctor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Family Member</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Friend/Neighbor</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family/Friend</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Help-seeking Measures

Within the incident report of the CVAWS, respondents were asked whether they had ever talked with family, friends, neighbors and/or doctors about their victimization. [Refer to Appendix A.4 for the victimization report used in the CVAWS] Women were also asked whether they had sought help from any social service agencies as a result of the incident. These agencies include crisis centres/crisis lines, counselors, women's centres or community/family centres. To measure police awareness of the violence, I used responses to the question "Did the police ever find out about the incident?" This is a
broader question than that typically asked in victimization surveys, because it includes cases in which the police may have learned of the incident from someone other than the victim. It therefore allows for the possibility that third parties or the police themselves may have initiated the legal intervention.

Table 3.3 Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey (Lifetime Victims, N=5995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victimization</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>Violent Threat</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexually Touched Against Will</td>
<td>Sexually Touched Against Will</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Help-seeking Measures</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to Police</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Social Service Agency</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Doctor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family Member</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Friend or Neighbor</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family/Friend</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to point out that data from the CGSS indicates that 77 percent of all crimes and 72 percent of violent crimes that are brought to the attention of the police are done so by the victim. Furthermore, data from the NVAWS indicates that 77 percent of assaults and 88 percent of stalking victimizations that are brought to the attention of the police are done so by the actual victim. Among the sample of recent crime victims 14

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4For ease of presentation, I use the term "reported to the police" when referring to this measure of police awareness of the violent incident. The reader should keep in mind that this measure may include other ways in which the police came to know about the incident. Gartner and Macmillan (1995) and Johnson (1998) used the terms "reported to" or "sought help from" the police when referring to this measure.
percent reported their victimization to the police, whereas 15 percent of the lifetime victims notified the police.

The estimates of police reporting by women in the CVAWS differ from that found in the CGSS and other research, but is consistent with research on sexual assault (Gartner and Doob, 1994). The differences in police reporting between the CVAWS and CGSS may also be understood in terms of the wider and more inclusive definition of violence used in the CVAWS. The CVAWS is more likely to be tapping less serious forms of violence such as sexual touching. In contrast, the data from the CGSS was more likely to capture the most serious types of violence, including sexual assault, robbery and assault. Finally, the majority of CVAWS victims did engage in family/friend help-seeking (76 and 70 percent for recent and lifetime victims respectively), while 10 percent sought help from doctors and/or social service agencies. This is consistent with research that suggests that many female victims do not call the police but often seek help from family and friends (Bowker, 1983; Dobash, Dobash and Cavanagh, 1985).

**United States National Violence Against Women Survey, 1994-1996**

My research also analyzes data from the Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 (hereafter NVAWS) collected by Tjaden and Thoennes (1999). The National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control (NCIPC) and the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) jointly sponsored the NVAWS. Prior to the survey, there remained many gaps in the understanding of violence against women particularly in the areas of rape and intimate partner violence, despite the large amount of research on violence against women.
The survey was designed to provide reliable estimates of the prevalence and incidence of various forms of violence against women including rape, physical assault, stalking and threats. The survey also provides descriptive data on victims and offenders, including data on intimate partner violence and victims of different ethnic/racial backgrounds. Of particular importance for my research, the survey provides data on victims’ responses to victimization including calls to the police, the use of medical and social services and help-seeking from other informal networks. The respondents in the NVAWS were queried regarding the following: their general fear of violence and the ways in which they managed their fears, emotional abuse experienced at the hands of intimates, physical assaults as children by adult caretakers and as adults by a variety of perpetrators, forcible rape, stalking and incidents of threatened violence experienced by all offender types. Incidents included those experienced within the twelve months prior to the interview and lifetime experiences with violent crime.

The target population for the NVAWS included men and women from all fifty states and the District of Columbia. Following an extensive pre-test, completed interviews were obtained using a computer-assisted interviewing system from 8,000 men and 8,000 women who were 18 years of age and older. Due to the sensitive nature of the survey questions, female respondents were interviewed by female interviewers. A split sample was used to interview the male respondents to test for possible bias caused by the gender of the interviewers. The female version of the survey was fielded from November 1995 to May 1996 and the male version was fielded from February 1996 to May 1996. Spanish versions for both men and women were fielded during April and May 1996. Interviewers were trained to recognize and respond appropriately to discomfort on the
part of respondents. Respondents were also offered telephone numbers for local social service agencies (rape crisis hotlines, domestic violence shelters, child protective services) if they disclosed current abuse or appeared to be in distress from previous experiences with violence.

The national sample was drawn by random-digit dialing and was stratified by United States census regions to control for differential response rates by region. Within each stratum, a simple random sample of working, residential phone numbers was drawn. Once a residential household was reached, eligible adults in each household were identified. In households with more than one eligible adult, the adult with the most recent birthday was selected as the designated respondent. The overall response rate for the NVAWS was 72 percent in the female survey and 69 percent in the male survey. Of the eligible respondents who started an interview, 97 percent of the women and 98 percent of the men completed the interview. When compared to the United States Census Bureau's 1995 Current Population Survey across selected demographic characteristics, the NVAWS was found to be remarkably similar to the general population. Sample weighting was considered to correct for possible biases introduced by under- and over-representation of selected subgroups. However, sample weights were not used in the analysis of the NVAWS survey data because of the negligible effect on victimization rates. Although the survey does not represent those living in households without phones, group facilities or institutions, it represents 94 percent of the United States population.

Victimization Measures: The NVAWS Sample of Victims

In the NVAWS, respondents were asked if they had been the victim of a sexual assault, physical assault, stalking incident and/or violent threat by known or unknown
male or female attackers. Given the focus of the NVAWS and the types of victimizations measured, only the data from the sample of women is analyzed in my research\(^5\). The screening section describes criminal incidents in everyday language to ascertain whether the respondent had been victimized during the twelve months prior to the interview or within their lifetime. [Refer to Appendix A.5 for the screening questions used to define the sample of victims in the NVAWS] All positive responses were followed by a detailed victimization incident report. The NVAWS collected detailed information on every incident of violence experienced by the respondent. This is consistent with the survey design of the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (which collects information on up to five victimizations) and in contrast to the CVAWS, which collected detailed information on only one recent and/or random incident. Descriptions and univariate statistics for the NVAWS victimization and help-seeking measures can be found in Table 3.4 for the sample of recent victims (i.e. those victimized within the twelve months prior to the survey). Table 3.5 contains descriptions and univariate statistics for the NVAWS measures for the lifetime victims.

Table 3.4 indicates that among the sample of recent violent crime victims in the NVAWS, 52 percent were stalked, 37 percent were assaulted, 7 percent were sexually assaulted\(^6\) and 5 percent were threatened with violence\(^7\). In contrast, lifetime crime

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\(^5\) Although the NVAWS includes a sample of men and women, my analyses include only the female victims. These analyses are therefore comparable to the CVAWS analyses.

\(^6\) Sexual assaults in the NVAWS include attempted and completed rape. [Refer to A.5 in the Appendix]

\(^7\) The NVAWS collected detailed information on all violent crime incidents experienced by the respondent in the twelve months prior to the survey and in their lifetime. These included separate incident reports for sexual assaults, physical assaults, stalking victimizations and threats. The total number of incidents reported within each victimization type among the NVAWS sample of victims is as follows: 5 sexual assaults; 6 physical assaults; 5 stalking victimizations; and 8 threats. For my analysis of the recent and lifetime victimizations, the incidents selected for analysis were as follows: rapes were selected over physical assaults, physical assaults were selected over stalking victimizations and stalking victimizations were selected over threats. For example, among the sample of recent crime victims, some victims
victims' experiences with violence are more serious, with 43 percent having been sexually assaulted and 44 percent experiencing a physical assault (Table 3.5). The remaining respondents were the victims of stalking and violent threats (11 and 1 percent respectively).

Table 3.4
Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victimization</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalking</td>
<td>Stalking Victimization</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>Violent Threat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Help-seeking Measures</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to Police</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family/Friend</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) a Member of the Clergy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident (Sought help from) Legal Source (attorney, lawyer etc)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Help-seeking Measures

Within the incident report of the NVAWS, respondents were asked about the various help-seeking and reporting strategies used in dealing with violence. [Refer to Appendix A.6 for the report questions used to examine the help-seeking decisions of experienced two or more violent crimes in the twelve months prior to the survey. These included; 21 incidents of rape and physical assault, 9 incidents of rape and stalking, 1 incident of rape and threat, 15 incidents of physical assault and stalking, 1 incident of physical assault and threat.

8 Women were asked whom (else) they talked to about the incident?
Crisis centre, hot line; Battered women's shelter; Homeless shelter; Attorney, legal aide, lawyer; Community, family centre; Social services, welfare; Victim advocacy agency; His/her family, in-laws; Parents, family of origin; Current family; Friend/neighbour; Doctor/nurse/other health professional;
victims in the NVAWS] The help-seeking measures in the NVAWS include a variety of informal help-seeking strategies (family, friends, neighbours, minister/clergy). Women were also asked whether they had sought help from doctors, psychiatrists or social service agencies (crisis centre, hot line; battered women's shelter; homeless shelter; community, family centre; social services, welfare; victim advocacy agency; counsellor, therapist, support group). Respondents also indicated whether the incident was brought to the attention of the police and if they themselves had called the police. An additional formal reporting strategy captured in the NVAWS will be referred to as alternative legal help-seeking (respondents who sought help from an attorney, legal aide, lawyer; other law enforcement officers; court officer, juvenile officer or private detective).

Table 3.5
Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalking</td>
<td>Stalking Victimization</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>Violent Threat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help-seeking Measures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to Police</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Social Service Agency</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Family/Friend</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident to (Sought Help from) Member of the Clergy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Respondent Reported Incident (Sought help from) Legal Source (attorney, lawyer etc)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minister/clergy/priest/rabbi; Law enforcement officer; Court officer, juvenile officer; Husband, boyfriend, fiancé; Co-worker, boss, employer; counsellor, therapist, support group, A.A.; Phone company; Other.
Among the sample of recent female crime victims, 30 percent reported their victimization to the police. In contrast, 16 percent of the lifetime victims called the police. The findings for the recent victims are consistent with findings from analyses of the NCVS. Fifty-two percent of recent victims and 59 percent of lifetime victims sought help from family and/or friends. Social service help seeking was less often used by either recent and lifetime victims (5 percent and 3 percent respectively). Seeking help from doctors, which includes both psychiatrists/psychologists and other health professionals was more common (20 percent of recent victims and 25 percent of lifetime victims). These findings contrast sharply from those in the CVAWS (roughly 10 percent of CVAWS victims seek help from doctors). The more inclusive questions in the NVAWS regarding help-seeking from medical professionals may explain these differences. Finally, among the lifetime victims, 2 percent sought the help of clergy and 3 percent engaged in other legal help-seeking strategies.

3.3 Procedures and Data Analysis Techniques

The analytic techniques used in this research involve first identifying the categories of help-seeking used by violent crime victims. Second, I examine the factors that distinguish among help-seeking strategies. The responses to the questions about help-seeking available in the CVAWS and NVAWS allow me to use latent class analysis to empirically identify these categories. The effects of race and the victim-offender relationship are then estimated across these various categories of help-seeking using data from the CVAWS and NVAWS. The analysis of the CGSS data looks at the effect of

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9 In the incident report of the CGSS victims were asked if they brought the incident to the attention of the police. Respondents were also asked if they sought help from another person and/or organization. The list of help sources included family, friends, clergy, victim/help agencies and unspecified others. This list was limited and did not provide for an exhaustive list of possible help sources as was used in the NVAWS and
both gender and the victim-offender relationship on three-category help-seeking measure. Since the outcome variables in the second stage of the analyses are categorical, discrete and non-normally distributed, I use binary and multinomial logit regression in the analyses. This section describes the various analytic techniques that are used in identifying the categories of help seeking and then the factors predicting them.

**Latent Class Analysis**

For my analysis of the CVAWS and NVAWS data, I use latent class analysis to identify the help-seeking strategies used by female violent crime victims. Latent class analysis (LCA) is often described as “cluster analysis for categorical variables.” That is, LCA can be used to identify multi-dimensional types based on multiple categorical variables. Heinen (1996) argues that latent class analysis allows for directly observed variables to be used to indicate theoretical concepts such as help-seeking, while Clogg (1988) points out that latent class analysis may also be used for exploratory data reduction. Latent class analysis enables me to identify a set of mutually exclusive help-seeking strategies that takes account of the distribution of cases within a cross tabulation of observed help-seeking responses (McCutcheon, 1987; 8). The use of latent class analysis is appropriate on a number of theoretical and substantive grounds. First, latent class analysis allows for the possibility that help-seeking is a nested or grouped behaviour. Rather than assuming that victims use a particular set of help-seeking strategies, latent class analysis empirically identifies and differentiates distinct forms of help-seeking. Second, the use of latent class analysis allows for an examination of the

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CVAWS. The majority of this alternative help-seeking was from family and/or friends. The analysis of the CGSS data will therefore not include a latent class analysis.
factors that effect all types of help-seeking and does not necessarily assume that these differ across help-seeking categories.

Latent class analysis allows me to identify help-seeking strategies based on responses to a number of individual reporting and help-seeking questions. For example, respondents were asked if they had sought help from family, friends, clergy, social service agencies and the police. Latent class analysis allows for the possibility that individual responses to these questions cluster into groups. Victims who seek help from family and friends may also report their experiences with violence to the police and social service agencies. All latent class models assume the existence of a latent variable. It is assumed that all of the association among the manifest variables can be explained by the dependence of these measured variables upon the latent variable (Heinen, 1996; Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1965). When the latent variable is held constant, the manifest variables should be statistically independent. This basic assumption of the latent structure model is known as the assumption of local independence (Heinen, 1996).

When the latent variable is discrete, the latent class model will be parameterized using a fixed number of latent classes. The model assumes that the population of respondents is divided into a number of exclusive and exhaustive latent classes. That is, each individual belongs to only one help-seeking strategy and within each strategy the measured variables are statistically independent. The association between the manifest indicators is assumed to be caused by the fact that people belong to different help-seeking strategies and these strategies have different conditional response probabilities. The latent class model is therefore a finite mixture model, because the total population is a mix of a finite number of latent classes (help-seeking strategies) that differ not only with
respect to the conditional response probabilities but also with respect to their relative sizes (McLachlan and Basford, 1988).

The latent class model is parameterized by using the conditional response probabilities and the latent proportions. Latent structure analysis utilizes Maximum Likelihood Estimation (MLE) to generate a latent variable with N categories to describe the distribution of the sample within these categories and the conditional probabilities for the individual items within categories. For this research, I use Clogg's MLLSA program in CDAS. Clogg's MLLSA program utilizes an EM algorithm. The E-step calculates provisional estimates for the observed frequencies and bivariate marginals. These estimates are used in the M-step to derive new estimates for the conditional response probabilities and for the latent proportions. These new estimates are then used in another E-step and so on.

The MLLSA program uses an iterative proportional fitting (IPF) to obtain the new parameter estimates by maximizing the log-likelihood. Estimation can become more complex when certain equality constraints are combined with restrictions that fix certain conditional response probabilities at particular values (Heinen, 1996). Yet, the application of model restrictions is often necessary to ensure the model is identified and allow for the application of statistical tests. The parameter estimates provided by the MLLSA program allow for the description of the categories of the latent variable in substantive terms. For example, I can identify the number of help-seeking strategies that represent most of the variability in the individual help-seeking responses and the number of respondents that cluster in each strategy. Latent class analysis also permits a description of the help-seeking strategies. The output includes the number of respondents
who use each help-seeking strategy and the probability of positive responses to any one of
the individual help-seeking questions. [Refer to Appendix A.7]

**Multivariate Analysis**

The second stage of my analysis estimates the effects of gender, race, the victim-offender relationship and other variables on decisions to seek help in dealing with violence. Since all of the outcome variables including the latent variables derived from the latent class analysis are categorical and highly skewed (Bohrnstedt and Knoke, 1993), my models will be estimated with binary and multinomial logistic regression. Binary logit models will be used in estimating models with only one contrast. The multinomial logit will be used when the dependent variable identified by the latent class analysis has three or more categories.

**Binary Logit Regression**

Some of the dependent variables in this research are binary, discrete and non-normally distributed. The application of statistical techniques that assume continuous, normal distributions for the dependent variable in addition to assumptions of a linear relationship between the independent and dependent variable produce a number of undesirable properties. Therefore, I use traditional logit regression for all binary dependent variables, thereby overcoming the undesirable properties of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression (See Appendix, A.8). To ensure that the probability stays between 0 and 1, a positive monotone (non-decreasing) function maps the linear predictor into the unit interval. A transformation of this type retains the fundamentally linear structure of the model while avoiding probabilities above 1 or below 0. The transformation of the probability most commonly chosen is the logistic distribution.
Using the logistic distribution produces a linear logistic-regression or linear logit model. The logistic function is nearly linear between a 0.2 and 0.8 probability. This is why the linear probability model produces results similar to the logit model, except for extreme values of the dependent variable.

There are two practical advantages of the logit model. The equation of the logistic CDF (Cumulative Density Function) is easily calculated (Fox, 1997, 444). This is a particular advantage that is required for the estimation of the multivariate logistic distribution. Second, the logit model is easily interpreted. The inverse transformation of the logit model is directly interpretable as the log-odds. The ratio is the odds that the dependent variable is one. The logit is symmetric around zero and unbounded both above and below. It is therefore a good candidate for the dependent variable.

Logit regression analysis makes use of the Maximum Likelihood Estimation (MLE), which is appropriate for estimation of grouped and individual data. The idea behind MLE is to gather a random sample of observations, assume different possible population distributions and ask what the joint probability of obtaining these sample values would be given each distribution. The estimates are the values implied by the population distribution that maximize the probability of obtaining this set of sample values. Logit models may be interpreted in the same way as ordinary least-squares models, except what is modeled is in additive form, the natural log of the odds of the dependent variable (Harrell, 1986).

Hypothesis tests and confidence intervals for the logit follow from general procedures for statistical inference in MLE. Since the sampling distribution of the MLE is asymptotically normal, the standard unit normal distribution is used in testing
hypotheses concerning single parameters. Under the null hypothesis, the Z test statistic follows an asymptotic unit-normal distribution. The significance of a variable is assessed by the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error of the coefficient. The calculated z ratio is then compared to some critical value in the standard unit normal distribution. For a 95 percent confidence interval the z value is +/- 1.96 (Fox, 1997). The overall fit of a given logit model is assessed by comparing the log likelihood of the full model to that of the null model. This assesses the degree to which using the independent variables improve the predictability of the dependent variable. This is called the deviance under the model. It is a generalization of the residual sum of squares for the linear model and is analogous to the $R^2$ for the linear model.

There are a number of alternatives to interpreting logit coefficients. In my discussion, I exponentiate coefficients and refer to the effects on the odds and effects on the probability. Individual logit coefficients may be interpreted as the change in the log odds of being in a particular help-seeking category given a one-unit change in the independent variable. These values are easily transformed into the effects on the odds through an exponentiation of the MLE coefficient. Alternatively, the effect of a change in an independent variable can be calculated as the effect on the probability. This is accomplished by varying the value of the independent variable and computing probabilities to show the effects of given values of the focal independent variable while holding other independent variables in the model constant (for example, at their mean).

**Multinomial Logit Regression**

When the help-seeking strategies are multivariate (three or more categories of the dependent variable) such as those identified in the latent class analyses (Chapters 5 and
6), I estimate the models with a multinomial logit regression. The dichotomous logit model can be extended to polytomous data by employing the multivariate-logistic distribution. In analyzing the latent help-seeking variable, the polytomy is modeled directly as a set of unordered categories, using a generalization of the dichotomous logit model. According to Fox (1997) this method has the advantage of treating the categories of the polytomy in a non-arbitrary, symmetric manner (See Appendix, A.9).

In the multinomial logit the dependent variable can take on any of \( m \) qualitative values. The help-seeking variable can have any number of categories. In the model there are \( k \) regressors on which the probability depends and the dependence can be modeled using the multivariate logistic distribution. There is one set of parameters for each help-seeking category of the dependent variable but the last category of the help-seeking variable functions as a type of baseline. The use of the baseline category is one way of avoiding redundant parameters. The model may be algebraically manipulated to produce the logistic function. The regression coefficients affect the log-odds of membership in category \( j \) versus the baseline category. It is also possible to form the log-odds of membership in any pair of categories. The regression coefficients for the logit between any pair of categories are the differences between corresponding coefficients. This method is required since the results from the latent class analysis are highly skewed (see DeMaris, 1992; Aldrich and Nelson, 1984). This type of regression allows for the analysis of \( M \) non-ordered categories. Like dichotomous logit regression, in multinomial logit regression, estimated coefficients reveal the effect of a given predictor on the odds of a respondent being in a particular category of the dependent variable relative to the
omitted category. Interpretation of the effects on the odds and effects on the probability are also similar to that used in the interpretation of dichotomous logit regression output.

3.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the data used in my research. The analysis of three data sets, the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey and the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 provides the opportunity to investigate the effects of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship on victims' decisions to report victimizations to the police and seek help from a variety of help sources. The first section of this chapter outlined the important design features of each data set and the victimization and help-seeking measures used in my examination of the help-seeking of violent crime victims. Each data set provides complementary information in addressing the research questions: the CGSS taps the differences between Canadian men and women, the CVAWS provides information on help-seeking across a number of victim-offender relationship categories and the NVAWS includes data on race and the victim-offender relationship and therefore allows for an examination of help-seeking across these two variables. The second section of this chapter outlined the various analytic methods used in identifying the social contingencies of victim help-seeking and reporting. The following chapters report the results of the various analyses of the effects of gender, race and social relationship on help-seeking decisions.

3.5 Direction for Chapter Four

In the following chapter we turn to my analyses of the data from the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk. In these analyses, I examine the effects
of gender and the victim-offender relationship across a three-category help-seeking measure. These analyses will also explore the conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on decisions made by victims to seek social support. These analyses will help to further the understanding of the dynamics involved in decisions by victims to seek help.
Chapter 4

Gender and Help-Seeking:

Findings from the 1993 Canadian Social Survey, Personal Risk

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the results from my analyses of the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk. I first provide a description of the data and the selection of the sample of victims used in all of the analyses. This is followed by an assessment of the factors associated with help-seeking. My analyses in this chapter primarily focus on the direct and conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on reporting and help-seeking decisions. Gender has played a central role in shaping the way in which acts of violence come to be defined and understood as crime, including sexual assault, stalking, harassment and intimate partner violence (Frohman and Mertz, 1994; Giacopassi and Wilkinson, 1985). Relatedly, the relationship between a victim and offender also affect how violent acts are defined by victims and offenders. The victim-offender relationship continues to be an important factor in the criminal justice system’s definition of crime and reaction to violence, including mandatory arrest and sentencing policies and police discretion (McCormick, Maric, Seto and Barbaree, 1998; Simon, 1996). Consequently, gender and the victim-offender relationship have important implications for understanding a victim’s decision to seek help in dealing with violence.

My analyses of the CGSS data begin with an examination of the bivariate relationships between gender, the victim-offender relationship and help-seeking. The
subsequent multivariate analyses provide a clarification of the relationship between gender and help-seeking, controlling for other individual and incident-specific factors that may affect help-seeking decisions. This also includes an examination of the interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship, which specifies the way in which the victim-offender relationship conditions the effect of gender. The chapter concludes with an overview of the findings and their implications for policy and future research.

4.2 Description of the Data: The 1993 General Social Survey, Personal Risk

Drawn from a large national sample, the data from the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (hereafter CGSS) allow for an assessment of the effect of gender and the victim-offender relationship on reporting and help-seeking decisions. The CGSS collected information on the type and number of times respondents had been victimized in the twelve months prior to the survey. The target population for the CGSS was Canadians fifteen years of age and older, excluding residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories and full-time residents of institutions. The CGSS includes information on incidents reported to the police, reasons for not reporting and details on a wide range of help-sources, such as family, friends and social service agencies.

My analyses of the CGSS data include victims of sexual assault, robbery and non-sexual assault. I distinguish between reporting to the police and help-seeking (i.e. help-seeking from social service agencies and family or friends). Reporting crime to the police provides a number of benefits to victims including legal and justice-based responses and resources. Informal help-seeking from family and friends provides a number of social resources (Cohen and Syme, 1985) including assistance, guidance and emotional sustenance (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason and Joseph, 1997) and may provide
pathways to formal types of help-seeking (Snowden, 1998; George and Tucker, 1996; Taylor, Neighbors and Broman, 1989).

Descriptions and univariate statistics for all independent variables included in the analyses are shown in Table 4.1. Violent crime victimization and the help-seeking measures were captured by the criminal victimization screen and incident report used in the CGSS. [Refer to Appendix A.1 and A.2] Respondents were asked about a variety of victimization experiences, including robberies, both completed and attempted, sexual assaults and physical assaults. The sexual assault victimizations captured by the CGSS\(^1\) screen primarily include rape, attempted rape and sexual molestation that also included other attacks or threats of attack. These violent crime experiences are similar to those typically measured in traditional victimization surveys, such as the United States National Crime Victimization Survey. Respondents were also asked whether they reported their victimization experiences to the police or sought help from another person and/or organization. The list of help sources included family, friends, victim/help agencies or unspecified others. [Refer to Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 for the victimization and help-seeking measures]

The Correlates of Help-seeking: Gender and the Victim-Offender Relationship

In my analyses of the CGSS data I examine the direct and conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help. The police notification and help-seeking literature has suggested that women are more likely than

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\(^1\) Crimes that were subsequently classified as sexual assaults in the CGSS were captured by a number of questions in the crime victimization screen in A.1 of the Appendix. The following screening questions were all used to classify victimization incidents as sexual assaults: has anyone forced or attempted to force you into any sexual activity; were you attacked by anyone at all; has anyone ever touched you against your will; were there any other crimes that happened to you?
men to seek help. The literature specific to intimate partner violence has also pointed out that women make use of informal networks in dealing with violence. Research on police reporting suggests that there are differences across victim-offender relationships in decisions to call the police. In the multivariate analyses, I distinguish between attacks by strangers and those at the hands of known offenders. In the CGSS sample of victims, 46 percent were male and 43 percent were victimized by strangers.

Since the CVAWS and NVAWS data (See Chapters 5 and 6) only permit an examination of the help-seeking of female crime victims, in this chapter I estimate an interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship using the CGSS data. Although research (Bunge, 2000; Cross, 1992; Birkbeck, Gabaldon and LaFree, 1993; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980) suggests that women are more likely than men to use a variety of help-seeking strategies, particular types of relationships between victims and offenders may condition the effect of gender on help-seeking decisions. For example, the nature of non-stranger violence may be distinctly different for male and female crime victims, just as research has suggested that men’s and women’s experiences of intimate partner violence are also distinctly different (Gartner and Dawson, 1999; Gartner, Dawson and Crawford, 1997; Browne, 1988). In estimating the interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship I distinguish among attacks on males by known offenders, attacks on males by strangers, attacks on females by known offenders and attacks on females by strangers. Among the CGSS sample of victims, 26 percent were males victimized by strangers, 21 percent were males victimized by non-strangers, 16 percent were females victimized by strangers and 37 percent were females victimized by non-strangers.
Table 4.1  Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victimization Measures</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>Sexual Assault Victimization (Sexual Assault=1)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>Robbery Victimization (Robbery=1)</td>
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<td>0.34</td>
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<td>Physical Assault</td>
<td>Physical Assault Victimization Reference Category</td>
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<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Exogenous Variables</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male=1; Female=0</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Age</td>
<td>35 years or more=1; Other=0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age</td>
<td>25 to 34 years=1; Other=0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Age</td>
<td>15 to 24 years=1; Other=0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-Income</td>
<td>$30 000 or more=1; Other=0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-Income</td>
<td>$10 000 through $29 999=1; Other=0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-Income</td>
<td>Less than $10 000=1; Other=0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-Education</td>
<td>University through graduate degree=1; Other=0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium-Education</td>
<td>High school Diploma through some trade, college, vocational=1; Other=0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-Education</td>
<td>Less than a high school=1; Other=0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status</td>
<td>Working=1; Other=0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Single=1; Other=0</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previously Married</td>
<td>Separated, Divorced, Widowed=1; Other=0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Married=1; Other=0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Incident-Specific Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Weapon was used during incident (Weapon=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>Incident resulted in a physical injury (Injured=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victim-offender relationship</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger Attack</td>
<td>Attacked by a Stranger</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimate Relationship</td>
<td>Marital or dating relationship</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known Relationship</td>
<td>All other known relationships</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1  Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interaction Terms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Victim/Stranger</td>
<td>Female victim attacked by stranger</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Victim/Non-Stranger</td>
<td>Female victim attacked by a non-stranger</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Victim/Stranger</td>
<td>Male victim attacked by stranger</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Victim/Non-Stranger</td>
<td>Male victim attacked by non stranger</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alternative Predictors of Reporting and Help-seeking**

Some features of the crime event are important predictors of whether crimes are brought to the attention of the police and the criminal justice system (Bachman, 1998; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1981; Block, 1974). Incident-specific factors including type of victimization and offence severity/seriousness, shape a victim’s definition of his/her victimization as a criminal event (Conway and Lohr, 1994; Greenberg, Ruback and Westcott, 1982; Laub, 1981). Some researchers have identified differences in reporting across victimization types, suggesting that the nature of sexual violence reduces the likelihood that these victimizations are reported to the police (Easteal, 1994; Winkel and Vrij, 1993; Skelton and Burkhart, 1980).

Rather than reflecting quantitative differences in seriousness, qualitative differences in the experience of rape and assault affect the likelihood of reporting (Lizotte, 1985). That is, differences in reporting reflect the nature of how rape and assault victimizations occur and the victim’s perceptions of the criminal justice system’s differential response to these crimes. In my analyses, type of offence is measured by three dummy variables. These crime categories measure qualitative differences in violent victimization and differentiate respondents who were the victims of sexual assault,
robbery and assault. Non-sexual assaults are designated as the reference category in the multivariate analysis. Among the victims in my analyses, 75 percent are victims of physical assault, 12 percent are sexual assault victims and the remaining 13 percent are the victims of robbery [See Table 3.1 in Chapter 3].

Incident-specific factors tapping offence severity and seriousness increase the likelihood that a victim will call the police (Bachman, 1998; Bennett and Wiegand, 1994; Conway and Lohr, 1994). In my analyses I include a measure of offence severity or crime seriousness. Weapon use is a dummy variable denoting an incident in which the offender used or threatened the victim with a weapon. Among the CGSS victims, 19 percent noted that the offender used or threatened to use a weapon.

**Control Variables**

My analyses of the CGSS data also include a number of socio-demographic characteristics that affect reporting decisions (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Block, 1974). Among these are income, education, and age (Refer to Table 4.1). These are each collapsed into separate sets of dummy variables. The designated reference category for each of these sets of dummy variables is the lowest category for each variable. The reference categories are therefore the low-income, low-education and young-age groups. Employment status is included as a dummy variable in the multivariate analysis. I also control for marital status, assigning married respondents as the reference category. Among the CGSS victims, 46 percent are male, the majority are 15 to 24 years old, 31 percent are married or living in common-law unions and more than

---

2 An object is considered to be a weapon when it is used to threaten or attack a person (gun, knife, baseball bat, rock etc.). The presence of a weapon implies a threat even if a verbal threat is not made by the offender.
three quarters live in urban areas. With respect to socio-economic status, more than half make less that $30,000 per year, 55 percent are employed, 22 percent are attending school and 70 percent hold at least a high school diploma.

4.3 The Help-Seeking of Violent Crime Victims

As we saw in the last chapter, and consistent with previous research (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Skogan, 1976), the majority of CGSS violent crime victims do not report their experiences with violence to the police (Refer to Table 3.1 in Chapter 3). Among the CGSS sample of victims, 23 percent called the police. The CGSS data are also consistent with other research that finds that some victims seek help in other ways: 29 percent of the CGSS victims used alternative help-seeking strategies. Alternative social support is most often sought from friends. Among the CGSS victims, 11 percent sought help from friends, 7 percent sought help from family and 4 percent sought help from a victim or social service agency.

The CGSS data highlight the importance of alternative help-seeking for crime victims. Bowker (1983) suggests that family and friends provide emotional support, money and shelter to victims of intimate partner violence. Biaggio, Brownell and Watts (1991) point out that supportive friends are often viewed as the most helpful category of assistance. Although my analyses of the CGSS data are unable to tap into the causal chain of these help-seeking decisions or the benefits derived from help-seeking, other research (Ruback and Ivie, 1983) suggests that most rape victims who visited a crisis centre had previously spoken to someone prior to informing the police about the incident, which suggests that informal help-seeking is often a pathway to more formal help-seeking.
4.4 Gender and Victim Help-seeking and Reporting: Bivariate Associations

Table 4.2 reports the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and gender. Associations between gender and the help-seeking measures are assessed using the chi-square statistic (Stokes, Davis and Koch, 1995). As Table 4.2 indicates, there are clear differences in the types of help sought by men and women. However, female respondents are not significantly more likely to have reported their victimizations to the police as compared to men, a finding which contrasts with some of the existing literature on police notification (Green, 1981; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980; Skogan, 1976; Block, 1976). Although there appear to be no gender differences in police reporting, there are marked differences in the use of informal sources of social support. Consistent with other research (Wellman and Wortley, 1990), women are significantly more likely to seek help from family, friends and social service agencies.

Table 4.2 Bivariate Associations between Gender and Help-seeking Measures.
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage reporting to the Police</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage going to a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7.6**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage going to Family</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11.8**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage going to Friend</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>18.3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage going to Family/Friend</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>25.6**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage using any Alternative Help-seeking</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>43.9**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.
* p < 0.05 (two-tailed) ** p< 0.01 (two-tailed)

When the alternative help-seeking strategies are pooled, women are significantly more likely to seek out some type of social support. Fully 44 percent of
women as compared to 12 percent of men seek support from victim agencies, family or friends. These findings are in accord with other research that finds that women seek social support more frequently than men (Chiriboga, Stein and Roberts, 1979) and that alternative help-seeking is an important strategy for women dealing with the aftermath of victimization (Dobash, Dobash and Cavanaugh, 1985; Bowker, 1983).

4.5 **Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations**

Table 4.3 examines the bivariate relationships between the help-seeking measures and victim-offender relationships. Due to the sample size limitations, the subsequent multivariate analyses required the categories of the victim-offender relationship to be collapsed into a stranger and non-stranger comparison. The findings reported in Table 4.3 indicate that the victim-offender relationship helps to distinguish among help-seeking strategies. However, the victim-offender relationship does not appear to be significantly associated with police notification. The CGSS findings contrast somewhat with the literature (Bachman, 1998 and Gartner and Macmillan, 1995) but are in accord with the most recent research on police notification (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999).

My preliminary analysis of the CGSS points to differences across victim-offender relationships in the use of victim service agencies (18 percent of attacks by intimates versus 2 percent of stranger attacks lead victims to seek help from a social service agency). Social service help-seeking strategies may be perceived by victims as designed to deal with particular types of victimizations, specifically intimate partner violence. The use of other sources of social support also differs across categories of the victim-offender relationship. Victims of intimate violence are most likely to seek help
from family and friends (18 percent and 27 percent respectively). An examination of the pooled help-seeking strategies indicates that victimizations by intimates are almost twice as likely to result in some type of help-seeking. These findings suggest that dating and marital relationships as compared to other known and stranger relations are characterized by differing dynamics and these determine the help-seeking strategies used by victims. These may be related to the social status assigned to these relationships and other characteristics, which are unique to these varying social relations.

Table 4.3  Bivariate Associations Between the Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-Seeking Measures.
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>Stranger</th>
<th>Known</th>
<th>Intimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage reporting to Police</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage talking to Social</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>18.2***a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage talking to Family</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>18.2**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage talking to Friend</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>27.3**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage talking to Family/Friend</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>37.7**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage using Alternative</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>55.8**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help-seeking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.  
* p < 0.05 (two-tailed) ** p< 0.01 (two-tailed)  
a. One out of six cells had an expected frequency of less than 5  

4.6  Binary Logit Regression: An Examination of Police Reporting  

My examination of the help-seeking behaviour of violent crime victims proceeds in two stages. The first analysis explores the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on police reporting using a binary logit regression, controlling for victim attributes, type of victimization and offense severity. The results allow me to compare
my findings to previous research on police reporting. The second set of analyses use multinomial logits to estimate the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship across a three category help-seeking measure. The second stage of the analysis examines the conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking.

These methods are required because the distributions across categories of help-seeking are highly skewed (see DeMaris, 1992; Aldrich and Nelson, 1984). Traditional logit regression is appropriate when a dependent variable is dichotomous, thereby overcoming the undesirable properties of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. The multinomial logit regression allows for the analysis of M non-ordered categories. Binary logit and multinomial logit models may be interpreted in the same way as ordinary least-squares models; what is modelled in additive form is the natural log of the odds of the dependent variable (Harrell, 1986). Like dichotomous logit regression, in multinomial logit regression, estimated coefficients reveal the effect of a given predictor on the log odds of a respondent being in a particular category of the dependent variable relative to the omitted category. In substantive terms, these coefficients indicate the log of the odds of reporting to the police. Since there is no intuitive meaning to these estimates, I exponentiate these coefficients and throughout the discussion refer to the odds of reporting to the police and the odds of seeking help [Refer to Appendix A.7 and Aldrich and Nelson, 1984].

**Gender, the Victim-Offender Relationship and Police Reporting**

The analysis estimating the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on police reporting using data from the CGSS is reported in Table 4.4. This analysis is important for a number of reasons. First, these data have not been used
previously to examine the factors associated with police notification. This analysis allows me to compare my findings to research that has looked at the factors predicting police reporting. The findings from the binary logit using the CGSS data will also be contrasted to the multinomial logit output to determine the value of disaggregating help-seeking and reporting categories.

The findings from the binary logit model found in Table 4.4 indicate that gender and the victim-offender relationship are not significant predictors of police reporting. The absence of a significant effect of gender and the victim-offender relationship is inconsistent with predictions from Black's behaviour of law perspective, which suggests that men and those attacked by strangers will be more likely to call the police. My findings also contrast with the rational choice approach, which predicts that women and those attacked by strangers will be more likely to call the police, because the costs associated with reporting for men and people attacked by those in on-going relationships with their attacker are greater. However, recall that among those who do not report to the police are some who have engaged in other forms of help-seeking. The lack of a significant effect of gender and the victim-offender relationship is possibly the result of a failure to adequately define and construct an appropriate help-seeking comparison.

Research by Greenberg and Ruback (1985) points out that the victims of crime have a number of broad response options. These include calling the police, dealing with the matter privately, cognitively re-evaluating the situation or simply doing nothing. Alternative help-seeking is one way in which victims deal with crime and victimization privately. As outlined in Pescosolido's (1992) social organization strategy framework, help-seeking strategies are not easily conceptualized in terms of singular choices. Within
any binary analysis of police reporting, the alternative help-seeking strategies of victims
are grouped with the actions of victims who do not seek help.

Table 4.4
Unstandardized Coefficients and Odds Ratios: Logit Regression of Police Notification
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Coefficient (SE)</th>
<th>Odds Ratio (SE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-1.9013** (0.4068)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Male=1)</td>
<td>-0.310 (0.258)</td>
<td>0.733 (0.353)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-age Group</td>
<td>0.712* (0.353)</td>
<td>2.038 (0.385)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age Group</td>
<td>0.833* (0.385)</td>
<td>2.300 (0.321)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income Group</td>
<td>-0.130 (0.321)</td>
<td>0.878 (0.258)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income Group</td>
<td>0.603* (0.361)</td>
<td>1.827 (0.385)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education Group</td>
<td>0.078 (0.321)</td>
<td>1.081 (0.328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>-0.629 (0.328)</td>
<td>0.533 (0.328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.703* (0.306)</td>
<td>2.020 (0.252)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0.468 (0.317)</td>
<td>1.600 (0.392)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow or Divorced</td>
<td>0.237 (0.392)</td>
<td>1.267 (0.392)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-0.151 (0.252)</td>
<td>0.860 (0.509)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.631** (0.287)</td>
<td>1.880 (0.509)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>-1.138* (0.509)</td>
<td>0.320 (0.509)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>0.202 (0.331)</td>
<td>1.224 (0.321)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 log likelihood: 471.414
Model chi square: 49.177
Degrees of Freedom: 14

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
Alternative Predictors of Police Reporting

The findings in Table 4.4 are consistent with previous research that suggests that incident-specific factors are important in reporting decisions (Winkel and Vrij, 1993; Williams, 1984). The results reported in Table 4.4 indicate that offence seriousness as measured by weapon use increases the likelihood of police notification. Victims attacked by an offender using a weapon are more likely to call the police.

The results reported in Table 4.4 also indicate that victims of sexual assault are less likely than other crime victims to call the police. The under-reporting of sexual assaults to the police may reflect qualitative differences between sexual violence and other types of crime (Lizotte, 1985). The intimate nature of these types of crime, the potential negative consequences of reporting (including assigning blame and responsibility to the victim), lack of confidentiality and secondary victimization by the criminal justice system may affect the likelihood of victim reporting (Bachman, 1998; Wiehe and Richards, 1995; Biaggio, Brownell and Watts, 1991; Griffin, 1977; Brownmiller, 1975). Alternatively, differences in reporting across crime types may be a function of the types of sexual violence included in the CGSS sexual assault measure. CGSS sexual assaults include rape, attempted rape and sexual molestation. Differences in reporting across crime type may therefore reflect the fact that some sexual assault victims (victims of sexual molestation) perceive these crimes to be relatively minor and not worthy of a criminal justice response. My analyses of the CVAWS data (reported in Chapter 5), which include separate measures for rape and sexual touching, overcome some of the shortcomings of the CGSS data and measures. In Chapters 5 and 7, the CGSS and CVAWS data and analyses are further compared. I explore the possibility that
the under-reporting of sexual assaults is a function of both the crimes captured by the CGSS incident report and the way in which victimizations are categorized, most notably sexual assaults and molestation.

The only significant socio-demographic variables predicting police reporting are income and employment status. Consistent with Donald Black's framework, high income and employed victims are more likely to seek help from the police. The findings from the CGSS binary logit--in particular the lack of a significant effect of gender and the victim-offender relationship-- provide a logic and rationale for conceptualising help-seeking as a multi-categorical help-seeking variable.

4.7 Multinomial Logit Regression: Help-seeking and Police Reporting

The analysis reported in Table 4.4 estimates the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on police reporting. The reference category for the binary logit includes victims who do not seek help and those who may have sought help from family, friends or social services agencies. In the subsequent analyses I estimate the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship across a three category help-seeking variable. The construction of this help-seeking measure is similar to that used in my analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS data (See Chapters Five and Six for a latent class analysis of help-seeking). The three help-seeking strategies are mutually exclusive categories and include police reporting, alternative help-seeking and no help-seeking. All victims who reported their victimization to the police are classified as police reporters (these victims may have also sought help from family, friends, clergy, victim/help agencies and/or others). Alternative help-seekers are those victims who have not reported their victimizations to the police and have only sought help from either family, friends, clergy, victim/help
agencies and/or others. Victims who did not report to the police and did not use an alternative help-seeking strategy are designated as non help-seekers.

The construction of a three category help-seeking variable in the following analyses reflects the sample size distribution across the three help-seeking strategies. Figure 4.1 reports the response distributions for the three category help-seeking variable. Among the CGSS victims, 55 percent do not seek help, 22 percent use an alternative help-seeking strategy and 23 percent use a police reporting strategy. The majority of victims in the pooled alternative help-seeking category (approximately 55%) sought help from family and/or friends.

Figure 4.1
Help-Seeking Distributions
(1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk, N=487)

Given sample size limitations and that the majority of alternative help-seeking is from family and friends, a full multivariate examination across the help-seeking strategies was not possible. Issues related to the way in which the help-seeking questions were

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3 The three help-seeking strategies are mutually exclusive categories.
asked in the CGSS survey also prevented me from empirically identifying the qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies using latent class analysis⁴. Chapters Five and Six examine systematically the patterns of help-seeking using latent class analysis.

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 report the findings from a multinomial logit regression of the three category help-seeking variable. The contrasts made in the analyses are between police reporting, alternative help-seeking and no help-seeking. The results are most accurately summarized through a consideration of effects across contrasts (Pescosolido, 1992). Table 4.5 lists the overall chi-square tests for the effect of each variable. Long and McGinnis (1981) suggest that in multinomial logit regression, individual and specific tests of significance need to be considered in combination with the overall pattern of effects (and overall significance) for a particular independent variable. Table 4.5 provides an evaluation of how strongly each independent variable differentiates among the three help-seeking strategies. The analysis reported in Table 4.5 indicates that gender and the victim-offender relationship are significantly associated with help-seeking strategies and most important, distinguish among strategies (Refer to Hypotheses 5, 5a and 5b in Chapter 2). Age and type of offense (specifically sexual assaults) also distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

**Gender and Help-Seeking**

The results of the analyses reported in Table 4.6 estimate the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship across help-seeking strategies. Equations (1), (2) and (3)

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⁴ In the CGSS incident report respondents were asked whether the incident was reported to the police and if they themselves had reported the crime. Respondents were also asked whether they had talked to anyone else regarding their victimization. This was subsequently probed and various categories were created including: family, friends, clergy, victim service/help agency and other help-seeking. Approximately 13% of victims engaged in some other, non-identifiable type of help-seeking strategy.
estimate the contrasts between the three help-seeking strategies. Equation (1) contrasts police reporting and no help-seeking, Equation (2) contrasts police reporting and alternative help-seeking and equation (3) estimates the contrast between alternative help-seeking and no help-seeking.

Table 4.5
Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking Strategies across all Contrasts, 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Males=1)</td>
<td>26.130**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-age group</td>
<td>6.539*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age group</td>
<td>5.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income group</td>
<td>0.391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income group</td>
<td>2.893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education group</td>
<td>0.249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>3.934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>5.572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4.202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow or Divorced</td>
<td>4.728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim-offender relationship (Stranger attacks)</td>
<td>8.446*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>4.601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>6.769*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>2.085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < 0.05    ** p < 0.01

The results reported in Table 4.5 and the three equations in Table 4.6 indicate that gender distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. The findings reported in Equation (1) of Table 4.6 indicate that men are half as likely as women to report to the police than to not seek help (e^{-0.620} = 0.538). By constructing a measure of help-seeking in this way and disentangling alternative and non help-seeking strategies, my findings are in accord with predictions (Refer to Hypotheses 5 and 5a in Chapter 2) and some research suggesting that women are more likely than men to notify the police (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1980; Skogan, 1976). Yet, these findings contradict the predictions offered by Donald Black and his behaviour of law approach.
Table 4.6
Unstandardized Coefficients and Odds Ratios: Multinomial Logit Regression of Help-Seeking, 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police versus No Help-seeking</td>
<td>Police versus Alternative Help-seeking</td>
<td>Alternative versus No Help-seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-1.596**</td>
<td>(0.441)</td>
<td>-1.479**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Males=1)</td>
<td>-0.620*</td>
<td>(0.266)</td>
<td>0.972*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-age group</td>
<td>0.592 (0.363)</td>
<td>1.808</td>
<td>1.286*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age group</td>
<td>0.796*</td>
<td>(0.397)</td>
<td>2.217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income group</td>
<td>-0.104</td>
<td>(0.330)</td>
<td>0.901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income Group</td>
<td>0.629</td>
<td>(0.373)</td>
<td>1.876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education Group</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>(0.323)</td>
<td>1.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>-0.647</td>
<td>(0.338)</td>
<td>0.524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.720*</td>
<td>(0.315)</td>
<td>2.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0.361</td>
<td>(0.325)</td>
<td>1.435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow or Divorced</td>
<td>0.580</td>
<td>(0.425)</td>
<td>1.785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>-0.315</td>
<td>(0.257)</td>
<td>0.730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.622*</td>
<td>(0.296)</td>
<td>1.863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>-1.082*</td>
<td>(0.526)</td>
<td>0.339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>0.327</td>
<td>(0.344)</td>
<td>1.387</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 log likelihood 659.124
Chi-Square 122.817
Degrees of Freedom 28

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01

Standard errors in parentheses

Gender is also a significant predictor of alternative help-seeking. Equation (2) in Table 4.6 indicates that men are two and a half times more likely than women to report to the police relative to seeking help from alternative sources (e^{0.972} = 2.644). These
findings are in accord with Black's framework, which suggests that attacks on men will be more likely to result in calls to the police, whereas attacks on women are less likely to be brought to the attention of the law and will most likely be governed by informal social control. The findings summarized in equations (1) and (2) of Table 4.6 provide partial support for both the predictions offered by Black and rational choice perspectives. These findings also demonstrate that the relationship between gender and help-seeking is more complex and not easily summarized in police versus non-reporting comparisons.

As in equations (1) and (2), the findings in equation (3) of Table 4.6 also indicate that gender will distinguish between alternative help-seeking and no help-seeking. Women are more likely than men to use alternative help-seeking relative to not seeking help (coefficient for men, $e^{-1.592} = 0.203$). The CGSS findings are consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 5a in Chapter 2) and in accord with the wider help-seeking literature (Bland, Newman and Orn, 1990; Wisch, Mahalik, Hayes and Nutt, 1995) that finds that women are more likely to seek consultation for emotional problems from a variety of helping resources.

Using the multinomial logit coefficients from Table 4.5, Figure 4.2 further elaborates the differences in help-seeking and visually shows the way in which gender distinguishes among the three strategies. In Figure 4.2, the probability of reporting and seeking help for men and women was calculated across the significant comparisons (all other variables in the model are set to their means). In other words, this graph indicates the help-seeking probabilities for a person under the age of 30, with some college or university education, making less than $30 000 per year.
Two interesting patterns emerge regarding the effect of gender on help-seeking decisions. First, men use two strategies in dealing with violent crime. Most men do not seek help, but when they do seek help, they go the formal route of reporting to police. In contrast, women rely on alternative sources of help in dealing with violent crime. Women's help-seeking may be understood in terms of their greater utilization of alternative help sources, whereas men may be seen as either going to the police or "going it alone."

Figure 4.2
Probability of Help-seeking: Examining the Role of Gender
(1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk, N=487)

This suggests that family and friends form a social network opportunity structure that is important to women's help-seeking (Pescosolido, 1992), providing emotional and material support (Wellman and Wortley, 1990). Women have more opportunities than

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5 An additional model was estimated which examined a comparison between alternative help-seeking versus a pooled non help-seeking and police reporting category. Women are more likely than men to engage in
men and take more time to interact with family and friends (Frank, Kaukinen and Wellman, 1998; Cahill and Sias, 1997). This interaction includes face-to-face conversations and contact maintained through geographic distances. Women, who are more likely to be in contact with family and friends in other social contexts (Salmon, 1999; Yaughn and Nowicki, 1999), rely heavily on these informal networks in dealing with the aftermath of victimization.

The Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-Seeking

The findings in Table 4.5 and equation (3) in Table 4.6 show that attacks by known offenders are more likely to lead to alternative help-seeking (coefficient for stranger attacks, $e^{-0.889} = 0.411$). After the victimization, crimes by known offenders result in the victim’s intimate social network being called into action. This is consistent with Pescosolido’s social organization strategy, which suggests that the solutions to many problems rest within a person’s immediate social network. In contrast to the existing literature (Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Ruback, 1993; Worral and Pease, 1986; Block, 1974), the victim-offender relationship is not a significant predictor of police reporting. My analyses of the CGSS data do not support the conclusion that the likelihood of police intervention increases as the social distance between victims and offenders increases—stranger attacks are not more likely to result in police notification. The analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS data will further explore the relationship between the victim-offender relationship and help-seeking strategies by disaggregating the victim-offender relationship into several relationship categories.

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alternative help-seeking than to either go to the police or do nothing.
Type of Victimization, Offence Seriousness and Help-Seeking

The findings reported Table 4.5 and equations (1) and (2) in Table 4.6 indicate that the type of offense distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. In comparing police reporting and alternative help-seeking, sexual assault victims are less likely than other crime victims to report to the police. Sexual assault victims are a third as likely as other crime victims to call the police. Although the under-reporting of sexual violence may reflect differences in the nature of this type of violence, recall that CGSS sexual assaults include both serious and less serious types of victimizations. The significant effect of offence type (specifically sexual assaults) on help-seeking may also reflect the types of crimes captured by the CGSS sexual assault measure. These crimes may be interpreted by victims as being less serious and not worthy of reporting. Weapon use by the attacker increased the likelihood that the victim would report to the police. These findings are in accord with the existing literature, which suggests that many sexual assaults go unreported and that incident-specific (Conway and Lohr, 1994; Bennett and Wiegand, 1994) or event characteristics (Pescosolido, 1992) are important predictors of help-seeking.

Socio-Demographic Variables and Help-Seeking

The findings in Table 4.5 and equations (1) and (2) in Table 4.6 indicate that age distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. Victims in the oldest and middle age group are both more likely to call the police as compared to using an alternative strategy. Victims in the oldest age group are also more likely to notify the police as compared to not seeking help. These findings are consistent with Black’s framework, which suggests that victims of higher social rank and those socially integrated into the dominant social
order are more likely to have access to law. Employed respondents are significantly more likely to call the police as compared to not seeking help ($e^{0.720} = 2.054$), but the overall effect of employment status as indicated in Table 4.5 is not significant.

**Help-Seeking: Interaction between Gender and the Victim-Offender Relationship**

A final question addressed with the CGSS data is whether the victim-offender relationship contextualizes the effect of gender on help-seeking decisions. Although the model shown in Table 4.6 is generally consistent with previous research on gender and help-seeking, it only examines the independent effects of gender. However, the effect of gender may vary depending on the relationship between the victim and offender. To examine this possibility, I created a set of interaction terms to explore the conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking (male victim/stranger attack, male victim/non-stranger attack, female victim/stranger attack, female victim/non-stranger attack). The multinomial logit was re-estimated including the interaction terms with the male victim/non-stranger attacks as the reference category. Table 4.7 outlines the overall chi-square tests for the variable effects on help-seeking decisions. The interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship is significant and distinguishes among strategies. Specifically, attacks on women by known offenders and attacks on men by strangers will distinguish among the three help-seeking categories. Age and type of offense also help to distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

The analysis reported in Table 4.8 incorporating the interaction term further elaborates the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. Equations (1), (2) and (3) in Table 4.8 represent the contrasts among the three
help-seeking strategies including the interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship.

Table 4.7
Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking Strategies across all Contrasts, 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square Test for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Med-age group</td>
<td>6.373*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age group</td>
<td>5.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income group</td>
<td>0.415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income group</td>
<td>2.862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education group</td>
<td>0.299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>4.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>5.648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow or Divorced</td>
<td>4.404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>4.368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>6.649*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>2.410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Attacked by Stranger</td>
<td>2.387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Attacked by Known Offender</td>
<td>12.627**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Attacked by Stranger</td>
<td>6.925*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01

The findings reported in equation (3) in Table 4.8 indicate that women attacked by known offenders are more likely (than all other gender/victim-offender relationship combinations) to use alternative help-seeking ($e^{1.339}=3.817$) as compared to not seeking help. Women attacked by known offenders are also less likely to report to the police ($e^{-0.906}=0.404$) relative to alternative help-seeking. Women attacked by people they know and with whom they have on-going relationships are most likely to use a help-seeking strategy that includes family, friends and social service agencies. These findings are consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 5c in Chapter 2), the intimate partner violence literature and the framework outlined by Pescosolido that suggests that the solutions for many problems rest within a person’s immediate social network.
Table 4.8
Unstandardized Coefficients and Odds Ratios: Multinomial Logit of Help-seeking, Gender*Victim-Offender Relationship Interaction Term
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk, Recent Victims (N=487)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police versus No Help-Seeking</td>
<td>Police versus Alternative Help-seeking</td>
<td>Alternative versus No Help-seeking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2.093**</td>
<td>0.591</td>
<td>-1.502**</td>
<td>0.518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-age group</td>
<td>0.612 (0.365)</td>
<td>1.844</td>
<td>1.269* (0.518)</td>
<td>3.559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age group</td>
<td>0.791* (0.397)</td>
<td>2.206</td>
<td>1.051* (0.529)</td>
<td>2.860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income group</td>
<td>-0.106 (0.330)</td>
<td>0.899</td>
<td>-0.280 (0.435)</td>
<td>0.756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income Group</td>
<td>0.627 (0.373)</td>
<td>1.982</td>
<td>0.473 (0.543)</td>
<td>1.605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education Group</td>
<td>0.013 (0.324)</td>
<td>1.013</td>
<td>0.219 (0.449)</td>
<td>1.245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>-0.666 (0.340)</td>
<td>0.514</td>
<td>-0.658 (0.432)</td>
<td>0.518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>0.727* (0.316)</td>
<td>2.068</td>
<td>0.702 (0.420)</td>
<td>2.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0.339 (0.326)</td>
<td>1.403</td>
<td>0.923* (0.453)</td>
<td>2.516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow or Divorced</td>
<td>0.565 (0.427)</td>
<td>1.760</td>
<td>-0.261 (0.474)</td>
<td>0.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.603* (0.297)</td>
<td>1.828</td>
<td>0.627 (0.472)</td>
<td>1.872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>-1.061* (0.527)</td>
<td>0.346</td>
<td>-1.315* (0.560)</td>
<td>0.269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>0.361 (0.347)</td>
<td>1.435</td>
<td>-0.265 (0.484)</td>
<td>0.767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man Attacked by Stranger</td>
<td>-0.492 (0.339)</td>
<td>0.611</td>
<td>0.895 (0.658)</td>
<td>2.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Attacked by Stranger</td>
<td>0.350 (0.398)</td>
<td>1.419</td>
<td>-0.338 (0.543)</td>
<td>0.534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Attacked by Non-Stranger</td>
<td>0.434 (0.349)</td>
<td>1.543</td>
<td>-0.906* (0.461)</td>
<td>0.404</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 log likelihood: 659.162
Chi-Square: 127.430
Degrees of Freedom: 30

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
***Model without gender/victim-offender relationship interaction, Model Chi-Square=79.817, df=24
The results reported in equation (3) of Table 4.8 also indicate that men attacked by
strangers are the least likely to use alternative help sources such as family, friends and
social service agencies. Men attacked by a stranger are 75% less likely \( e^{-1.387} = 0.250 \) to
use alternative help sources. The variation in decisions to seek help is not simply a
difference between men and women or between stranger and non-stranger attacks.
Rather, attacks on women by known offenders and attacks on men by strangers lead to
distinct strategies for dealing with violence.

Refer to Figure 4.3 for a visual elaboration of the interaction between gender and
the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking across the significant contrasts. While
attacks on women by known offenders are the most likely to lead to alternative help-
seeking, attacks on men by strangers are the least likely to lead to this same strategy.
Women are more likely to maintain large and dense social networks (Wellman and
Wortley, 1990) and often rely on their family and friends in dealing with other life events,
so it is not surprising that their victimizations, which threaten a victim’s immediate social
network, are likely to lead to informal help-seeking.

Consistent with the wider help-seeking literature men are not only less likely to
seek help, but when they do seek help it is often delayed (King and Woolett, 1997).
Future research will need to address the implications of these differences in help-seeking
across gender and the victim-offender relationship and the factors leading to delays to
seeking help.

Lifestyle and routine activities that are related to differential exposure to
dangerous places, times and situations place victims at risk for stranger victimization
(Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978; Miethe and Meier, 1994). The nature of
male, stranger crime often reflects lifestyle characteristics that implicate a victim’s role in initiating or provoking violence. These may affect the way in which crimes are viewed by male victims, subsequently shaping their reactions to crime. Men’s responses to violence also reflect traditional views toward gender and masculinity (Stanko and Hodbell, 1993) and these have important implications for coping and seeking help in dealing with crime. Future research will need to address the role of victim provocation and involvement and the impact of gendered violence on help-seeking and reporting decisions.

Figure 4.3

As indicated in equation (1) in Table 4.8, there is not a significant difference in the police reporting versus no help-seeking contrast across the interaction between gender and the victim-offender relationship. The significant conditional effects of gender and the
victim-offender relationship across help-seeking relate to the use of alternative, non-justice based strategies. The lack of a significant effect across the police versus no help-seeking contrast highlights the importance of looking at alternative help-seeking strategies. Although police provide important avenues for crime victims, the actions and decisions made by victims and in particular women largely relate to their use of informal help-seeking strategies.

4.8 Summary and Discussion

The results presented in this chapter have addressed two specific issues. First, these analyses provide initial support and justification for conceptualizing victim help-seeking as qualitatively distinct sets of behaviours. Second, my findings support the contention that help-seeking strategies are structured along a number of social dimensions. Specifically, gender and the relationship between victims and offenders not only predict help-seeking, but also distinguish among strategies.

The results presented clearly show that although many victims do not call the police, a sizable number of victims use alternative help-seeking strategies and these victims are quite different from those victims who do not seek any type of help. Consistent with the intimate partner violence literature, my findings draw attention to the important role of alternative help-seeking strategies for crime victims. Police reporting and other formal types of help-seeking are perhaps less relevant to some types of victims, but many of these victims seek help from within their own social network. Moreover, gender and the victim-offender relationship determine the types of help-seeking strategies used by victims. Women are much more likely to seek help from family, friends and social services agencies in dealing with crime. These findings are in accord with the
wider help-seeking research that suggests that the users of mental health, social service and self-help groups tend to be female (Schonert-Reich and Muller, 1996 Fischer, Weiner and Abramowitz, 1983). The victim-offender relationship also affects help-seeking decisions. Attacks by known offenders lead to help-seeking that relies primarily on family and friends. The results are consistent with the intimate partner violence literature, which first highlighted the important role of informal social networks for victims of intimate partner violence.

An additional question addressed in this chapter is whether the effects of gender vary by the victim-offender relationship. My findings suggest that help-seeking strategies are unique to particular gender/victim-offender relationship categories. Women victimized by known offenders rely on family and friends and other alternative help sources. In contrast, men victimized by strangers most often do nothing, but some men who have been victimized by a stranger will call the police. Few men, however, go to family or friends for support if attacked by strangers. These findings have important implications for the types of crimes most likely to be processed by the criminal justice system.

The analyses in this chapter contribute a number of important theoretical and substantive findings. First, conceptualizing help-seeking as a three-category variable captures the qualitative differences between help-seeking and reporting strategies and provides for a more accurate examination of the factors affecting these help-seeking and reporting decisions. The findings from my analyses of the CGSS data draw attention to the fact that police reporting is not an isolated strategy used by crime victims. Many victims seek help from alternative help sources in dealing with their experiences with
violence and these findings call into question the primacy given to the criminal justice in attending to the needs of victims. Help-seeking from family and friends suggests that victims are actively engaged in a process of attempting to deal with the aftermath of crime. Although help from family and friends does not necessarily bring about justice-based solutions to criminal victimization, help from informal networks provide social support, comfort and other tangible resources to crime victims. These are important issues that need to be further explored.

4.9 Direction for Chapter Five

While these results provide initial support for the suggestion that the victim-offender relationship will distinguish among qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies, the analyses are limited by the help-seeking measures available in the CGSS data and the small sample sizes within particular categories of the victim-offender relationship. In the following chapter we turn to my analyses of the data from the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey. In these analyses, help-seeking strategies are examined using latent class analysis and the effects of the victim-offender relationship are further explored. These analyses will help to further the understanding of the dynamics involved in decisions made by victims to seek social support.
Chapter 5

Help-seeking and the Victim-Offender Relationship:

Findings from the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the results of my analyses of the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey. It begins with a general description of the data and is followed by an assessment of the factors associated with help-seeking for both recent and lifetime victims of violence. The chapter proceeds by identifying the frequency with which female victims seek help from a variety of sources including the police, social service agencies, doctors, family and friends. The bivariate associations between the victim-offender relationship and each of the help-seeking categories are also outlined. Next, the help-seeking strategies of female victims are empirically identified using latent class analysis. The latent class analysis is performed for both recent victims (victimizations within the 12 months prior to the interview) and those women having experienced a violent victimization since the age of sixteen. I then examine the effect of the victim-offender relationship on the help-seeking strategies identified by the latent class analysis.

Understanding the role of the victim-offender relationship in victims' help-seeking strategies is important since most female victims are assaulted by intimates and other known males. Given the on-going relationship between such victims and their offenders, it is important to examine the types of help-seeking strategies used by these victims and the implications these strategies have for maintaining or ending these relationships. The relationship between a victim and offender also has important
implications for the criminal justice system's response to crime including the allocation of resources and the development of programs and initiatives to deal with violence against women. My analyses are able to explore the effect of the victim-offender relationship across various known associations including spouses and common-law partners, dates and boyfriends and other known relationships. Because my analyses include an examination of lifetime victims, I can consider differences in the determinants of help-seeking for current and previous partner attacks. The analyses reported in this chapter also estimate the effects of victim attributes (Bachman, 1998) and incident-specific factors (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999) on reporting and help-seeking decisions. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings.

5.2 Description of the Data

The data analyzed in this chapter come from a national survey of Canadian women conducted by Statistics Canada. The 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey (hereafter CVAWS) allow for an assessment of the effect of the victim-offender relationship on decisions made by female victims to seek help in dealing with violence. The CVAWS collected detailed information on the type of violent victimization respondents had experienced in the twelve months prior to the survey and since the age of sixteen. The target population for the CVAWS was all female persons eighteen years of age and over in Canada, excluding residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories and full-time residents of institutions. The CVAWS included information on whether the respondent reported the incident to the police or sought help from any other source, such as family, friends, doctors, clergy and social service agencies. In my analysis I model a
number of items measuring help-seeking using latent class analysis. This information allows me to describe help-seeking as qualitatively distinct strategies.

Descriptions and univariate statistics for all independent variables included in the analyses of recent victims are shown in Table 5.1 and for lifetime victims are shown in Table 5.2. Violent victimization and the help-seeking measures were captured by the screening and incident reports used in the CVAWS. [Refer to Appendix A.3 and A.4] Respondents were asked about a variety of victimization experiences, including sexual assault, physical assault, violent threats and sexual touching by strangers and non-intimate known males. To reduce respondent burden, details were asked about only one type of violence randomly selected among those experienced by the respondent, and when the type selected was non-spousal, questions were only asked about the most recent incident of that type of violence.

It is important to note that the CVAWS is not a crime survey; rather it is a survey of women's experiences with violence. These violent experiences are different from those typically measured in traditional crime and victimization surveys, such as the CGSS and the United States National Crime Victimization Survey. Both the CVAWS and the NVAWS (analysed in Chapter 6) were attempting to tap into the victimizations specific to the experiences of women. The CVAWS and NVAWS may not be measuring or including some types of criminal victimization. For example, neither the CVAWS nor

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1 The randomly chosen victimization incidents are classified as follows: sexual assault by a stranger; sexual assault by a date/boyfriend; sexual assault by a non-intimate known male; physical assault by a stranger; physical assault by a date/boyfriend; physical assault by a non-intimate known male; touched against will by a stranger; touched against will by a non-intimate known male; threatened by a stranger; threatened by a date/boyfriend; threatened by a non-intimate known male; spousal violence by a current partner/spouse; spousal violence by a previous partner/spouse.
the NVAWS specifically asked respondents if they had been the victims of robbery.

These types of victimization experiences may not have been captured by the survey.

Table 5.1 Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=707)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim-Offender Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Married/common-law partner (Husband=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Husband</td>
<td>Previous married/common-law partner (Ex-husband=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating Relationship</td>
<td>Previous or current dating partner (Dating=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known Relationship</td>
<td>Any other known association (relative, work related, friend, acquaintance, neighbour, other) (Known=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>No prior relationship Reference Category</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Demographic Variables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Group</td>
<td>Respondent's Age Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Age</td>
<td>18 to 24 years old=1; Other=0 Reference Category</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age</td>
<td>25 to 34 years old=1; Other=0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Age</td>
<td>35 years and older=1; Other=0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Respondent's Personal Income Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Income</td>
<td>($30 000 or more=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Income</td>
<td>($10 000 through $29 999=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Income</td>
<td>(Less than $10 000=1; Other=0) Reference Category</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Respondent's education Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Education</td>
<td>(University through graduate degrees=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Education</td>
<td>(High school Diploma through some trade, college, vocational=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education</td>
<td>(Less than a high school diploma=1; Other=0) Reference Category</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status</td>
<td>Employed=1; Other=0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incident-specific factors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Weapon was used during incident (Weapon=1)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>Incident resulted in a physical injury (Hurt=1)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Respondent feared for physical safety (Fear=1)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alternatively, robbery victimizations may have been included in the data but classified into one of the four victimization categories used in the survey including sexual assault, physical assault, violent threat or sexual touching.

Table 5.2  Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey
Lifetime Victims (N=6023)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim-Offender Relationship</td>
<td>Husband: Married/common-law partner (Husband=1)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ex-Husband: Previous married/common-law partner (Ex-husband=1)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dating Relationship: Previous or current dating partner (Dating=1)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Known Relationship: Any other known association (Known=1)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stranger: No prior relationship Reference Category</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociodemographic Variables</td>
<td>Age: Respondent's Mean Age (From 18 to 75 and over)</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>13.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Income: Respondent's Personal Income Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Income: ($30 000 or more=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium Income: ($10 000 through $29 999=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Income: (Less than $10 000=1; Other=0) Reference Category</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education: Respondent's education Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Education: (University through graduate degrees=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium Education: (High school Diploma through some trade, college, vocational=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Education: (Less than a high school Diploma=1; Other=0) Reference Category</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment Status: Employed=1; Other=0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incident-specific factors</td>
<td>Weapon: Weapon was used during incident (Weapon=1)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Injury: Incident resulted in a physical injury (Hurt=1)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear: Respondent feared for physical safety (Fear=1)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The victimization measures used in the CVAWS are more inclusive and similar to those found in recently collected data from the United States National Violence Against
Women Survey (NVAWS) and subsequently analyzed and discussed in Chapter Six. Among the sample of recent victims included in my analyses, 28 percent are victims of physical assault and 15 percent are sexual assault victims. The other victimizations included violent threats (22 percent) and sexual touching (41 percent). [Refer to Table 3.2 in Chapter 3] Among the sample of lifetime victims, 29 percent reported being the victims of sexual assault, 31 percent reported physical assaults, 14 percent reported violent threats and 30 percent reported sexual touching. [Refer to Table 3.3 in Chapter 3]

5.3 When Victims Seek Help

The Factors Predicting Help-Seeking: The Victim-Offender Relationship

My analyses of the CVAWS data estimate the effect of the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help. The incident report of the CVAWS distinguishes among a number of types of victim-offender relationships. These relationships between victims and offenders include: 1) current spouses (legal and common-law) 2) previous spouses\(^2\) (legal and common-law), 3) dating partners/boyfriends, 4) co-workers, 5) relatives, 6) friends, acquaintances, neighbours or others known by sight and 7) strangers. These categories of the victim-offender relationship allow for an examination of help-seeking across categories of known offenders and in particular an examination across different types of intimate relationships.

The Violent Victimization Event: An Examination of Situational Variables

My analyses of the CVAWS data also include a number of situational and incident-specific measures that may be associated with help-seeking and police reporting as suggested by previous research (Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1981; Skogan, 1976). I

\(^2\) An attack by a previous spouse/partner may have occurred prior to, during or after cohabitation/marriage.
control for differences in help-seeking across four victimization types captured by the CVAWS as suggested by previous research on police reporting (Easteal, 1994; Winkel and Vrij, 1993; Skelton and Burkhart, 1980). Type of victimization is measured by three dummy variables (each coded 1), which differentiate respondents who were the victims of sexual assault, physical attacks, threats and those sexually touched against their will. Respondents who experienced sexual touching against their will are designated as the excluded/reference category. As in the CGSS analysis, a number of situation-specific measures addressed the seriousness of the victimization event. In my analysis of the CVAWS data I include three measures of offence severity including weapon use, injury and fear. Weapon use is a dummy variable denoting an incident in which the offender used or threatened the victim with a weapon. Physical injury is a dummy variable denoting a victim who suffered some type of physical injury. Fear is coded 1 for those respondents who reported they feared for their physical safety during the victimization event.

Among the sample of recent victims (victimizations within the twelve months prior to the survey), 13 percent noted that the offender had used or threatened to use a weapon, 19 percent had been physically injured and 24 percent feared for their physical safety during the incident. Characteristics of the incidents are similar for the sample of lifetime victims. In 12 percent of these cases the offender used or threatened to use a weapon, 21 percent of victims suffered physical injury and 27 percent of victims reported that they feared for their safety during the victimization.
Alternative Predictors of Help-Seeking

My analyses of the CVAWS data include similar control variables as used in the CGSS analyses that may be associated with help-seeking and reporting. These measures include age, income, education and employment status. Age, income and education are included as separate sets of dummy variables. The lowest age, income and education groups are designated as the reference categories. I measure employment status using a dummy variable coded 1 for those employed and 0 for those not employed in the labour force. [Refer to Tables 5.1 and 5.2]

Among the sample of recent victims, the average age is 30 years and 44 percent of these women are married or living in common-law unions. Among the lifetime victims the average age is 39 years and 48 percent are legally married or living in common-law unions. More than three quarters of both samples of victims live in urban areas. With respect to socio-economic measures, almost half of both samples are in the middle-income group ($10,000 to $29,999), more than 70 percent and more than 75 percent have at least a high school diploma.

5.4 The Help-Seeking of Victims of Violence

Among victims of both recent and lifetime victimizations approximately 15 percent noted that the police had become aware of the incident. [Refer to Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 in Chapter 3] The CVAWS also provides information on the range of actions take by victims after the victimization. Among the alternative sources of social support available to victims of violence, 76 percent of recent victims and 70 percent of lifetime victims mention seeking help from a family member or friend. These findings are consistent with the intimate partner violence literature (Dobash, Dobash and Cavanaugh,
Alternative social support is most often sought from friends (59 percent of recent victims and 49 percent of lifetime victims). Women are also likely to seek help from a number of social service agencies. Among recent and lifetime victims, 13 and 10 percent respectively seek help from a social service agency, including community centres, women's centres and crisis hotlines. The less frequently used sources of help include doctors and ministers or clergy.

5.5 Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations

The first set of analyses examines the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and the victim-offender relationship. The results of this preliminary examination are shown in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4. Table 5.3 reports findings for the sample of recent victims and Table 5.4 reports findings for the sample of lifetime victims (since age sixteen). Table entries are percentages, showing differences in help-seeking across categories of the victim-offender relationship. Associations between the categories of the victim-offender relationship and the help-seeking measures are assessed using the chi-square statistic (Stokes, Davis and Koch, 1995).

As shown in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 there are clear differences in the reporting and help-seeking actions taken by victims across the different types of victim-offender relationships. Victims of attacks by previous partners (prior, during or after cohabitation/marriage) are significantly more likely to report their victimization to the police as compared to other victims. This is consistent with recent research on police reporting using the National Crime Victimization Survey (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999). Among victims of attacks by a previous partner, 32 percent of lifetime victims and
37 percent of recent victims call the police. Women attacked by other known offenders are less likely to call the police than those attacked by strangers.

Table 5.3  
Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations  
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=707)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>Stranger</th>
<th>Known</th>
<th>Dating</th>
<th>Previous Partner</th>
<th>Present Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>13.70</td>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>37.18</td>
<td>13.82**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Services</td>
<td>12.54</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>13.54</td>
<td>47.44</td>
<td>17.89**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Doctor</td>
<td>10.44</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>6.81</td>
<td>13.64</td>
<td>26.92</td>
<td>18.03**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>75.88</td>
<td>79.81</td>
<td>74.89</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>80.77</td>
<td>68.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family</td>
<td>40.11</td>
<td>36.06</td>
<td>39.15</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>53.85</td>
<td>43.65*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Friend</td>
<td>59.33</td>
<td>69.23</td>
<td>57.87</td>
<td>56.06</td>
<td>64.10</td>
<td>44.44**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.  
* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed)  ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed)

In Bachman’s (1998) examination of police reporting she pooled samples of victims and dichotomised the victim-offender relationship into strangers and non-strangers. She finds that strangers are more likely to call the police as compared to a pooled non-stranger group. Her analysis contrasts with research by Felson, Messner and Hoskin (1999) and the findings outlined in my bivariate analyses, further highlighting the need for narrowly defined victim-offender relationship categories.

There are also important differences across the victim-offender relationship in the use of social service agencies (Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). Once again victims abused by a
previous partner are significantly more likely to seek help from crisis hotlines and shelters. Among attacks by a previous partner, 24 percent of lifetime victims and 47 of recent victims seek help from a social service agency. Attacks by strangers are the least likely to be brought to the attention of social services agencies. Help-seeking from doctors and ministers follows a similar pattern. Attacks by previous and current partners are most likely to lead to doctor and minister help-seeking.

Table 5.4  Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-Seeking: Bivariate Associations 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Lifetime Victims  (N=5970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>Stranger</th>
<th>Known</th>
<th>Dating</th>
<th>Previous Partner</th>
<th>Present Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>15.26</td>
<td>17.81</td>
<td>6.73</td>
<td>9.22</td>
<td>32.30</td>
<td>9.54**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Services</td>
<td>10.02</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td>23.49</td>
<td>15.34**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Doctor</td>
<td>10.19</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>25.11</td>
<td>12.98**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>69.71</td>
<td>78.87</td>
<td>71.36</td>
<td>67.08</td>
<td>68.59</td>
<td>52.07**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family</td>
<td>42.91</td>
<td>46.51</td>
<td>46.41</td>
<td>32.10</td>
<td>47.89</td>
<td>35.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Friend</td>
<td>48.71</td>
<td>59.22</td>
<td>44.31</td>
<td>50.86</td>
<td>49.70</td>
<td>31.22**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Minister/Clergy</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>4.50**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.  
* p < 0.05 (two-tailed)  ** p < 0.01 (two-tailed)

These findings may reflect the growing awareness of the problem of intimate partner violence, in addition to the inability of women to hide evidence of abuse during
routine physical exams with their doctors. The findings in this chapter also reflect the nature of stranger violence captured by the CVAWS. Stranger victimizations in the CVAWS include many less serious types of violence including sexual touching (41% of recent victims and 30% of lifetime victims).

The use of other sources of social support also varies across the categories of the victim-offender relationship. Lifetime and recent victims of stranger violence are likely to seek help from a family and/or friends (see Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). In contrast, women attacked by a current partner are the least likely to tell a family member or friend. Women attacked by current partners and those who continue to live with their abuser do not disclose their victimization to those with whom they are in most frequent contact.

5.6 Victim Reporting and Help-seeking: A Latent Class Analysis

My analyses of the CVAWS data contribute to theory and research on victim reporting and help-seeking in two ways. First, I use latent class analysis to identify the help-seeking strategies used by victims of violence, thereby bridging the gap between two primarily separate bodies of research. Since the advent of victimization surveys, numerous researchers have explored the under-reporting of crime to the police. That research has largely looked at the factors predicting calls to the police (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995). With the recognition of intimate partner violence as an important social problem, researchers have also looked at the strategies taken by women in dealing with and ending spousal violence (Kaukinen, 1997; Kalmus and Straus, 1990; Gelles, 1987). The spousal violence research has primarily focused on the factors that predict whether women will leave abusive relationships using clinical samples and bivariate analyses. The analyses reported here and in Chapter 6 provide a connection
between these literatures and one of the first attempts to examine the factors predicting both police reporting and alternative help-seeking using a large national survey of women. This is important in light of the fact that the majority of research on victimization reporting has focused almost exclusively on the factors that influence victims' decisions to notify the police and alternative help-seeking research has primarily looked at intimate partner violence.

The method I use—latent structure analysis—is particularly well suited to the task of identifying help-seeking strategies. In latent structure analysis, a latent variable is defined as an unobservable variable that accounts for the association among a set of observed categorical variables (Lazarsfeld and Henry, 1965). The use of latent class analysis is appropriate on a number of substantive, theoretical and statistical grounds. First, latent class analysis allows for the identification of qualitatively distinct and overlapping patterns of help-seeking. Given a number of survey items measuring the reporting and help-seeking decisions of victims, previous research has differentiated between police reporting (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995) and other alternative help-seeking (Gelles, 1987) and has estimated separate models predicting these two types of help-seeking (Johnson, 1998). However, there is no theoretical rationale to assume that these reporting and help-seeking decisions are mutually exclusive or independent events. Rather, victims may use a variety of distinct forms of help-seeking and these strategies may exist as nested or grouped behaviours. Rather than assuming that there are different types of help-seeking, latent class analysis allows for the empirical identification of distinct forms of help-seeking.
The second contribution of my analyses of the CVAWS data has both substantive and methodological relevance. Pescosolido's social organization strategy and the pathways to care thesis both suggest that help-seeking from informal sources may include help-seeking from more formal sources. Latent class analysis allows for an examination of the effects of various independent variables on each type of help-seeking and does not necessarily assume that these differ across help-seeking categories. The latent class model assumes that the population of respondents is divided into a number of mutually exclusive and exhaustive latent classes. Respondents may therefore belong to only one help-seeking strategy and within each strategy the measured variables are statistically independent. This will allow me to accurately estimate the effects of independent variables across the help-seeking strategies identified by the latent class analysis.

In the cross classification of the help-seeking responses, I modelled four survey items measuring reporting and help-seeking as a latent variable. These survey items include help sought from the police, social services agencies, doctors and family and friends. With four measured variables, there are sixteen logically possible help-seeking strategies. The goal of latent class analysis is to decide how many strategies or latent classes represent most of the variability in the four-way cross-tabulation of the data. Table 5.5 outlines the models estimated using latent structure analysis with the sample of recent victims. Each model is compared to the model of independence. [Refer to Appendix A.7] The independence model assumes that there is no association among the measured help-seeking variables. I first estimated a two-class model. Although this model was parsimonious, it did not provide a good fit to the data. The two-class model had a number of residuals across the reporting and help-seeking categories. The poor fit
of the two-class model is due in part to the inability of the model to accurately assign respondents who did not go to the police but made use of other help-seeking sources to the appropriate latent class. [Refer to A.7 in the Appendix]

Table 5.5  Latent Class Models of Help-Seeking, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=681)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latent Variable</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Pearson Chi-Square</th>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Help-Seeking</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>196.0142</td>
<td>80.0888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two Class</td>
<td>10.8634</td>
<td>10.5158</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Class</td>
<td>3.4537</td>
<td>3.1232</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggested the need for a three-class model to distinguish between those who only seek help from family and/or friends from those who report to the police. The model that best fit the data was a restricted, three-class model. To identify the model, I statistically imposed the requirement that all respondents assigned to class II reported that they had sought help from a family member or friend. This model provided an adequate fit to the data.

Two separate latent class analyses were performed, one for the sample of recent victims (within the twelve months prior to the survey) and the other for the sample of lifetime victims (since the age of sixteen). Although the results from the latent class analyses indicate slight variation in the response distributions across the two samples, the number of classes and their construction were identical across analyses. The latent class analyses identified three help-seeking strategies across both samples of victims. Table
5.6 reports the latent class probabilities for the victims across the three help-seeking strategies for the sample of recent victims. The qualitative differences across the three help-seeking strategies are evident in the distribution of responses among the measured survey items. These are also shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Response Distributions for Help-Seeking Items by Latent Class, 1993 Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=681)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manifest Variable</th>
<th>I Minimal Help-Seeking</th>
<th>II Family/Friend Help-Seeking</th>
<th>III Substantial Help-Seeking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>0.9574</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>0.2032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>0.0426</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.7968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>0.9066</td>
<td>0.8877</td>
<td>0.1759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>0.0934</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.8241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>0.9263</td>
<td>0.9037</td>
<td>0.2903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>0.0737</td>
<td>0.0963</td>
<td>0.7097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>0.9487</td>
<td>0.9421</td>
<td>0.3234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>0.0513</td>
<td>0.0579</td>
<td>0.6766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Latent Class Probabilities</td>
<td>0.3485</td>
<td>0.5021</td>
<td>0.1494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Respondents In the Latent Class</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>3.4537</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</td>
<td>3.1232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of Freedom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The $\chi^2$ and $L^2$ for the preferred three-class model were 3.4537 and 3.1232, respectively. With 2 degrees of freedom, the proportional reduction in the error from the model of independence was 0.982.

The identification of a three-class model indicates three qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies used by victims. For each category of the latent help-seeking variable,
there is a final latent class probability of being in that category. I refer to the respondents in Latent Class I as minimal help-seekers. This class of help-seeking encompassed 35 percent of the sample of recent victims. Consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 4 in Chapter 2) and previous research on reporting and help-seeking, many women do not seek help in dealing with violence. Women using the minimal strategy have relatively low probabilities of seeking help from any help source. The probabilities of help-seeking ranged from 0.04 for family/friend help-seeking to as high as 0.09 for social service help-seeking.

The majority of victims in the CVAWS fall into Latent Class II, what I term the family/friend help-seeking strategy. This finding is consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 3 in Chapter 2) and research on intimate partner violence that suggests that many victims do not report to the police (Neville and Pugh, 1997; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Bachman and Coker; 1995) but that family and friends are important sources of help. The final probability for this class was 0.50. That is, 50 percent of the CVAWS victims use the family/friend help-seeking strategy. All women in class II sought help from a friend and/or family member. The probabilities for the other types of help-seeking range from less than 0.06 to as high as 0.11. It is important to note that this category of victims includes women who have primarily sought help only from family and/or friends.

I refer to the respondents belonging to Latent Class III as substantial help seekers. Respondents in this class have a high probability of engaging in each type of help-seeking. For each help-seeking item, women have probabilities ranging from 0.68 for police reporting to as high as 0.82 for social service help-seeking. Consistent with
predictions (refer to Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 2) the finding suggests that formal reporting to the police and social service help-seeking also includes earlier, simultaneous or subsequent reports to friends and family. These respondents had a 0.80 probability of seeking help from family and/or friends and are likely to have also sought help from a doctor (0.71). Among recent victims, 15 percent are substantial help seekers. The small size of this latent class is consistent with findings from other research (Johnson, 1995), which shows that only a very small proportion of women make use of formal help sources, in particular the police.

The results of the latent class analysis suggest that victim help-seeking takes on multiple and distinct forms. The identification of an overlapping help-seeking strategy that utilizes both formal and informal help sources is consistent with my predictions (refer to Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 2) and the pathways to care framework. The identification of three distinct categories of victim reporting and help-seeking is also consistent with Pescosolido's (1992) conclusion that help-seeking strategies exist as a limited repertoire of choice that include the use of family and friends in dealing with life challenging events. Conceptualizing help-seeking in this way highlights the way in which decisions to go to the police, social services, friends or family are enmeshed in a wider pattern of help-seeking.

5.7 Multinomial Logit Regression: Help-seeking of Victims

The next stage of my analyses examines the effects of the victim-offender and other variables on these different forms of help-seeking. The multivariate analyses use the help-seeking categories identified by the latent class analysis as an outcome variable in multinomial logit regression. This method is required because the latent variable
derived from the latent class analysis is not an interval-level measure and is highly skewed (Bohrnstedt and Knoke, 1993; DeMaris, 1992). Like dichotomous logit regression, in multinomial logit regression estimated coefficients reveal the effect of a given predictor on the log odds of a respondent being in a particular category of the dependent variable relative to the omitted category. Since there is no intuitive meaning to these estimates, I exponentiate these coefficients in the discussion. The models examining the effect of the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help in dealing with violence include incident-specific variables and socio-demographic variables such as age, education, income and employment status. The analyses of the CVAWS data include separate examinations of both the entire sample of victims and a separate analysis of those women victimized within the twelve months prior to the survey.

5.7.1 The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking: Recent Victims

Prior to interpreting the multinomial logit output for the sample of recent victims, I examine the overall chi-square tests for variable effect, which are reported in Table 5.7. As Long and McGinnis (1981) point out, in multinomial logit regression, individual and specific tests of significance need to be considered in combination with the overall pattern of effects for a particular independent variable. This allows for an evaluation of how strongly each independent variable differentiates among alternative outcomes. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 6 in Chapter 2), the victim-offender relationship distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. Specifically the marital category is significantly associated with help-seeking. That is, victims of attacks by marital partners will be more likely than other victims to seek help. Also note the importance of age and incident characteristics, such as fear and injury.
The model in Table 5.8 reports the effects of the victim-offender relationship and control variables on the different classes of help-seeking for the sample of recent victims. In this analysis equations (1) through (3) in Table 5.8 represent the contrasts made among the three categories of victimization help-seeking. These comparisons are between: substantial help-seeking and minimal help-seeking, substantial help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and minimal help-seeking.

Table 5.7 Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking, 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=707)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High-Age Group</td>
<td>13.61**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Age Group</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-Income Group</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Income Group</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-Education Group</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-Education Group</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>4.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Partners/Spouses</td>
<td>9.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Dates/Boyfriends</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Other Known Associations</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assaults</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assaults</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Threats</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used by Offender</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>18.85**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>15.56**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01

In addition to the multinomial logit output reported in Table 5.8, I provide a graphical representation of the effect of the victim-offender relationship on the probability of seeking help across the two significant contrasts. Figure 5.1 further elaborates the differences in help-seeking decisions across the victim-offender relationship. In Figure 5.1, the probability of seeking help for each victim-offender relationship category was calculated across the significant comparisons (all other variables in the model are set to their mean). This graph indicates the help-seeking
probabilities for a 30 year old woman, living in an urban area with some college education, making less than $30 000 per year.

**Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking among Recent Victims**

Consider first how the victim-offender relationship influences help-seeking decisions. It is important to note that across all categories of the victim-offender relationship, the most commonly used strategy for dealing with violence is to seek help from only family members or friends. Said another way, a victim (independent of who her attacker is) most often uses a primarily family/friend strategy. Yet, contrasts across the victim-offender relationship provide a number of insights.

The effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions is significant across two of the contrasts in Table 5.8 (Equations 2 and 3). Equation (2) in Table 5.8 indicates that women victimized by a marital partner are the most likely victims across all victim-offender relationship categories to engage in substantial help-seeking as compared to just telling their friends and family ($e^{1.8822} = 6.5680$). The odds of using the substantial help-seeking strategy are 550% higher for women attacked by a marital partner.

These findings are consistent with my predictions (refer to Hypothesis 6 and 6a in Chapter 2), the intimate partner violence literature and the pathways to care thesis. Said another way, victims of spousal violence like all other victims tell their family and friends, yet victims of spousal attacks are also more likely than others to use a substantial help-seeking strategy that includes disclosure to formal help-seeking agents. Perhaps earlier or simultaneous reports to family and friends lead to subsequent decisions to seek more formal help sources to end intimate partner violence.
Table 5.8
Unstandardized Coefficients and Odds Ratios: Multinomial Logit Regression of Help-Seeking 1993 Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=681)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Substantial versus Minimal</td>
<td>Substantial versus Family/Friend</td>
<td>Family/Friend versus Minimal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-3.1502** (0.8514)</td>
<td>-4.3716** (0.8110)</td>
<td>1.2214** (0.3547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-age group</td>
<td>0.8301 (0.5460)</td>
<td>2.294</td>
<td>-0.1976 (0.2417)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-age group</td>
<td>1.7434** (0.5549)</td>
<td>5.7167</td>
<td>0.8207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-income group</td>
<td>0.0216 (0.4602)</td>
<td>1.0218</td>
<td>0.1968 (0.2252)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-income Group</td>
<td>-0.0314 (0.6628)</td>
<td>0.9691</td>
<td>0.768 (0.3276)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med-education Group</td>
<td>-0.6528 (0.4770)</td>
<td>0.5205</td>
<td>0.9564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-education group</td>
<td>-0.1175 (0.5025)</td>
<td>0.8891</td>
<td>1.1383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>-0.9619* (0.4538)</td>
<td>0.3822</td>
<td>0.8595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known</td>
<td>0.5137 (0.7256)</td>
<td>1.6715</td>
<td>0.9105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital</td>
<td>0.9552 (0.8668)</td>
<td>2.5992</td>
<td>-0.9269* (0.4108)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>0.5966 (0.9410)</td>
<td>1.8159</td>
<td>0.3958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>1.6758** (0.4431)</td>
<td>5.3431</td>
<td>2.3936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurt</td>
<td>1.8529** (0.4695)</td>
<td>6.3783</td>
<td>1.1240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assault</td>
<td>0.2512 (0.7236)</td>
<td>1.2856</td>
<td>0.8813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Attack</td>
<td>0.3143 (0.7322)</td>
<td>1.3693</td>
<td>1.8443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>-0.2808 (0.4672)</td>
<td>0.7552</td>
<td>1.2927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.7325 (0.4756)</td>
<td>2.0803</td>
<td>0.8071</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 LL 921.224
Model Chi-Square 213.856
Degrees of freedom 32

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
The findings reported in Figure 5.1 and equation (3) in Table 5.8 also indicate that women who are attacked by a marital partner are less likely than victims across all other victim-offender relationship categories to use the family/friend only strategy as compared to the minimal strategy ($e^{-0.9269}=0.3958$). Like all other victims, victims of spousal violence most often seek help from family and friends, but they are significantly more likely than other victims (of other types of victim-offender attacks) to use the substantial or minimal help-seeking strategy.

Figure 5.1  Probability of Victim Help-seeking
An Examination of the Victim-Offender Relationship
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Recent Victims (N=681)

The substantial help-seeking strategy includes help-seeking help from family, friends, social services, doctors and the police. Victims of intimate partner violence are more likely than others to use a substantial strategy that includes disclosing their victimization
to their own personal networks and to formal agencies, which may provide tangible solutions and mechanisms to help end violence. These findings suggest that once the process of disclosure is initiated, victims of intimate partner violence may no longer be able to conceal or normalize the violent actions of their abuser.

**Other Predictors of Help-Seeking Among Recent Victims**

I also consider the effects of alternative predictors of help-seeking. Equations (1), (2) and (3) in Table 5.8 all indicate that as a victimization becomes more serious, as indicated by physical injury and fearing for one’s safety, the likelihood of engaging in more formal reporting and help-seeking strategies increases. These findings are consistent with previous research (Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995) and Pescosolido’s (1992) suggestion that individuals appear to be limited in their help-seeking strategies by a number of situational contingencies (physical injury and fear) that affect opportunities to seek help and that set the stage for what she calls the illness event.

The only significant socio-demographic variables associated with help-seeking are age and employment status. Victims in the older age group (35 years and older) are more likely than victims in the youngest age group to use a substantial help-seeking strategy as compared to minimal or family/friend help-seeking. Victims in the middle age group (25 to 34 years old) are also more likely than those in the youngest age group to use a substantial strategy as compared to the family/friend strategy. It may be that the women in the older age groups are more likely to have established and maintained social networks on which they may rely (Pescosolido, 1992). Employed victims are less likely than their unemployed counterparts to use substantial help-seeking as compared to minimal or family/friend help-seeking. This finding is consistent with research by
Pescosolido (1992) on informal social network opportunity structures. She suggests that employed individuals should be more likely to seek help from friends. Being employed and interacting with co-workers facilitates the establishment of accessible network ties. The findings from the CVAWS analysis contrast with the analyses in Chapter 4 using the CGSS data and the framework developed by Donald Black. Among a sample of women, employment does not appear to encourage police notification, suggesting that Black’s framework may be gender specific. Research examining self-protective weapon ownership and other precautionary strategies (Kaukinen and Colavecchia, 1998; DeJong, 1997) has also challenged the applicability of Black’s framework in explaining the relationship between the availability of law and women’s weapon ownership.

5.7.2 The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking: Lifetime Victims

Next I model the effect of the victim-offender relationship and control variables on help-seeking among the sample of lifetime victims. The analysis of the social contingencies of help-seeking among the sample of lifetime victims helps to further elaborate the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking. The advantage of the analysis of lifetime victims reported in Table 5.9, Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 is that I am able to separate the marital category into those victimized by a current versus previous partner. Note that attacks by previous partners may have occurred prior to, during or after the marriage/common-law relationship. Research by Felson, Messner and Hoskin (1999) indicates that the victim-offender relationship is a significant predictor of reporting. They find that attacks by previous partners are the most likely to lead to police reporting.

Prior to interpreting the multinomial logit output for the lifetime victims, I once again examine the overall chi-square tests for variable effect reported in Table 5.9 and
evaluate how strongly each independent variable differentiates among alternative outcomes. Once again, consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 6 in Chapter 2) the victim-offender relationship distinguishes among help-seeking decisions. Also note the importance of incident characteristics, such as fear and injury.

Table 5.9 Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking, 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Lifetime Victims (N=5847)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Attack</td>
<td>95.79**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Current Partner/Spouse</td>
<td>87.33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Previous Partner/Spouse</td>
<td>45.82**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Dates/Boyfriends</td>
<td>45.55**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks by Other Known Associations</td>
<td>15.75**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Assaults</td>
<td>25.21**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Assaults</td>
<td>21.62**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Threats</td>
<td>24.11**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used by Offender</td>
<td>53.72**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>108.84**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>122.10**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05   ** p < 0.01

The model in Table 5.10 examines the effect of the victim-offender relationship across the three help-seeking strategies for the sample of lifetime victims. Equations (1) through (3) in Table 5.10 represent the various contrasts made among the three help-seeking categories. These comparisons are between: substantial help-seeking and minimal help-seeking, substantial help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and minimal help-seeking. An analysis of the full sample of victims precludes the inclusion of socio-demographic variables with the exception of age\(^3\). The results reported in Table 5.8 indicate that these demographic variables, with the

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\(^3\) All socio-demographic variables were measured at the time in which the respondent participated in the survey. These measures therefore accurately reflect the characteristics of recent victims and not lifetime victims. For many of the lifetime victims, these experiences with violence had occurred many years prior to their participation in the survey. The average length of time since the victimization was nine years. To include these socio-demographic measures and model them as predictors of help-seeking, I would need to
exception of employment status, are not significant predictors of help-seeking. In addition to the multinominal logit output reported in Table 5.10, I provide a graphical representation of the effect of the victim-offender relationship on the probability of seeking help across the three contrasts. Figure 5.2 further elaborates the differences in help-seeking decisions across the victim-offender relationship. In Figure 5.2, the probability of seeking help for each victim-offender relationship category is calculated across the significant contrasts (all other variables in model are set to their mean).

**Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking among Life-time Victims**

The effects of the explanatory and control variables on the different classes of help-seeking are shown in Table 5.10. As in the analysis of the recent victims reported in Table 5.8, the most commonly used strategy for dealing with violence is the family/friend strategy.

That is, a victim (independent of who her attacker is) most often seeks help from a family member or friend. But, the effect of the victim-offender relationship is significant across all three help-seeking contrasts (Equations 1 through 3). The results reported in equation (1) in Table 5.10 (contrasting substantial and minimal help-seeking) indicate that women victimized by a dating partner are half as likely to engage in substantial help-seeking as compared to victims in all other victim-offender relationships (e^{-0.7276} = 0.4831). These findings are consistent with research that shows that violence by dates and boyfriends often goes unreported. 

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assume that they are stable over time. In contrast, life course research (Macmillan, 1999) suggests that
The effect of the victim-offender relationship is also significant across the contrast comparing family/friend and minimal help-seeking. The findings reported in equation (3) of Table 5.10 indicate that women victimized by a known offender are less likely than women attacked by strangers to use the family/friend strategy as compared to minimal experiences with violence and criminal victimization predict socio-economic attainment.
help-seeking. The results reported in equation (3) of Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 also clearly show that victims of current partner violence are the least likely of all victims across all other victim-offender relationship groups to use the family/friend strategy ($e^{-1.2739} = 0.2797$) as compared to minimal help-seeking.

Separating the marital category in this analysis allows me to illustrate the differences in the help-seeking strategies used by victims of intimate partner violence across attacks by current partners and those at the hands of a previous partner. Recall that the findings in Table 5.8 showed that women attacked by marital partners (current and previous partners) are the least likely to use the family/friend strategy. The findings reported in Tables 5.8 and 5.10 help to further clarify the differences in help-seeking across the victim-offender relationship. Specifically, it is victims of current partner violence, those women who remain with their attackers, who are the least likely to call upon their family and friends.

The results reported in equation (2) in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 indicate that compared to victims of stranger violence (with the exception of women attacked by a dating partner) women attacked by a known offender are more likely to use a substantial versus family/friend strategy. The findings in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 also show that women attacked by both current and previous partners are the most likely to engage in substantial help-seeking as compared to the family/friend strategy ($e^{0.9377} = 2.5541$ and $e^{0.9848} = 2.6773$ respectively). These findings are consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 6a in Chapter 2) and the results reported in Table 5.8. The findings reported in equations (2) and (3) of Table 5.10 indicate that victims of stranger violence largely rely on family and friends in dealing with violence.
Figure 5.2 Probability of Victim Help-seeking
An Examination of the Victim-Offender Relationship, Lifetime Victims
(1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, N=5847)

The findings reported in Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 contrast with those outlined in Chapter 4. Recall that the findings in Chapter 4 indicate that women victimized by a known offender are more likely to use an alternative or family/friend strategy as compared to men (whether victimized by strangers and known offenders) and women victimized by strangers. The differences across the CGSS and CVAWS analyses highlight four important issues. First and foremost, the differences in the findings across the two surveys highlight the importance of empirically identifying help-seeking strategies and the implications of the latent class analysis for theory and research on help-seeking. The second issue points to the importance of properly constructing appropriate victim-offender relationship categories and not collapsing all known offenders into what
is assumed to be a homogenous group. The relationships between sexual intimates as compared to family members, friends or acquaintances are very different. The lives of women who cohabitate and remain in an intimate relationship with their attackers are distinctly different from the day-to-day lives of women who have been victimized by other known offenders. Third, the differences across the CGSS and CVAWS analyses point to the importance of analyses which consider reporting and help-seeking practices separately for men and women (Gartner and Macmillan, 1995). The fourth issue these differences highlight relates to survey design. The screening questions used by the CVAWS capture more incidents of violence at the hands of intimates and at the same time more incidents of less serious types of violence by strangers than did the CGSS. Relatedly, the CVAWS design provides separate measures of sexual assault and sexual touching, whereas the CGSS sexual assault measure includes both rape and molestation in a single measure. The two separate sexual assault and sexual touching measures available in the CVAWS data allow for an examination of the effect of offence type on reporting and help-seeking decisions. Chapter 7 further explores the implications of these four issues. The analyses of the NVAWS reported in Chapter 6 will also address a number of these issues. Given that the design and focus of both the CVAWS and NVAWS was on the types of violence most likely to be experienced by women, the analyses in Chapter 6 are more directly comparable to those reported in this chapter.

**Other Predictors of Help-Seeking among Lifetime Victims**

I also examine the effects of other predictors of help-seeking. As in the analysis of the recent victims, the more serious the consequences of the victimization to the victim, the more likely it is that help is sought. Victims who have been injured and
feared for their safety are more likely to tell their family and friends as compared to using the minimal strategy. Injured and fearful victims are also more likely to use substantial help-seeking as compared to only seeking help from family and friends. Victims of the most serious categories of violence (sexual assaults and physical assaults) and violence involving weapons are also more likely to use substantial help-seeking as compared to minimal or family/friend help-seeking. As suggested by past research, the severity and seriousness of violence increase the likelihood of not only seeking help but the likelihood of seeking criminal-justice based resources. Seriousness and harm will organize the way in which violent victimization and crime are defined and understood by victims.

5.8 Summary and Discussion

My analysis of the CVAWS data using latent class analysis demonstrates that there are qualitatively different forms of help-seeking strategies used by female victims of violence. To appropriately conceptualize victim help-seeking requires the recognition that there are distinct strategies for dealing with violence. These strategies also appear to be consistent across both recent and lifetime victims, which suggests the findings are robust. These help-seeking strategies are “substantial” help-seeking, which involves the police, social service agencies, doctors, family and friends; “family/friend” help-seeking; and “minimal” help-seeking, in which women have low probabilities of seeking help from any resource. Whereas, previous research has primarily looked at the factors associated with police reporting, the findings from my research draw attention to the fact that victims who report to the police also seek other sources of help. These help-seeking strategies also appear to be determined by a number of factors associated with the violent
victimization. These factors include the relationship between the victim and offender, age and incident-specific variables.

The findings in this chapter help to elaborate the relationship between the victim-offender relationship and help-seeking. Although all victims (independent of their relationship to their attacker) most often use a family/friend strategy, there are important differences across victims who are related to their attackers in different ways. Among recent victims, the victim-offender relationship explains decisions to report or seek help in dealing with violence. Specifically, women attacked by marital partners (as compared to other victims) are more likely to use substantial help-seeking or minimal help-seeking as compared to the family/friend strategy. Although the data are unable to tap into the temporal ordering of help-seeking, the findings are consistent with the pathways to care thesis, which suggests that telling friends and family and other informal help-seeking often leads to further help-seeking and reporting. Women who seek help from family and friends may be encouraged to report their experiences with violence to formal help sources including the police, social services and doctors.

Among the lifetime victims there are important differences in help-seeking across victims in different victim-offender relationships. Victims of stranger violence for the most part rely on family and friends. There are also differences in help-seeking between the two marital categories (current and previous partners/spouses). Victims of current partner abuse are less likely to use a family/friend strategy. Those women who continue to remain with their abusers are less likely to access informal help sources. Women who subsequently left their violent partner (victims of previous partner violence) are more likely to have sought help from family and friends. Consistent with research that
indicates that the vast majority of "date" and acquaintance rapes and assaults (Ruback, 1993) go unreported to the police, many women who are victimized by their boyfriends or dates do not seek help and are significantly less likely to use a substantial or family/friend strategy. These findings together suggest that family and friends may provide pathways to both leaving and terminating relationships with violent intimate partners. This is an important issue that should be further explored given the wider policy implications for preventing and ending violence against women.

Consistent with the police notification literature, my findings indicate that victimization specific factors, such as physical harm and weapon use, determine whether experiences with violence will result in reporting and help-seeking. Incident-specific factors not only predict help-seeking, but these measures of seriousness also increase the likelihood of engaging in substantial versus family/friend help-seeking strategies. These findings further suggest the need for situational and incident-specific approaches to the study of victim help-seeking (Bennett and Wiegand, 1994).

5.9 Direction for Chapter Six

The results from my analyses of the CVAWS data provide evidence that the help-seeking decisions of victims are best conceptualized as qualitatively distinct, pluralistic patterns. These strategies are not easily captured or explored when help-seeking or reporting is conceptualised as a dichotomous outcome. Rather, victim help-seeking is a limited set of overlapping strategies as identified by the Latent class analysis. Although this research is unable to specify the timing of these strategies, it is important to note that decisions to engage in formal help-seeking involve earlier, simultaneous or subsequent help-seeking from family members and friends.
My findings indicate that the relationship between a victim and offender is an important predictor of both formal and informal help-seeking decisions. Previous research has found that victims of attacks by strangers are most likely to notify the police. In contrast, my research finds that those victims who call the police also seek help from other sources and are most likely to have been the victims of attacks by marital partners. In the following chapter we turn to the analyses of the data from the Violence and Threats of Violence Against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996. In these analyses, I further examine the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. The effect of race and the conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help in dealing with victimization experiences are also examined. These analyses will help to further the understanding of the dynamics involved in decisions by victims to seek help.
Chapter 6

Race, the Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking:


6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six describes the results of my analyses of the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996. The chapter begins with a general description of the data and proceeds with an assessment of the factors associated with help-seeking for both recent and lifetime victims. First, I identify the frequency with which American women seek help from a variety of sources including the police and other legal agents, social service agencies, doctors, mental health professionals, clergy, family and friends. I then outline the bivariate associations between race, the victim-offender relationship and help-seeking. Using latent class analysis, I identify the help-seeking strategies used by female victims. I then outline the effect of race, the victim-offender relationship and other variables on the help-seeking strategies identified by the latent class analysis.

Researchers have outlined a number of important implications of race for the operation of the criminal justice system. These literatures include research on criminal justice outcomes (Steffensmeier, Ulmer and Kramer, 1998; Spohn, 1996; Moneiro, 1994), public perceptions of the courts and police (Kaukinen, 1999; Huang and Vaughn, 1996; Parker, Onyekwuluje and Murty, 1995) and police discretion (Wortley, 1996; Norris, Fielding, Kemp and Fielding, 1992). Race may be an important influence on help-
seeking decisions given racial discrimination throughout all levels of the criminal justice system and the negative perceptions held toward the police within visible minority communities. As discussed in the previous chapter, the relationship between a victim and offender has important implications for the criminal justice system and social services.

My analyses look at the direct and conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help from the criminal justice system and other sources of help. The analyses include an examination of both recent (victimizations within the twelve months prior to the survey interview) and lifetime victims (those women having experienced a violent victimization sometime in their lifetime). The analyses of the recent victimizations will parallel the CVAWS analyses in the types of help-seeking measures included in the latent class analysis. The analyses of the data for the lifetime victims allow for an examination of differences in help-seeking across current and previous partner attacks. As suggested by previous research, my analyses also estimate the effects of victim attributes (Bachman, 1998; Coker, 1995; Ruback, Greenberg and Westcott, 1984; Block, 1974) and incident-specific factors (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Bennett and Wiegand, 1994; Conway and Lohr, 1994; Gottfredson and Hindelang, 1979) on help-seeking decisions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings and their implications for future research and policy.

6.2 Description of the Data

Drawn from a large national sample, the data from the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996 (hereafter NVAWS) allow me to assess the effect of race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. The NVAWS collected detailed information on the type of
victimization the respondents had experienced in the twelve months prior to the survey and in their lifetime. The survey was designed to provide reliable estimates of the prevalence and incidence of various forms of violence against women. For my analyses of the NVAWS data, I include victims of sexual assault, physical assault, stalking and threats of violence. The NVAWS included information on whether the respondent reported the incident to the police and/or used other help-sources, such as family, friends, psychiatrists/doctors, clergy, social service agencies and alternative legal help sources. In my analysis I model a number of items measuring help-seeking using latent class analysis. I use latent class analysis to identify qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies.

As described in Chapter 3, the data used in the following analyses are based on a national sample of American women interviewed between 1994 and 1996. Descriptions and univariate statistics for all independent variables included in the analyses are shown in Table 6.1 for the recent victims and Table 6.2 for the lifetime victims. Violent victimization and the reporting and help-seeking measures were captured by the screening and incident reports used in the NVAWS. [Refer to Appendix A.5 and A.6]

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1 The NVAWS collected detailed information on every incident of violence experienced by the respondent. This is consistent with the survey design of the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (which collects information on up to five victimizations) and contrasts with the CVAWS, which collected detailed information on only one recent and/or random incident. For my analyses of the NVAWS data, the victimization chosen for the unit of analysis in the most serious and most recent victimization event. The hierarchy of offenses is as follows: sexual assault, physical assault, stalking and threat. This hierarchy is similar to that used in the CGSS survey. [Refer to Chapter 3 for further details on the victimization incident selected for analysis] For women experiencing more than one victimization of the same type of crime (e.g. two sexual assaults or two physical assaults), the most recent victimization was selected for analysis. For women experiencing two or more different types of victimization (e.g. a sexual assault and a stalking victimization), the most serious victimization incident was chosen as the unit of analysis. The NVAWS sample used in all analyses is therefore a sample of the most serious crimes measured by the NVAWS.
Table 6.1
Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996. Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victim-Offender Relationship</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>Married/Live-in, Current or Previous</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Spouse/Partner=1; Other=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating Relationship</td>
<td>Date or Boyfriend</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dating partner=1; Other=1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Relationship</td>
<td>Father, brother, uncle, cousin etc.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(All family relationships=1; Other=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known Relationship</td>
<td>Friend, acquaintance, neighbour</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Known association=1; Other=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>No Prior Relationship</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference Category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Predetermining Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race of Victim</td>
<td>White=1; Non-White=0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Respondent's Mean Age</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(From 18 to 75 and over)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Age Group</td>
<td>Age Group (18 – 25 years old)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Young Age Group=1; Other=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age Group</td>
<td>Age Group (26 – 35 years old)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Middle Age Group=1; Other=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Age Group</td>
<td>Age Group (35 years and older)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference Category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Income Group</td>
<td>($20 000 or more=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference Category</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Income Group</td>
<td>($10 000 through $20 000=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Income Group</td>
<td>(None through $10 000=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Education Group</td>
<td>(Four-year degree - postgraduate)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference Category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Education Group</td>
<td>Some College=1; Other=0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education Group</td>
<td>(None - High School=1; Other=0)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status</td>
<td>Working=1; Other=0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Respondent's Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Group</td>
<td>Married=1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Group</td>
<td>Single=1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced/Widowed</td>
<td>Separated/Divorced/Widowed=1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Incident-specific factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Weapon was used during incident</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Weapon=1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>Incident resulted in a physical injury</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hurt=1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Feared serious harm or could be killed</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fear=1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents were asked about a variety of victimization experiences. As was the case in the CVAWS, these victimization experiences are more inclusive than those found in traditional crime surveys. Among the sample of recent victims included in my analyses, 37 percent are victims of physical assault and 7 percent are sexual assault victims. The other victimizations included violent threats (5 percent) and stalking (52 percent). [Refer to Table 3.4 in Chapter 3 for descriptions and univariate statistics for the victimization and help-seeking measures]

Table 6.2
Definitions, Percentages and Standard Deviations of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim-Offender Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Spouse</td>
<td>Current Spouse=1; Other=0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Partner</td>
<td>Current Live-in Partner=1; Other=0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Spouse</td>
<td>Previous Spouse=1; Other=0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Partner</td>
<td>Previous Live-in Partner=1; Other=0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating Relationship</td>
<td>Dating partner=1; Other=0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Relationship</td>
<td>Father, brother, uncle, cousin etc.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Relationships=1; Other=0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known Relationship</td>
<td>Friend, acquaintance, neighbour</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Known Association=1; Other=0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>No Prior Relationship</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predetermining Variables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race of Victim</td>
<td>White=1; Non-White=0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Present</td>
<td>Respondent's Mean Age (From 18 to 75 and over)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Victimization</td>
<td>Respondent's Mean Age (From 18 to 75 and over)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incident-specific factors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Weapon was used during incident (Weapon=1)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>Incident resulted in a physical injury (Hurt=1)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Feared serious harm or could be killed (Fear=1)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the larger sample of lifetime victims, 43 percent reported being the victims of a sexual assault, 44 percent reported a physical assault, 11 percent reported being stalked and one percent reported violent threats. [Refer to Table 3.5 in Chapter 3 for descriptions and univariate statistics for the victimization and help-seeking measures]

Note that these experiences with violence and victimization, which include stalking, are not the same measures typically included in crime surveys and contrast with those in the CGSS. This is because the NVAWS was attempting to tap into the victimizations specific to the experiences of women. These measures are similar to those found in the data from the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey discussed in Chapter Five, with the exception of stalking.

6.3 When Victims Seek Help

The Factors Predicting Reporting: Race and the Victim-Offender Relationship

In my analyses of the NVAWS data I examine the direct and conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on decisions to seek help. The NVAWS distinguishes between a number of racial backgrounds2. In my analyses of the NVAWS data, I contrast the help-seeking behaviour of white and non-white victims. The NVAWS criminal victimization screen also collected detailed information on the relationship between the victim and offender3. My analyses distinguish among a number of

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2 The NVAWS racial categories include: White, Black/African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaskan Native and Mixed Race. A separate question asked about Hispanic background.

3 The NVAWS victim-offender relationship categories include: current husband, ex-husband (first through eighth), current male partner, current female partner, previous male partner (first through eighth), previous female partner (first through eighth), father, stepfather, brother, stepbrother (brother-in-law), uncle, grandfather (step grandfather), male cousin, son/stepson (son-in-law), nephew (nephew-in-law), mother, stepmother, grandmother (step grandmother), aunt, sister (stepsister, sister-in-law), another male relative, another female relative, boyfriend/date, another male acquaintance, female cousin, daughter (stepdaughter, daughter-in-law), niece (niece-in-law), another female acquaintance, male stranger, female stranger, both male and female stranger.
relationships between victims and offenders. These include: 1) current spouses and live-in partners, 2) previous spouses and previous live-in partners, 3) dating partners, 4) relatives, 5) friends, acquaintances, neighbours or others known by sight and 6) strangers. These categories of the victim-offender relationship allow for an examination of reporting and help-seeking across several categories of known offenders.

The Violent Victimization Event: An Examination of Situational Variables

A number of incident-specific measures as suggested by other research are included in my analyses of the NVAWS data. As in the CGSS and CVAWS analysis, these incident-specific measures address the seriousness of the offence. In my analysis of the NVAWS data I include three measures of offence severity\(^4\) including weapon use, fear and injury. Weapon use is a dummy variable denoting an incident in which the offender used or threatened the victim with a weapon (gun, knife or other weapon). Fear is a dummy variable denoting an incident in which the victim believed that she would be seriously harmed or killed during the victimization. Physical injury is a dummy variable denoting a victim who suffered some type of physical injury.

Among respondents reporting victimizations within the twelve months prior to the survey, 4 percent noted that the offender had used or threatened to use a weapon, 15 percent had been physically injured and 29 percent feared that they would be seriously harmed or killed during the incident. The characteristics of the incidents for the sample of lifetime victims differed somewhat. The lifetime victimizations are characterized by

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\(^4\) The offense severity question measuring weapon use was only asked of sexual assault, physical assault and threat victims and the physical injury question was only asked of the sexual assault and physical assault victims. These offense severity measures were correlated with the most serious types of violent victimization. In the subsequent multivariate analyses the victimization types are excluded and the offense severity measures are included in all of the models.
more weapon use and greater physical injury, suggesting that these types of victimizations are more likely to be recalled. Among lifetime victims, 10 percent of these cases the offender used or threatened to use a weapon, 27 percent suffered a physical injury and 17 percent reported they feared that they would be seriously harmed or killed during the incident. It is important to note that the NVAWS differs from traditional crime surveys that measure index offenses. It is a survey of women's experiences with violence and while tapping into wider experiences of violence may not be measuring or including some other criminal experiences. For example, the NVAWS did not specifically ask respondents if they have been the victim of a robbery. Consequently, these types of victims\(^5\) may or not be included in the NVAWS data.

*Other Predictors of Help-Seeking*

My analyses of the NVAWS data include similar control variables as used in the CGSS and CVAWS analyses. Some research finds that socio-demographic characteristics are important predictors of police reporting (Bachman, 1998). The measures used in my analyses of the NVAWS data include age, income, education and employment status. Income\(^6\) and education are included as separate sets of dummy variables. The highest income and education groups are designated as the reference categories. Age was included as a series of dummy variables in my analyses of recent victimizations. Age was collapsed into three categories due to the sample size limitations of the data for the categorical data analysis that was performed. The highest age group

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\(^5\) This provided an additional rationale for not looking at male victimizations using the NVAWS data. Without specific questions on robbery, which is more likely to be experienced by men, male victims would be under-represented in the NVAWS data.

\(^6\) All models outlined in the subsequent multivariate analyses included a dummy variable for those respondents who were missing on the income variable.
was designated as the reference category. Age at time of victimization was included as a continuous variable in my analyses of lifetime victimizations. I measure employment status using a dummy variable code 1 for those employed and coded 0 for those not employed in the labour force. [Refer to Tables 6.1 and 6.2]

Among the recent victims, 68 percent are white. In contrast, 79 percent of lifetime victims are white. Among the sample of recent victims, the average age is 35 years and 37 percent of these women are married or living with a partner. Among the lifetime victims the average age at the time of the victimization was 25 years and the average length of time since the victimization is 15 years. With respect to socio-economic measures, approximately 50 percent of both samples earn a yearly salary that is less than $20 000 and three quarters of these women have less than a university or college degree.

6.4 The Help-Seeking of Victims of Violence

As noted earlier, previous research indicates that the majority of victims do not report their experiences with violence to the police (Bachman, 1998; Bachman; 1995; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Skogan, 1976). Although the findings from my analyses of the NVAWS data are consistent with previous research, they differ from the findings reported for the CVAWS analyses. [Refer to Tables 3.4 and 3.5 in Chapter 3] Among recent victims, 30 percent reported their victimization to the police as compared to only 14 percent of the recent CVAWS victims. These differences may be partly explained by the nature of the CVAWS and NVAWS data. The CVAWS victimizations include sexual touching and molestation. These less serious types of victimizations are less likely to be brought to the attention of the police. The CVAWS respondents were also asked about a variety of victimization experiences and to reduce respondent burden, details were
collected on only one type of violence randomly selected among those experienced by the respondent, and when the type selected was non-spousal, questions were only asked about the most recent incident of that type of violence.

In contrast, the NVAWS collected information on all victimizations experienced by the respondent. In my NVAWS analyses, when a respondent had two recent\(^7\) victimizations (within the 12 months prior to the survey), the most serious victimization was selected for the analyses. The NVAWS also differs from the CVAWS in the types of victimization categories it collected information on. Although both data sets included victims of sexual assault, physical assault and violent threats, the NVAWS collected information on stalking, whereas the CVAWS collected information on sexual touching and molestation. The NVAWS respondents are the victims of more serious types of victimizations while at the same time the NVAWS may have neglected other violent victimization incidents typically experienced by women (such as sexual touching) and those victimizations less likely to be brought to the attention of the police. The findings on police reporting among the sample of lifetime victims in the NVAWS are consistent with the CVAWS data. That is, 16 percent of the NVAWS lifetime victims and 15 percent of the CVAWS lifetime victims reported their victimization to the police.

Alternative sources of social support are also important to victims. Among recent and lifetime victims, 52 percent and 59 percent respectively sought help from a family member or friend. These findings are consistent with the CVAWS analyses, suggesting that although many women do not seek help from the police, they do go to close members of their family or friends for emotional support and more tangible help such as shelter.
Women are also likely to seek help from psychiatrists and other doctors. Among recent and lifetime victims, 20 and 25 percent respectively sought this type of professional help. Women also make use of social service agencies and alternative legal strategies in dealing with violence. Specifically, 5 percent of recent victims and 3 percent of lifetime victims went to a social service agency and 11 percent of recent victims and 3 percent of lifetime victims sought out an alternative legal strategy. This is important since other research (Ruback and Ivie, 1983) has shown that victims who seek professional help often do so prior to calling the police and invoking a criminal justice response. The less frequently used sources of help include ministers and clergy.

6.5 Race and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations

The first set of analyses examines the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and race. The results of this preliminary examination are shown in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Associations between race and the help-seeking measures are assessed using the chi-square statistic (Stokes, Davis and Koch, 1995). Table 6.3 reports the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and race. Table 6.4 reports the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and race for the sample of lifetime victims. As Table 6.3 indicates, there are no significant differences in the types of help sought by white and non-white women. The multivariate analyses later in this chapter explore the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship.

7 For example, if a respondent had experienced a rape and a stalking incident in the 12 months prior to the survey, the rape incident was selected for analysis.
Table 6.3
Race and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>White Victims</th>
<th>Non-White Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.
* p < 0.05 (two-tailed) ** p< 0.01 (two-tailed)
a. Cell has expected count less than five

As Table 6.4 indicates, there are clear differences in the types of help sought by white and non-white women. White women are significantly more likely to seek help from psychiatrists, while non-white women are more likely to report their victimizations to the police. Fully 27 percent of white women as compared to 19 percent of non-white women seek help from a psychiatrist or doctor after the victimization event. Among the lifetime victims, 20 percent of non-white women as compared to 15 percent of white women report their victimizations to the police. There are no significant race differences in family/friend help-seeking. Both white and non-white women (recent and lifetime victims) find family and friends important sources of help in dealing with violence.
### 6.4 Race and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>White Victims</th>
<th>Non-White Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>16.2**</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>25.0**</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Clergy or a Minister</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Getting Alternative Legal Help</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.
* p < 0.05 (two-tailed) ** p < 0.01 (two-tailed)

a. Cell has expected count less than five

### 6.6 The Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations

The next set of analyses examines the bivariate associations among the help-seeking measures and the victim-offender relationship. The results of this preliminary examination are reported in Table 6.5 and Table 6.6. Table 6.5 reports findings for the sample of recent victims and Table 6.6 reports findings for the sample of lifetime victims. Table entries are percentages, showing differences in help-seeking across categories of the victim-offender relationship. Associations between the categories of the victim-offender relationship and the help-seeking measures are assessed using the chi-square statistic (Stokes, Davis and Koch, 1995).
Table 6.5
Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>Stranger</th>
<th>Known</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Dating</th>
<th>Spouse Live-in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.8&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0.0&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.8&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td>20.4&lt;sup&gt;**&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>10.0&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.

<sup>a</sup> Cell has expected count less than five

The findings reported in Table 6.5 indicate that there are significant differences in decisions to seek help from a psychiatrist or doctor across the victim-offender relationship. The women most likely to seek help from a psychiatrist are victims of spousal/partner violence. In contrast, victims of stranger violence are much less likely to seek this type of professional care.

As indicated in Table 6.6 there are clear differences in the reporting and help-seeking decisions of lifetime victims across victim-offender relationships. Consistent with previous research, the victim-offender relationship is a significant predictor of police reporting. Victims of stranger violence and women attacked by a previous partner (prior, during or after cohabitation/marriage) are more likely than victims of other types of offenders to call the police.
Table 6.6
Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Bivariate Associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Help-Seeking Measure</th>
<th>All Categories</th>
<th>Stranger</th>
<th>Known</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Dating</th>
<th>Spouse / Live-in</th>
<th>Previous Spouse / Live-in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Reporting to Police</td>
<td>16.2**</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Social Service Agency</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to a Psychiatrist or Doctor</td>
<td>25.1**</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Family/Friends</td>
<td>58.7**</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Going to Clergy or a Minister</td>
<td>2.2**</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage Getting Alternative Legal Help</td>
<td>2.7**</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4^a</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Table entries are percentages. Tests of significance apply to each cross-classification.

a. Cell has expected count less than five

The findings reported in Table 6.6 also indicate that help-seeking from other sources of social support varies across the categories of the victim-offender relationship. Victims of previous partner violence are significantly more likely to seek help from a psychiatrist or doctor. Fully 33 percent of women attacked by a previous partner sought
help and support from a psychiatrist. Victims of intimate partner violence by a previous partner are also more likely to have sought help from members of the clergy and seek help or legal advice from lawyers, attorneys, legal aide and court officers. This suggests that women who were attacked by a previous partner not only sought help in dealing with the trauma of violence but also sought ways to permanently end the relationship with their abusive partner.

In contrast, victims of current partner violence are the least likely to seek help from a family member or friend (only 47 percent tell family or friends). Women attacked by current partners and those who continue to live with their abuser are less likely to disclose their victimization to those with whom they are in most frequent contact with. These findings are consistent with the CVAWS analyses reported in Chapter 5.

6.7 Reporting and Help-seeking: A Latent Class Analysis

As in Chapter 5, my analyses of the NVAWS data use latent class analysis to identify the help-seeking strategies of female victims. Two separate latent class analyses are reported, one for the sample of recent victims (within the twelve months prior to the survey) and the other for the sample of lifetime victims. My analyses of the data for the NVAWS sample of recent victims are reported in Tables 6.7 and 6.8. The latent class analysis performed for the NVAWS recent victims allows for a direct comparison to the CVAWS analyses. This analysis uses the same observed help-seeking measures. Because there are more help-seeking variables available in the NVAWS (refer to Chapter 3 and A.6 in the Appendix), the latent class analysis of the data for the lifetime victims reported in Tables 6.9 and 6.10 includes two additional help-seeking measures that were not included in the CVAWS analyses.
6.7.1 A Latent Class Analysis of Help-Seeking: Recent Victims

In the cross-classification of the help-seeking responses of the NVAWS recent victimizations, I modelled four survey items measuring reporting and help-seeking as a latent variable. These survey items are similar to those used in the CVAWS latent class analysis. The four observed variables that I use in my latent class analysis are based on responses to the following items: (1) Was this incident reported to the police and who reported this incident to the police? [Was it the respondent?] (2) To who else did you talk about this incident? [Mark all that apply—social service agencies, psychiatrists/doctors and family and/or friends]. With four measured dichotomous variables, there are sixteen logically possible help-seeking strategies. The goal of latent class analysis is to decide how many latent classes represent most of the variability in the four-way cross-tabulation of the data. Table 6.7 outlines the models estimated using latent structure analysis with the data for the sample of recent victims. The model that best fit the data was a restricted, three class model. In order to identify the model, I statistically required that all respondents assigned to class II state that they sought help from family and/or friends. Table 6.8 reports the latent class probabilities for the recent victims across the three help-seeking strategies. The qualitative differences across the three help-seeking strategies are evident in the distribution of responses among the measured survey items. These are also shown in Table 6.8.

The selection of a three-class model indicates three distinct help-seeking strategies used by recent victims. For each category of the latent help-seeking variable, there is a final latent class probability of being in that category. As in my analysis of the CVAWS
victims, I refer to the respondents in Latent Class I as minimal help-seekers. Among recent victims in the NVAWS, 39 percent use a minimal help-seeking strategy.

Table 6.7
Latent Class Models of Help-Seeking of Victims: Parallel Analysis to the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latent Variable</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Pearson Chi-Square</th>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Help Seeking</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>57.6188</td>
<td>34.9074</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two Class Model</td>
<td>12.7880</td>
<td>15.4687</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Class Model</td>
<td>8.5314</td>
<td>11.2904</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 4 in Chapter 2), previous research and the findings reported in Chapters 4 and 5, a large number of women do not seek help in dealing with violence. Women using the minimal strategy had a zero probability of seeking help from family/friends, psychiatrists/doctors and social service agencies. Note that a larger proportion of the NVAWS minimal help-seekers reported their victimization to the police as compared to the CVAWS victims. Among the NVAWS minimal help-seekers, approximately 19 percent reported their victimization to the police, compared to 5 percent of the CVAWS minimal help-seekers who sought help from the police. The differences across the two analyses may reflect the more serious types of victimization captured by the NVAWS design (recall that the CVAWS included victims of sexual touching and molestation).
The majority of NVAWS recent victims are what I term family/friend help-seekers. The identification of a distinct family/friend strategy (Latent Class II) is consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 3 in Chapter 2), the findings reported for the CVAWS analyses in Chapter 5, and research on intimate partner violence that suggests that many victims seek social support and comfort from family and friends. Among recent victims, 41 percent use a primarily family/friend help-seeking strategy. All women in Latent Class II sought help from family or friends. The probabilities for the other types of help-seeking range from zero for social service help-seeking to as high as 0.32 for police reporting.

It is important to note that this category of victims includes women who have primarily sought help only from family and/or friends. Yet, a substantial number of NVAWS victims who seek help from family and friends also call the police in dealing with violence and these findings once again contrast with the CVAWS analyses. The NVAWS was not only more likely to have captured more serious types of victimization, the selection of the most serious and recent victimization for the analysis of the NVAWS data may also explain the differences across the two sets of analyses.

The third type of help-seeking used by the NVAWS recent victims is referred to as substantial help-seeking. Respondents in Latent Class III have a high probability of engaging in each type of help-seeking and the highest probability of seeking help from a psychiatrist and the police. For each help-seeking item, women in Latent Class III have probabilities ranging from 0.09 for social service help-seeking to as high as 0.77 for psychiatric help-seeking. Consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 2) and the CVAWS analyses reported in Chapter 5, the findings suggest that formal
reporting to the police and psychiatric help-seeking also include earlier, simultaneous or subsequent reports to friends and family.

Table 6.8
Response Distributions for Help-Seeking Items by Latent Class,
Parallel Analysis to the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manifest Variable</th>
<th>Latent Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I Minimal Help Seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II Family/Friend Help Seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III Substantial Help Seeking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.8141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Latent Class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probabilities</td>
<td>0.3892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.4101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Respondents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Latent Class</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>8.5314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>11.2904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of Freedom</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The $\chi^2$ and $L^2$ for the preferred three-class model were 8.5314 and 11.2904, respectively. With 6 degrees of freedom, the proportional reduction in the error from the model of independence was 0.852. (Index of Dissimilarity = 0.0206; Correct Cell Allocation = 94.17%; Lambda = 0.905)

These respondents had a 0.55 probability of seeking help from family and/or friends and a 0.42 probability of calling the police. Among recent victims, 20 percent are
substantial help seekers. The small size of this latent class is consistent with the findings from the CVAWS analyses and research on police reporting.

The results of the latent class analysis of the NVAWS data highlight the variety and distinct types of help-seeking strategies available to victims. The identification of three distinct categories of help-seeking is consistent with Pescosolido’s (1992) conclusion that help-seeking strategies are limited to a small number of strategies that include help-seeking from family and friends. The findings from the NVAWS and CVAWS analyses provide additional support for conceptualizing help-seeking as overlapping patterns while challenging the assumption that calling the police is a distinct and solitary strategy used by victims of violence.

6.7.2 A Latent Class Analysis of Help-Seeking: Lifetime Victims

The help-seeking measures available in the NVAWS data provided the opportunity to model two additional help-seeking variables in the latent class analysis of help-seeking using the data for the lifetime victims. In the cross classification of the help-seeking responses for the NVAWS lifetime victims, I modelled six survey items measuring reporting and help-seeking as a latent variable. These survey items add two additional variables as compared to those used in the CVAWS analyses and NVAWS recent victim analysis. The six observed variables that I use in my latent class analysis are based on responses to the following items: (1) Was this incident reported to the police and who reported this incident to the police? [Was it the respondent?] (2) To who else did you talk about this incident? [Mark all that apply—social service agencies, psychiatrists/doctors, clergy, family and/or friends and other legal sources]. With six measured dichotomous variables, there are 64 logically possible help-seeking strategies.
Table 6.9 outlines the models estimated using latent structure analysis with the sample of lifetime victims. The model that best fit the data was a four class model.

Among the NVAWS sample of lifetime victims there are four qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies. Table 6.10 reports the latent class probabilities for the lifetime victims across the three help-seeking strategies. The qualitative differences across the four help-seeking strategies are evident in the distribution of responses among the six measured survey items. These are also shown in Table 6.10. For each category of the latent help-seeking variable, there is a final latent class probability of being in that category. As in the analysis of the recent victims, among the lifetime victims I also identified a category of respondents I refer to as minimal help-seekers (Latent Class I).

Table 6.9
Latent Class Model of Help-Seeking of Victims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latent Variable</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Pearson Chi-Square</th>
<th>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</th>
<th>Degrees of Freedom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Help Seeking</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>499.6815</td>
<td>290.8001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two Class Model</td>
<td>135.8920</td>
<td>110.8448</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Class Model</td>
<td>84.5715</td>
<td>72.9701</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four Class Model</td>
<td>32.1225</td>
<td>28.8375</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the NVAWS lifetime victims, 35 percent use a minimal help-seeking strategy. Consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 4 in Chapter 2), the CVAWS
analyses and the analysis of the NVAWS recent victim data, a large number of women do not seek help in dealing with violence. Most women using the minimal strategy did not report to the police and did not seek help from family/friends, social service agencies or clergy. A small number of these victims (12 percent) sought help from psychiatrists. In contrast to the findings from the NVAWS recent victim analysis and the CVAWS analyses reported in Chapter 5, professional care from psychiatrists is an important strategy in dealing with violence.

The majority of lifetime NVAWS victims are what I refer to as family/friend help-seekers (Latent Class II). The identification of a distinct family/friend strategy is consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 3 in Chapter 2) and the research findings outlined in Chapter 5 and in Section 6.7.1. Among the lifetime victims, 46 percent use the family/friend help-seeking strategy. All women in Latent Class II sought help from a friend and/or family member. The probabilities for the other types of help-seeking range from approximately 0.01 for social service, clergy, legal and police help-seeking to as high as 0.23 for psychiatric help-seeking. It is important to note that this category of victims includes women who have primarily sought help only from family and/or friends and some who also seek treatment and care from psychiatrists. The serious categories of violence captured by the NVAWS as compared to the CVAWS data (and in particular for lifetime NVAWS victims) may help explain the reliance on psychiatrists among victims who do not otherwise seek help (Latent Class I victims) or who primarily seek help family and friends (Latent Class II victims).
Table 6.10
Response Distributions for Reporting Items by Latent Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family/Friend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.9801</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>0.3576</td>
<td>0.4221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0199</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.6424</td>
<td>0.5779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist/Doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.8766</td>
<td>0.7683</td>
<td>0.7145</td>
<td>0.2816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.2317</td>
<td>0.2855</td>
<td>0.7184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.9985</td>
<td>0.9941</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.7279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0015</td>
<td>0.0059</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>0.2721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.9831</td>
<td>0.9921</td>
<td>0.9937</td>
<td>0.8767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0169</td>
<td>0.0079</td>
<td>0.0063</td>
<td>0.1233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.9826</td>
<td>0.9877</td>
<td>0.8964</td>
<td>0.9810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0174</td>
<td>0.0123</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.0190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.9618</td>
<td>0.0970</td>
<td>0.7246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>0.0382</td>
<td>0.9030</td>
<td>0.2754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Latent Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probabilities</td>
<td>0.3490</td>
<td>0.4610</td>
<td>0.151</td>
<td>0.0390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents in the Latent Class</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td>1489</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>32.1225</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square</td>
<td>28.8375</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of Freedom</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The $\chi^2$ and $L^2$ for the preferred three-class model were 32.1225 and 28.8375, respectively. With 39 degrees of freedom, the proportional reduction in the error from the model of independence was 0.936. (Index of Dissimilarity = 0.013; Correct Cell Allocation = 89.45%; Lambda = 0.812)
Respondents belonging to Latent Class III use a primarily legal or police-based strategy. Respondents in this class have the highest probability of reporting their victimization to the police and seeking help from alternative legal resources. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 2 in Chapter 2) and the literature specific to police reporting, a small group of women rely primarily on the legal system in dealing with the consequences of violence. These respondents had a 0.90 probability of calling the police and a 0.10 probability of seeking alternative legal help.

These women are likely to seek help from family and/or friends (0.64 probability) and are somewhat likely to seek help from psychiatrists or doctors (0.29 probability). Among lifetime victims, 15 percent are police/legal help-seekers. The small size of this latent class is consistent with findings from other research (Johnson, 1995) that shows that only a very small proportion of women make use of formal help sources, in particular the police.

Respondents belonging to Latent Class IV use a comprehensive strategy that relies heavily on psychiatrists, doctors and social service agencies. Respondents in this help-seeking class have the highest probability of seeking care from a psychiatrist or social service agency. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 2) and the findings reported in Chapter 5, some women seek help from a variety of legal, medical, treatment and informal help sources in dealing with violence. These respondents had a 0.72 probability of going to a psychiatrist and a 0.27 probability of going to a social service agency. These women are also likely to seek help from family and/or friends (0.58 probability) and some call the police (0.27 probability). Women using the comprehensive strategy are also more likely than other victims to seek spiritual guidance.
from members of the clergy (probability 0.12). Among the NVAWS lifetime victims, 4 percent are comprehensive help-seekers. This comprehensive strategy differs slightly from the substantial help-seeking of the NVAWS recent victims and the CVAWS victims. The NVAWS victims who use the comprehensive strategy are less likely to call upon the criminal justice system compared to the CVAWS victims while relying on psychiatrists, family and friends [See Hypothesis 1 in Chapter 2].

6.8 Multinomial Logit Regression: Help-seeking of Victims

The next stage of my analyses of the NVAWS data examines the effects of race, the victim-offender and other variables on the different forms of help-seeking identified in the latent class analysis. I use multinomial logit regression to estimate the effects of these variables across the help-seeking categories. The models examining the effect of race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking include incident-specific variables and socio-demographic variables such as age, education, income and employment status. My analyses of the NVAWS data include separate models for lifetime and recent victims.

6.8.1 The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking: Recent Victims

Prior to interpreting the multinomial logit output for the sample of recent victims, I examine the overall chi-square tests for variable effect, which are reported in Table 6.11. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 6 in Chapter 2) and the analyses reported in Chapter 5, the victim-offender relationship distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. Specifically the spousal/partner violence category is significantly associated with help-seeking. Also note the importance of age, education and an incident characteristic measuring fear.
Table 6.11  
Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking  
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey,  
1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square Test for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>6.820**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by Date/Boyfriend</td>
<td>1.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by Other Known Person</td>
<td>4.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim</td>
<td>5.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Personal Income Group</td>
<td>5.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Personal Income Group</td>
<td>3.090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education Group</td>
<td>9.992**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Education Group</td>
<td>1.715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Age Group</td>
<td>6.461*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age Group</td>
<td>9.529**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Respondents</td>
<td>2.573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>1.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>4.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>12.374**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05   ** p < 0.01  

**Race, the Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking among Recent Victims**

For the recent victims, the model in Table 6.12 reports the effects of race and the victim-offender relationship and control variables on the different help-seeking strategies. Equations (1) through (3) in Table 6.12 represent the contrasts made among the three help-seeking categories. These comparisons are between: substantial help-seeking and minimal help-seeking, substantial help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and minimal help-seeking.

The effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions is significant across two of the contrasts in Table 6.12. Equation (1) and (2) in Table 6.12 both indicate that women victimized by a spouse or partner are more likely than victims of all other types of offenders to use substantial help-seeking as compared to just telling their friends and family ($e^{1.812} = 6.125$) or using the minimal strategy ($e^{1.857} = 6.402$).
Table 6.12
Multinomial Logit Regression of Victim Help Seeking: Parallel Analysis to Chapter 5. Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Equation 1 Substantial versus Minimal Help Seeking</th>
<th>Equation 2 Substantial versus Family/Friend Help Seeking</th>
<th>Equation 3 Family/Friend versus Minimal Help Seeking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-1.301 (0.774)</td>
<td>-0.290 (0.783)</td>
<td>-1.011 (0.598)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner Attack</td>
<td>1.812** (0.526)</td>
<td>1.857** (0.523)</td>
<td>0.044 (0.366)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date/Boyfriend Attack</td>
<td>0.854 (0.709)</td>
<td>0.678 (0.699)</td>
<td>0.176 (0.464)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Known Attack</td>
<td>1.026 (0.529)</td>
<td>0.890 (0.525)</td>
<td>0.137 (0.354)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Respondent</td>
<td>0.699 (0.382)</td>
<td>0.090 (0.382)</td>
<td>0.609* (0.291)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Personal Income Group</td>
<td>-0.635 (0.536)</td>
<td>-1.133 (0.516)</td>
<td>0.498 (0.425)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Personal Income Group</td>
<td>-0.712 (0.455)</td>
<td>-0.731 (0.461)</td>
<td>0.188 (0.386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education Group</td>
<td>-1.473** (0.483)</td>
<td>-0.751 (0.473)</td>
<td>-0.721 (0.404)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Education</td>
<td>-0.594 (0.472)</td>
<td>-0.481 (0.458)</td>
<td>-0.113 (0.414)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Age Group</td>
<td>0.049 (0.459)</td>
<td>-0.777 (0.448)</td>
<td>0.826* (0.353)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age Group</td>
<td>0.015 (0.401)</td>
<td>-0.891* (0.391)</td>
<td>0.906** (0.329)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Respondents</td>
<td>-0.676 (0.423)</td>
<td>-0.483 (0.410)</td>
<td>-0.193 (0.308)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.659 (0.954)</td>
<td>-0.217 (0.797)</td>
<td>0.876 (0.765)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>0.383 (0.513)</td>
<td>-0.461 (0.470)</td>
<td>0.845* (0.423)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>1.231** (0.358)</td>
<td>0.874* (0.343)</td>
<td>0.357 (0.316)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 LL: 536.225  
Model Chi-Square: 86.713  
Degrees of freedom: 30

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  
Standard errors in parentheses
These findings are consistent with the analyses reported in Chapter 5 and predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 6 and 6a in Chapter 2). Victims of spousal/partner violence are more likely than other victims to use a substantial help-seeking strategy that includes family and friend help-seeking and disclosure to psychiatrists and the police.

Race was only significant across the family/friend versus minimal help-seeking contrast. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 7 and 7a in Chapter 2), white women are significantly more likely than non-white women to seek informal help from family and friends. The significant effects of the incident-specific and socio-demographic variables across the help-seeking categories are outlined in the model that incorporates the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship (Refer to Table 6.13 and Table 6.14).

**Interaction between Race and the Victim-Offender Relationship: Recent Victims**

An additional question addressed with the sample of NVAWS recent victims is whether race conditions the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. Although the findings in Table 6.12 are generally consistent with previous research on race and help-seeking, they only report the independent effects of race and the victim-offender relationship. However, the effect of the victim-offender relationship may vary by the race of the victim. To examine this possibility, I created a set of interaction terms to explore the conditional effects of the victim-offender relationship and race on help-seeking. Given that the only significant effects of the victim-offender relationship were for attacks by spouses or partners and given the limited size of the sample of recent victims, I examine the interactive effects of race and the victim-offender relationship for only two victim-offender relationship categories. In estimating the interaction between
race and the victim-offender relationship I distinguish among: attacks on white victims by spouses/partners, attacks on non-white victims by spouses/partners, attacks on white victims by non-spousal offenders and attacks on non-white victims by non-spousal offenders.

The multinomial logit was re-estimated including the interaction terms with attacks on white women by non-spousal offenders as the reference category. Table 6.13 reports the overall chi-square tests for variable effect for the multinomial logit. Consistent with predictions (refer to Hypothesis 7b in Chapter 2), the interaction effect of race and the victim-offender relationship distinguishes among help-seeking strategies. Specifically attacks on white women by spouses and partners and attacks on non-white women by spouses and partners are both significantly associated with help-seeking. Also note the importance of age, education and an incident characteristic measuring fear.

Table 6.13
Chi-Square Tests for Overall Effect of the Social Correlates of Help-Seeking: An Examination of the Race/Victim-Offender Relationship Interaction Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square Test for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Personal Income Group</td>
<td>4.794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Personal Income Group</td>
<td>3.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education Group</td>
<td>10.132**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Education Group</td>
<td>1.841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Age Group</td>
<td>7.205*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age Group</td>
<td>9.315**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Respondents</td>
<td>2.302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>1.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>4.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>12.888**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim, Spouse/Partner Attack</td>
<td>10.010**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Spouse/Partner Attack</td>
<td>6.364*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Non-Spousal Attack</td>
<td>3.373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05   ** p < 0.01
The findings reported in Table 6.14 indicate that the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship affects help-seeking decisions. The effect of the interaction term for white women attacked by spouses/partners on help-seeking decisions is significant across two of the contrasts reported in Table 6.14. Equations (1) and (2) in Table 6.14 both indicate that white women victimized by a spouse/partner are more likely than all other race/victim-offender relationship categories to use substantial help-seeking as compared to just telling friends and family (e^{1.098} = 2.999) or to use the minimal strategy (e^{1.236} = 3.441). These findings are consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 7c in Chapter 2) and literature that suggests that the users of social service agencies, domestic violence shelters and psychiatric care are white women (Snowden, 1999; Snowden, Libby and Thomas, 1997, Mendez, 1996). The findings reported in equation (2) of Table 6.14 also indicate that non-white victims of spousal/partner violence are more likely to use a substantial strategy than to only seek help from family and friends (e^{1.323} = 1.201). Victims of spousal/partner violence, in particular white women, are more likely than others to use a substantial help-seeking strategy that includes family and friends and disclosure to psychiatrists and the police.

**Other Predictors of Help-Seeking among Recent Victims**

I also consider the effects of other predictors of help-seeking. Equations (1), (2) and (3) in Table 6.14 all indicate that as a victimization becomes more serious, as indicated by physical injury and fear of serious harm or being killed, the likelihood of seeking help increases. Victims who feared they would be seriously harmed or killed are more likely to use a substantial help-seeking strategy and injured victims are more likely to seek help from family and friends as compared to not seeking help.
Table 6.14
Multinomial Logit Regression of Victim Help Seeking: Parallel Analysis to the Canadian Violence Against Women Survey, Race-Victim-Offender Interaction
Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States Survey, 1994-1996, Recent Victims, within the twelve months prior to the survey (N=334)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>0.576</td>
<td>0.366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Personal Income Group</td>
<td>-0.607</td>
<td>0.529</td>
<td>-1.091*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Income Group</td>
<td>-0.713</td>
<td>0.453</td>
<td>-0.731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Education Group</td>
<td>-1.474**</td>
<td>0.480</td>
<td>-0.745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Education Group</td>
<td>-0.611</td>
<td>0.472</td>
<td>-0.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Age Group</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.447</td>
<td>-0.731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age Group</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.400</td>
<td>-0.838*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Respondents</td>
<td>-0.633</td>
<td>0.419</td>
<td>-0.441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>0.599</td>
<td>0.950</td>
<td>-0.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>0.384</td>
<td>0.515</td>
<td>-0.469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>1.245**</td>
<td>0.355</td>
<td>0.885**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim, Spouse Attack</td>
<td>1.098*</td>
<td>0.427</td>
<td>1.236**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Spouse Attack</td>
<td>0.436</td>
<td>0.494</td>
<td>1.201*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Non-Spouse Attack</td>
<td>-0.682</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>-0.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 LL</td>
<td>494.243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Chi-Square</td>
<td>82.420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
*Model without Race/Victim-Offender Relationship Interaction, Model Chi-Square= 63.192 (df=22)
The only significant socio-demographic variables associated with help-seeking are age and education (Table 6.13 indicates that income is not a significant predictor across help-seeking categories). Victims in the young and middle age group (18 to 35 years old) are more likely than older victims to use a family/friend strategy as compared to a minimal strategy.

Victims in the middle age group (26 to 34 years old) are significantly less likely than the older age group to use a substantial strategy as compared to only seeking help from family and friends. This finding is consistent with the analyses reported in Chapter 5. Women in the older age group are more likely to rely on psychiatrists and the police in dealing with violence. Respondents in the lowest education group ($e^{-1.474} = 0.229$) are the least likely to use the substantial help-seeking strategy. Education may indicate to a certain degree knowledge about the availability and accessibility of help sources for dealing with violence. Consistent with the CVAWS analysis and in contrast with the analyses reported in Chapter 4 using the CGSS data and the framework developed by Donald Black, employment does not appear to encourage reporting to the police.

6.8.2 The Social Contingencies of Help-Seeking: Lifetime Victims

The next set of analyses examines the effects of race and the victim-offender relationship across the four help-seeking strategies identified in the latent class analysis for the NVAWS lifetime victims. Prior to interpreting the multinomial logit output for the sample of lifetime victims, I examine the overall chi-square tests for variable effect, which are reported in Table 6.15. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 6 and 7 in Chapter 2) and the analyses reported for the sample of recent NVAWS victims, race and the victim-offender relationship distinguish among help-seeking strategies.
For the sample of NVAWS lifetime victims, the model presented in Table 6.16 reports the effects of race and the victim-offender relationship and control variables on help-seeking. Note that with four distinct help-seeking strategies there are six possible contrasts across the help-seeking variable.

Table 6.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square Test for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Violent Victimization</td>
<td>38.244**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by a Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>8.440*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by an Ex-Spouse Partner</td>
<td>12.109**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by a Date or Boyfriend</td>
<td>25.617**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by a Family Member</td>
<td>38.126**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked by an other Known Person</td>
<td>17.172**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim</td>
<td>9.951*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used by Attacker</td>
<td>10.386*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury from Attack</td>
<td>57.125**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared for Safety During Victimization</td>
<td>49.876**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01

Equations (1) through (3) in Table 6.16 report the three contrasts across the help-seeking variable that will be discussed in the remainder of the chapter. These comparisons are between: comprehensive/treatment help-seeking and minimal help-seeking, police/legal help-seeking and minimal help-seeking and family/friend help-seeking and minimal help-seeking. Note that all of the multinomial logit equations discussed in the remainder of the chapter use the minimal help-seeking strategy as the comparison group.

**Victim-Offender Relationship and Help-seeking: Lifetime Victims**

I first look at the main effects of race and the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions. Equation (2) in Table 6.16 indicates that the effect of the victim-
offender relationship on help-seeking is significant across the police/legal versus minimal help-seeking contrast. The findings reported in equation (2) in Table 6.16 indicate that women victimized by a stranger are more likely than victims of all other offenders to use the police/legal strategy.

Table 6.16
Multinomial Logit Regression of Victim Help Seeking: 4-Class Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Odds Ratio</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-2.969**</td>
<td>1.004</td>
<td>-0.962**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.457)</td>
<td>(0.236)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Victimization</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>1.004</td>
<td>0.015**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
<td>(0.236)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse or Partner Attack</td>
<td>0.518</td>
<td>1.678</td>
<td>-0.465*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.416)</td>
<td>(0.225)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Spouse or Partner Attack</td>
<td>0.484</td>
<td>1.622</td>
<td>-0.446**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.333)</td>
<td>(0.163)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date/Boyfriend Attack</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>1.024</td>
<td>-0.916**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.420)</td>
<td>(0.228)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Member Attack</td>
<td>0.251</td>
<td>1.286</td>
<td>-1.626**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.450)</td>
<td>(0.327)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known Attack</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>1.022</td>
<td>-0.766**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.398)</td>
<td>(0.200)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Respondent</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>1.050</td>
<td>-0.256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.238)</td>
<td>(0.137)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>-0.214</td>
<td>0.808</td>
<td>0.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.333)</td>
<td>(0.180)</td>
<td>(0.158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>1.373**</td>
<td>3.949</td>
<td>0.785**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.218)</td>
<td>(0.141)</td>
<td>(0.110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>0.984</td>
<td>0.988**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.268)</td>
<td>(0.148)</td>
<td>(0.128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 LL</td>
<td>3926.286</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Chi-Square</td>
<td>371.901</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of freedom</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05  ** p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
These findings are consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 6b in Chapter 2) and some of the existing literature on police reporting (Gartner and Macmillan, 1995; Ruback, 1994; Worral and Pease, 1986; Skogan, 1976).

Race was not a significant predictor of help-seeking. The significant effects of the incident-specific variables and age across the help-seeking categories are outlined in the model that incorporates the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship (Refer to Table 6.17 and Table 6.18).

**Help-Seeking: Interaction between Race and the Victim-Offender Relationship**

As in the analyses of the recent victims, I examine whether race conditions the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions among lifetime victims. Although the model shown in Table 6.16 is generally consistent with previous research on the victim-offender relationship and police reporting, it only examines the independent effects of race and the victim-offender relationship. I created a set of interaction terms to explore the conditional effects of the victim-offender relationship and race on help-seeking. The advantage of the analysis using the lifetime victimizations reported in Tables 6.17 and 6.18 is that I am able to look at the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship across three distinct categories of the victim-offender relationship (spouses/partners, other known offenders and strangers).

In estimating the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship I distinguish among: white victims by spousal/partner offenders, non-white victims by spousal/partner offenders, white victims by other known offenders, non-white victims by other known offenders, white victims by strangers and non-white victims by strangers. The multinomial logit was re-estimated including the interaction terms with attacks on
white women by strangers as the reference category. Table 6.17 reports the overall chi-square tests for variable effect for the multinomial logit. Consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 7b in Chapter 2), the interaction terms for race and the victim-offender relationship distinguish among help-seeking strategies.

Table 6.17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Chi-Square Test for Variable Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Violent Victimization</td>
<td>43.884**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim, Spouse/Partner Attack</td>
<td>14.778**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Spouse/Partner Attack</td>
<td>12.502**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim, Other Known Attack</td>
<td>35.189**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Other Known Attacker</td>
<td>13.839**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim, Stranger Attack</td>
<td>0.649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used by Attacker</td>
<td>11.032*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury from Attack</td>
<td>60.920**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared for Safety During Victimization</td>
<td>47.964**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01

The findings reported in Table 6.18 indicate that the interaction terms for race and the victim-offender relationship affect help-seeking decisions. Equation (2) in Table 6.18 indicates that white women who are victims of stranger violence are more likely than all other types of victims to use the police/legal strategy as compared to the minimal strategy. These findings are consistent with predictions (Refer to Hypothesis 7d in Chapter 2) and the framework developed by Black. These findings have important implications for the types of crime and victimization that the law is likely to view as important social problems requiring legislation, funding and resources. The findings reported in equation (3) of Table 6.18 also indicate that non-white women attacked by a spouse/partner are less likely to seek help from family and friends (e^{-0.491} = 0.612) than to use the minimal
strategy. Minority women victimized by a spouse or partner are less likely than other victims to disclose their experiences with intimate partner violence to their immediate social network.

Table 6.18
Multinomial Logit Regression of Victim Help Seeking: 4-Class Model
An Examination of the Race/Victim-Offender Relationship Interaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Equation 1</th>
<th>Equation 2</th>
<th>Equation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comprehensive/ Treatment versus Minimal Strategy</td>
<td>Police/Legal versus Minimal Strategy</td>
<td>Family/Friend versus Minimal Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-2.900**</td>
<td>-1.218**</td>
<td>0.639**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.431)</td>
<td>(0.217)</td>
<td>(0.166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at time of Victimization</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.016**</td>
<td>-0.016**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.009)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim, Spouse Attack</td>
<td>0.381</td>
<td>-0.555**</td>
<td>-0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.357)</td>
<td>(0.173)</td>
<td>(0.141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim Spouse Attack</td>
<td>0.707</td>
<td>-0.121</td>
<td>-0.491**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.410)</td>
<td>(0.218)</td>
<td>(0.198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Victim Known Attack</td>
<td>0.191</td>
<td>-0.980**</td>
<td>0.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.374)</td>
<td>(0.192)</td>
<td>(0.140)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim Known Attack</td>
<td>-0.606</td>
<td>-0.788**</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.563)</td>
<td>(0.253)</td>
<td>(0.174)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White Victim Stranger Attack</td>
<td>-0.309</td>
<td>-0.162**</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.803)</td>
<td>(0.336)</td>
<td>(0.278)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon Used</td>
<td>-0.204</td>
<td>0.310</td>
<td>-0.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.334)</td>
<td>(0.180)</td>
<td>(0.158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Injury</td>
<td>1.393**</td>
<td>0.818**</td>
<td>0.418**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.216)</td>
<td>(0.140)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>0.967**</td>
<td>0.225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.269)</td>
<td>(0.147)</td>
<td>(0.128)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-2 LL 3324.869
Model Chi-Square 376.246
Degrees of freedom 27

*p < 0.05  **p < 0.01  Standard errors in parentheses
Other Predictors of Help-Seeking among Lifetime Victims

I also consider the effects of other predictors of help-seeking in the model containing the interaction between race and the victim-offender relationship. The findings reported in equations (1), (2) and (3) in Table 6.18 indicate that incident-specific factors including fear of serious harm or being killed and physical injury increase the likelihood of seeking help. Injured victims are more likely to use a comprehensive/treatment or police/legal strategy than to engage in minimal help-seeking. Victims who feared they would be seriously harmed or killed are more likely to use a police/legal strategy.

The findings reported in equations (2) and (3) in Table 6.18 indicate that age at the time of the victimization is also associated with help-seeking. While younger victims are more likely to seek help from family and friends, older victims are more likely to use a police/legal strategy. These findings are consistent with the analyses reported in Chapter 5 that show that older victims are more likely to rely on the police in dealing with violence.

6.9 Summary and Discussion

The results presented in this chapter have addressed two specific issues. First, these analyses provide further justification for conceptualizing victim help-seeking as qualitatively distinct strategies. Second, the findings reported in this chapter provide additional support for my assertion that help-seeking strategies are structured along a number of social dimensions. Race and the relationship between victims and offenders not only predicts help-seeking, but also distinguishes among strategies.
The results presented in this chapter clearly show that the majority of victims use some type of help-seeking strategy in dealing with the consequences of violent victimization. Consistent with the findings outlined in Chapters 4 and 5 and with the intimate partner violence literature, my analyses of the NVAWS data highlight the importance of family, friends and psychiatrists for victims. Moreover many victims rely on the police, social service agencies and other legal help sources.

My research also indicates that race and the victim-offender relationship determine the types of help-seeking strategies used by victims. Victims of spousal and partner violence and in particular white women are more likely to use substantial help-seeking strategies that include police reporting and help-seeking from family, friends and social services agencies. These findings are in accord with the analyses reported in Chapter 5 and consistent with research that suggests that white women are more likely to be the users of mental health and social services (Snowden, 1999; Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1998; Snowden, Libby and Thomas, 1997; Takeuchi, Sue and Yeh, 1995). In contrast, white victims of stranger violence are more likely to use a help-seeking strategy that primarily relies on the police and alternative legal sources.

The findings reported in this chapter indicate that non-white women who have experienced spousal or partner violence are less likely to seek help from their informal networks. Family and friends are important in providing shelter and emotional support to victims of intimate partner violence. Race and the victim-offender relationship both constrain and facilitate help-seeking. The under-utilization of social services and the police by disadvantaged visible minorities may reflect a number of social and structural conditions, which prevent women of colour from accessing these strategies for dealing
with violence. These findings together reflect a shift in the criminal justice system toward an ever-increasing punitive treatment of offenders and a collective experience of crime that represents the experiences of the middle class, which has prevented the development of meaningful programs for the victims of crime. These are the types of victimization that will most likely be addressed by the criminal justice system and that will become part of what we think of as the crime problem. The differences in help-seeking across different race/victim-offender relationship categories highlight some of the potential difficulties in solving the problem of intimate partner violence in visible minority communities. These are important findings that will be discussed further in Chapter 7 and that future research should address.

6.10 Direction for Chapter Seven

The results from my analyses of the NVAWS data provide further evidence that the help-seeking decisions of victims are not easily conceptualized in police versus nothing comparisons. Rather, there exist a variety of qualitatively distinct help-seeking patterns used by victims of violence. My findings indicate that race and the relationship between a victim and offender are important predictors of help-seeking decisions. More importantly, the effect of the victim-offender relationship on help-seeking decisions depends on the race of the victim. While previous research suggests that strangers are most likely to call the police, my research suggests that decisions to call the police are much more complex. While I find that white women victimized by strangers are more likely to call the police, my research suggests that many victims who call the police also use a number of other help-seeking strategies in dealing with victimization.
In the following chapter I turn to a discussion of the theoretical, empirical and policy issues addressed in my dissertation research. I review some of the consistent and incongruent findings across the three sets of analyses and discuss how these contrasting findings may relate to survey sampling, methodology and measurement. Given these differences across surveys, each analysis paints a similar picture of the help-seeking of victims. I highlight the findings and theoretical significance of my analyses of the three victimization surveys and their contributions to research on victim decision-making. I explore the implications of my findings on for future research and policy. I address some of the limitations of my research and how future research may address these issues.
Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion:

The Help-Seeking Strategies of Violent Crime Victims

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical, empirical and policy issues raised by my research. I first summarize the major findings from my analyses of the three victimization surveys and highlight the contributions of these analyses to research on victim decision-making. I outline the findings that are consistent across the analyses as well as those that differ and consider how differences in the sampling and measurement might have contributed to these. The summary of the findings includes a discussion of the theoretical significance of my research. In the next section I discuss the policy implications of my research. I highlight the importance of victim action and decision-making for other sociological research and the wider implications for how we think about crime and violence. I also outline some of the limitations of my dissertation and how future research may address these issues. I conclude with some general statements on the importance of research on crime victims and victimization for other aspects of public and private life.

7.2 Violent Crime Victims and Help-Seeking

To empirically and theoretically estimate the social contingencies of help-seeking, this research has examined data from three sources: the 1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk (CGSS), the 1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey and the Violence and Threats of Violence against Women and Men in the United States
Survey, 1994-1996 (NVAWS). Each of these surveys provided the opportunity to examine a unique issue related to the help-seeking decisions of violent crime victims.

The data from the CGSS allowed me to examine the effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship across three distinct help-seeking strategies and provided the opportunity to compare my findings to theory and research (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999; Bachman, 1998; Gartner and Macmillan, 1995) that has examined the factors predicting police reporting. With data from the CVAWS and NVAWS, I empirically estimated and characterized the help-seeking strategies of victims. This allowed me to demonstrate that there are qualitatively distinct help-seeking strategies used by female victims of violence. Using the categories of help-seeking identified in the latent class analyses as outcome variables in a series of multinomial logit models, the analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS examined the social contingencies of help-seeking. My analyses of both data sets estimated the effect of the victim-offender relationship across help-seeking strategies and the NVAWS data allowed me to estimate the direct and conditional effects of race and the victim-offender relationship.

7.2.1 Victim Help-Seeking: Summary of Findings

The findings from my dissertation provide a rationale and justification for conceptualizing victim help-seeking decisions as qualitatively distinct strategies. My research also supports the contention that these help-seeking strategies are structured along a number of social dimensions. Specifically, gender, race and the relationship between victims and offenders will not only predict help-seeking but will distinguish among help-seeking strategies. Although most victims of violent crime do not call the police to initiate a criminal justice response, many victims rely on family, friends and
medical and social service interventions in dealing with the consequences of violent crime.

The findings from my research are in accord with the wider help-seeking literature that suggests that those who seek help from family and friends and the users of mental health, social service and self-help groups tend to be female. In contrast, most male victims do not seek help. When men do seek help, they are more likely to call the police than to call upon family and friends. The victim-offender relationship is also an important predictor of help-seeking decisions. Attacks by known offenders lead to help-seeking strategies that rely primarily on family and friends. My research also indicates that female victims of intimate partner violence, and in particular white women, will use a substantial help-seeking strategy that includes help from a variety of formal and informal help sources. This includes social support from family and friends and help-seeking from mental health professionals, social service agencies and the police. In contrast, white women attacked by strangers are the most likely to use a strategy that primarily relies on calling upon the police and initiating a criminal justice response in dealing with their experiences with violent crime.

7.2.2 Consistent Findings Across Victimization Surveys

The findings presented in my dissertation are remarkably consistent across surveys. First, my analyses demonstrated the utility of conceptualizing help-seeking as a multi-categorical outcome. These models also allowed me to estimate the direct and conditional effects of gender, race and the victim-offender relationship across three help-seeking contrasts.
My analyses indicate that women are more likely to seek help from the police and alternative help sources and that victims attacked by known offenders are more likely to use a help-seeking strategy that relies on family and friends (See Chapter Four). More importantly, the analyses of the CGSS suggest significant conditional effects of gender and the victim-offender relationship. The variation in decisions to seek help is not simply a difference between men and women or between stranger and non-stranger attacks. My findings indicate that attacks on women by known offenders and attacks on men by strangers lead to distinct strategies for dealing with violence. Women attacked by known offenders use help-seeking strategies that rely on family and friends, whereas men attacked by strangers most often do not seek help. These findings contrast with feminist work and the framework outlined by Donald Black and take on important meaning in light of recent initiatives to integrate victims into the decisions and actions of the criminal justice system through, for example, victim-impact statements and restitution programs (Elias, 1993). What is obvious is that most victims do not use and will not benefit from these types of criminal justice strategies. Rather most men do not seek help and those women who do seek help make use of their family, friends and social service agencies. This suggests that victims would be served better by the allocation of resources to programs that do not rely on a victim’s decision to initiate the criminal justice process.

Consistent with the wider help-seeking literature and the framework outlined by Pescosolido, seeking help from family and friends is a distinct strategy used by many women in dealing with crime and violence (See Chapters Five and Six). My findings challenge other research and rational choice approaches to victim decision-making, which primarily view family and friend help-seeking as a predictor of police reporting
decisions (Ruback, Greenberg, Wescott, 1984). Rather, seeking help from family, friends and the police are part of a distinct strategy used by victims. This substantial help-seeking strategy offers victims a number of benefits including criminal justice solutions and other resources from available their immediate social network.

The findings from the CVAWS and NVAWS analyses also demonstrate that the help-seeking strategies employed by female victims in Canada and the United States are remarkably similar. I find that women victimized by an intimate partner and in particular a previous intimate partner are most likely to seek help from family, friends, doctors and social service agencies while also reporting their victimization to the police. This is consistent with recent research on police reporting (Felson, Messner and Hoskin, 1999) and the wider help-seeking literature. My findings challenge the assumptions laid out by a number of feminist approaches and suggest that some women attacked by a current or previous cohabitating partner are likely to seek both criminal justice solutions and a number of emotional and tangible resources from family, friends and social service agencies. More importantly, women who subsequently ended the relationship with their abuser are most likely to seek help from both legal and non-legal resources. This suggests that help-seeking may provide a pathway to ending violent and potentially life threatening relationships.

The data from the NVAWS also indicate that white women attacked by a marital partner are the most likely to use a help-seeking strategy that relies on legal and non-legal resources (See Chapter 6). This finding is consistent with the propositions outlined by Donald Black and the intimate partner violence literature that suggests that many social services are not sensitive to the needs of ethnic minority victims (Zhang, Snowden and
Sue, 1998; Mendez, 1996; Takeuchi, Sue and Yeh, 1995) and research indicating that help-seeking from social service agencies and psychiatrists reflects the reality of poverty in America for African Americans and other disadvantaged visible minorities (Snowden, 1999; Snowden, Libby and Thomas, 1997). These findings are also consistent with the suggestion that only certain victims (Roach, 1999; Elias, 1993) may benefit from new criminal justice policies and supposed victim-centered initiatives.

7.2.3 Inconsistent Findings Across Victimization Surveys

The findings outlined in this dissertation also differ in important ways. The findings from my analyses of the CGSS data (See Chapter Four) indicate that women victimized by known offenders are more likely than other types of victims to use a help-seeking strategy that relies primarily on family and friends. These findings contrast somewhat with my analyses of the samples of recent victims from the CVAWS and NVAWS data (See Chapters Five and Six), which suggest that victims of intimate partner violence are more likely than other categories of victims to use a substantial help-seeking strategy. Additionally, my analyses of the CGSS data suggest that employment status is an important social contingency of help-seeking among samples of male and female crime victims. Specifically, employed victims are more likely to report their victimizations to the police. In contrast, the CVAWS and NVAWS analyses suggest that employment status does not encourage or enable victims to report their experiences with violence to the police.

Although my findings from the CVAWS and NVAWS analyses are in many respects similar, there are also some noteworthy differences across the two data sets. Canadian women use one of three help-seeking strategies (See Chapter Five). Most
victims seek help from family and friends; a smaller group uses a help-seeking strategy that includes help from family, friends, social service agencies, doctors and the police and the remaining victims do not seek help. Canadian women attacked by intimate partners and other known offenders are also more likely to use a strategy that includes help from both legal and non-legal resources. In contrast, among the NVAWS lifetime victims there are four help-seeking strategies (See Chapter Six). Most women only seek help from family and friends and a large number of women do not seek help at all. The remaining victims use a strategy that relies on both legal and non-legal resources or a strategy that primarily relies on the police and other legal agents.

More importantly, the social contingencies of help-seeking among the American sample of lifetime victims differ from those of Canadian women. The NVAWS analyses suggest that white women attacked by a stranger are more likely than other victims to seek a primarily criminal justice response to their victimization. The importance of the police for white victims of stranger attacks is consistent with the suggestion that those victims who represent the collective image of crime provide a justification for the legislation and punitive approaches to dealing with and punishing offenders (Garland, 2000; Elias, 1993). What is important to note is that these laws focus on punishing the offender while providing the victims of crime with narrow criminal justice responses to their victimization. For most victims, the criminal justice system does not provide solutions to the consequences of their victimization and most victims do not employ these types of strategies.

The variation in findings across the analyses of the three surveys are largely a function of the etiology of men’s and women’s help-seeking decisions and differences in
the types of violent victimization, help-seeking and social contingency measures available in each survey. First, the surveys sampled different types of victims. The CGSS sampled both male and female crime victims. Differences between the CGSS analyses and the analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS suggest the importance of analyses that consider reporting and help-seeking practices separately for men and women. The etiology of help-seeking for men and women may be distinctly different.

Second, each of the surveys measures slightly different types of victimizations. The CGSS was less likely to capture violence by intimates, whereas both the CVAWS and NVAWS were designed to better measure the types of violence most likely to be experienced by women and in particular violence at the hands of intimate partners and other known offenders. The sexual assault variable in the CGSS includes rape and sexual touching. The CVAWS provides two separate indicators for these sexual victimizations. In contrast, the data from the NVAWS includes stalking; and the sexual assault measure in the NVAWS taps only serious forms of rape and sexual assault. [See Appendix A.5] The types of victimization captured by the NVAWS are therefore more serious. Differences across the CVAWS and NVAWS analyses may be largely attributed to differences in these victimization measures.

Third, the findings that differ across surveys may be a function of the measurement of the help-seeking variables used across the three sets of analyses. For example, the NVAWS collected information on a wider continuum of help-seeking measures and was more likely to distinguish between seeking help from doctors and from psychiatrists. The NVAWS latent class analysis for the lifetime victims included two additional help-seeking measures not available in the CVAWS data (help-seeking from
clergy and from alternative legal agents). Variation in the types of strategies identified in the latent class analyses across the two surveys may reflect these measurement differences.

Finally, differences in findings may relate to the social contingency variables available across the data sets and used in the analyses. The NVAWS data provided the opportunity to control for differences in help-seeking across race, whereas the Canadian data do not include race and/or ethnicity measures. Arguably, the differences across the analyses of the Canadian and American lifetime victims reflect both the measurement differences across the two surveys and the social contingencies (race and the race-victim-offender relationship interaction for the NVAWS data) included in the analyses. Alternatively, these discrepancies may reflect important differences in the impact of race for American women dealing with violent victimization. African American women have much higher rates of violent victimization as compared to white women and are as likely as white males to experience a violent victimization (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994c; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994). Differences in the help-seeking strategies of victims and the social contingencies of those strategies between Canada and the United States may reflect important issues related to race that are not part of the Canadian context of violence. Future cross-national and comparative research will need to address these issues.

7.3 Theoretical Implications

Both the conceptual framework used in my research and my empirical findings are relevant to theoretical work in a number of areas, including sociology, psychology and criminology. More generally, my research provides a number of contributions to
sociology and the wider help-seeking literature. Drawing on the framework outlined by Pescosolido (1992), I view victims' decisions to seek help as distinct strategies and demonstrate how the actions of crime victims are similar to others making decisions to seek care, given a social structure that provides both opportunities and constraints. This helps to highlight the importance of crime victims for the wider sociological agenda.

Crime and violence are social phenomena that have a number of consequences for the victim and society and these require tangible solutions, just as medical and mental health issues are problems requiring medical attention and psychiatric care. People dealing with illness seek healthcare information from doctors and other formal sources as well as consulting with friends and family. My research indicates that some victims seek criminal justice responses to violence and many seek help from family and friends. It is no longer appropriate to think of crime and victimization as issues outside of the wider sociological agenda and it is time for sociological research to integrate the actions of victims into a wider understanding of decisions to seek social support.

My research also contributes to research on police reporting and victim decision-making. The findings from my dissertation highlight the importance of research on intimate partner violence using victimization data and clinical samples that first pointed to the role of family and friends in supporting victims and the need to integrate this academic work into research on violence in general. Sociologists and psychologists have both addressed the role of informal social support in facilitating subsequent help-seeking from social service agencies (Snowden, 1998; George and Tucker, 1996; Washington, 1996; Caldwell, 1996; Taylor, Neighbors and Broman, 1993). This past research has pointed to the role of informal helpers as links to social service agencies and other types
formal care. Moreover, psychologists have viewed help-seeking as one dimension of coping used to deal with personal and emotional problem, buffering the effects of traumatic life events (Foster, 2000; Snowden, 1998; Nadler, 1997) and have outlined the social contingencies of help-seeking decisions (Bunge, 2000; Caldwell, 1996; Cross, 1992; Mindel and Wright, 1982). My findings, which indicate the importance of family and friends for crime victims, suggest the need to integrate victim decision-making into the larger help-seeking literature.

The theoretical frameworks outlined in my dissertation have provided important tools for my examination of the social contingencies of help-seeking decisions. By drawing on theory and research on help-seeking and reporting, my research findings and theoretical framework present a number of challenges to existing theory on police reporting. This includes research drawing on rational choice and feminist perspectives and Donald Black’s behavior of law approach. Rational choice frameworks may suggest a number of propositions regarding the costs and benefits of reporting and help-seeking by various types of crime victims. Yet, researchers adopting the costs/benefits approach have failed to adequately account for the social distribution of these reporting decisions (Skogan, 1976; Block, 1974). The costs/benefits approach suggests that there are particular costs to a person reporting a crime by an intimate partner, but fails to identify how these costs are socially constructed and result in patterns of behavior that differ across varying categories of victims. The recognition of the ways in which reactions to crime and victimization are socially distributed is crucial if we are to begin to appropriately attend to the needs of crime victims.
The findings from my analyses of the CGSS data also call into question some of the propositions outlined by Donald Black in his behavior of law approach and those offered by some feminist research. The findings in Chapter Four indicate that income and employment status operate in the direction predicted by Black (1976). My analyses of the CVAWS and NVAWS (Chapters Five and Six) suggest that income and employment status are not important predictors of help-seeking and that those women most likely to use substantial help-seeking strategies are victims of intimate partner violence. These findings suggest that Black’s framework and the assumptions underlying the feminist position may not provide an adequate understanding of women’s decisions to report crime to the police.

My alternative conceptualization of help-seeking may also account for inconsistent findings in previous research on the correlates of police reporting. These have implications for theoretical work on police reporting and help-seeking. I found that there are unique correlates and perhaps distinctive etiologies for different types of help-seeking. My CGSS analyses of a three category help-seeking variable indicate that gender is an important predictor of help-seeking. Yet, my estimation of a binary model of police reporting using the CGSS data did not indicate significant differences across gender. Together, these findings challenge existing theoretical work on the importance of gender for police reporting and call into question Donald Black’s approach and feminist frameworks that assume that women are less likely to seek criminal justice solutions in dealing with violence.
7.4 **Methodological Implications**

The empirical characterization of help-seeking outlined in my research has implications for current debates over the conceptualization and measurement of victim decision-making (Profitt, 1996; Nadler, 1997; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Greenberg and Ruback, 1985). This includes research that debates the utility of conceptualizing victim action in terms of a victim’s calling upon the criminal justice system. I draw on this theoretical and substantive debate and argue that conceptualizing victim decision-making as police reporting captures only one dimension of action. Similarly, research on the help-seeking decisions of women in domestic violence shelters and other clinical samples fails to appropriately attend to the differences between women who seek shelter care and those who remain with their abuser. Conceptualizing victim help-seeking is not simply an issue of ideology and theory but one of recognizing that help-seeking behaviors are distinct strategies. The methodological techniques used in my research, specifically latent class analysis and multinomial logit regression help to highlight the importance of how we think about, conceptualize and empirically measure victim decision-making.

Multinomial logit models provide a powerful tool for estimating the social contingencies of help-seeking across multi-categorical help-seeking measures. Consistent with my theoretical framework, the multinomial logit model permits the help-seeking strategies to be treated as non-ordered categories. Also consistent with my conceptualization of the social contingencies of help-seeking, the output from the multinomial logit model provides the individual tests of significance for each independent variable, but also allows for an assessment of the way in which each
independent variable (social contingency) distinguishes among strategies (Long and McGinnis, 1981 for the overall chi-square test for variable effect). My findings from the multinominal logit models and latent class analyses provide support for the utility of placing the help-seeking decisions of crime victims within the wider help-seeking literature.

7.5 Social, Policy and Criminal Justice Implications

My research has implications for a number of social, policy and criminal justice issues. What is clear from this research is that the needs of victims will be addressed through important social changes that relate to the way in which people interact with others in their day-to-day lives. The most important research finding this dissertation provides is that the majority of victims do not seek criminal justice responses to crime and violence. Many victims do not participate in legal and justice based resolutions, believing that they do not always offer a cathartic resolution to victimization (Henderson, 1985; Forer, 1980). Rather, victims employ help-seeking strategies that rely primarily on their immediate social network and when victims employ criminal justice strategies they continue to depend on family and friends.

For example, the findings from my dissertation indicate that the vast majority of "date" and acquaintance rapes and assaults go unreported to the police and many women who are victimized by their boyfriends or dates do not seek help. At the same time, victims of spousal and partner violence are more likely to use help-seeking strategies that rely on the criminal justice system, social services and informal networks. These findings together suggest that family and friends may provide pathways to both leaving and terminating relationships with violent cohabitating and non-cohabitating intimate
partners. Given that violence at the hands of dates and boyfriends is likely to be suffered by younger victims who are less likely to seek help, public resources need to be allocated to social service agencies and schools need to devise programs that address this type of intimate partner violence.

Given the importance of family and friends for female victims and given that most victims do not involve the criminal justice system, social initiatives need to be directed toward developing non-justice based responses to crime and violence that respond to the needs of victims (Elias, 1993; Smith and Freinkel, 1988). For example, we need to allocate more money and resources to ensure that a wider range of victim services will attend to the diverse needs of all victims. In particular, resources need to be directed toward visible minority communities, whose victims are the least likely to seek help. At the same time we need to provide informal help sources (the help providers) with the skills, resources and information they need to appropriately attend to the victims of crime who are their family members and friends.

But it appears that current public policy seems to be focused in other directions. As noted in Chapter One, a number of researchers have outlined a dramatic shift toward a collective experience of crime that constructs an 'appropriate' solution to the crime problem (Garland, 2000; Feeley and Simon, 1992) and a 'suitable' role for victims (Roach, 1999; Elias, 1993). My findings challenge the role assigned to victims within criminal justice—as conduits for public retribution and punitiveness toward offenders (Lianos and Douglas, 2000; Garland, 2000; Simon, 1998; Henderson, 1985). Consider an example. For the year ending in 1996, the United States spent nearly twenty-five billion dollars on the maintenance and operation of prisons (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999).
This represents almost the same amount of money that the United States spends on health care. At the same time, programs designed to help the victims of crime are under funded and are often required to annually re-apply for continued support (Elias, 1993). Even those criminal justice initiatives that incorporate issues specific to victims’ rights often depend for their funding on fines and victim surcharge fees collected from offenders (Roach, 1999; Elias, 1993).

Consider a second example specific to the wider social and personal costs of violent victimization. Macmillan (1999) estimates the average lifetime income loss attributable to adolescence victimization to be in the tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars. “With such substantial and enduring costs of crime, criminal violence may be society’s most costly social problem” (Macmillan, 1999; 575). So, while there are clearly long-term social as well as intangible personal costs of crime, it seems that as a society we are more than willing to invest in the offenders of crime, but at this point are less willing to commit to helping the victims of crime (Smith and Frienkel, 1988). While the personal costs of crime to victims should by themselves provide an impetus to address the needs of victims, the larger societal costs of violent victimization provide an additional rationale for helping victims overcome the negative outcomes associated with crime.

A related issue that also has implications for help-seeking more generally reflects the organization and design of social service interventions. Social services, victim programs and crisis centers were largely devised to deal with female victims of intimate partner violence and sexual assault (Wallace, 1998; Henderson, 1985), and as such may not reflect the needs of all crime victims (Zhang, Snowden and Sue, 1997; Mendez,
nor accommodate the types of coping strategies typical of male victims (Salem, Bogat and Reid, 1997; Black, Levin, Mehan and Quinn, 1983). My findings are consistent with some research that suggests that men are more likely to seek help that offers anonymity, greater social distance and the ability to selectively contribute.

The differences in the use of police and criminal justice help-seeking strategies across race may reflect the types of victims that new legislation was designed to protect. These laws include the relatively immediate implementation of new legislation, including Meghan’s Law and anti-stalking laws. These initiatives were designed to address society’s collective experience with violence, which is primarily a Liberal Elite concern over stranger violence (Garland, 2000) and to provide protection to particular categories of victims. These are victims who have been conceptualized as innocent in their own victimization and who are seen as not playing a functional role in their own victimization (Fattah, 1992; Ziegenhagen, 1976). Although these types of laws may provide recourse for some victims, they exclude the majority of victims and fail to adequately provide the types of resources needed by victims dealing with the consequences associated with violent crime.

Additional concerns that may have implications for help-seeking relate to structural and economic issues that may determine the types of services available to provide help to victims. For example, while sexual assault programs have increased in major hospitals, funding to community and independent health centers has dropped considerably (Smith and Freinkel, 1988) and many spousal violence programs have eliminated a number of services. The help-seeking decisions of white and non-white women may therefore be shaped by these important changes to the funding of social
service agencies. White victims may be more likely to seek help from hospitals reflecting their greater access to health insurance, while disadvantaged visible minorities may be forced to rely on under-funded community services due to a number of logistic and economic concerns (West, Kantor, Jasinski, 1998).

7.6 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Although my research has provided a step toward expanding the way in which theory and research conceptualize help-seeking strategies, its limitations provide directions for future research. In this final section, I outline a number of important avenues for future research on violent victimization in general and help-seeking in particular. First, my research is unable to address the time order of help-seeking decisions. The help-seeking strategies of victims that I have identified need to be tested against longitudinal data. This would allow researchers to examine the time ordering of help-seeking decisions. For example, do family and friends provide a pathway to further help-seeking or prevent access to professional and legal sources of help and support.

A further limitation of my research relates to the help-seeking measures I analyzed. The surveys analyzed in this dissertation provide tremendous improvements over traditional crime surveys, which failed to collect information on non-legal help-seeking strategies. Nevertheless, the surveys still do not capture the full range of help-seeking strategies used by victims. For example, dramatic changes in communication technologies have consequences for the way in which people interact with family, friends and their community (Hampton, 2000; Kraut, 1998). Internet resources and online self-help groups may provide a number of resources to those seeking help (Dunham, Hurshman, Litwin and Gustella, 1998; Salem, Bogat and Reid, 1997) including referrals
to other types of services and care (Sluchinski, 1999; Paterniti, Price and Goodman, 1999). These anonymous strategies are particularly useful for men dealing with issues related to mental health. Future research will need to expand the scope of what is traditionally viewed as a help source to include changes in the way in which people live their day-to-day lives.

In addition, the way in which the help-seeking questions were asked might have had an impact on victim response. [Appendix A.2, A.4 and A.6] Because of this, both men and women may have underestimated the amount of help sought through informal discussions with family and friends; and men may not have interpreted the help-seeking questions in the same way as women. Men’s social relationships celebrate shared leisure activities and the existence of large networks of friends (Walker, 1995). Although men are more likely to report difficulties in asking friends for help (Walker, 1995), they may discuss their experiences with crime and violence with friends, colleagues and associates and may not consider these conversations a form of help-seeking. Future research will need to look at the way in which we attempt to measure help-seeking constructs using survey data, so that they tap the same underlying element for all respondents (Fowler, 1995).

Future research also needs to address the motivations and needs that lead victims to seek help and social support. What are the types of solutions that victims are looking for when they call upon their family and friends in dealing with crime? This would help to address why victims seek help in the first place and more importantly why other types of victims do not seek help and suffer the consequences of violence alone. This suggests that aside from asking respondents whether they sought help, victimization surveys need
to ask respondents why they sought particular types of help. Taking this type of approach to an examination of victim decision-making suggests the need to integrate social psychological frameworks into theory and research on victim help-seeking.

My analyses of the Canadian surveys (CGSS and CVAWS) are also limited in that Canadian victimization surveys prior to the new Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk collected in 1999 (scheduled for release in December 2000) did not include race and/or ethnicity measures. Given the over-representation of visible minorities and Aboriginals in the criminal justice system (Boe, 2000; Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1994), and among offenders and victims (Nakhaie, Silverman and LaGrange, 2000; LaGrange and Silverman, 1999; LaPrairie, 1992), it is important that future Canadian research on victim help-seeking include attention to race and ethnicity. Research on violence in Canada is also hampered by the failure to collect consistent and regular victimization data. The CGSS has only sporadically collected victimization data and the measures available in the survey are limited. The CVAWS is an excellent data source and one of the first surveys to capture the full scope of violence experienced by women and the myriad help-seeking strategies used by victims. Yet, the analyses are also limited by the fact that only one victimization incident for the CVAWS sample was recorded in the incident report of the survey.

7.7 Conclusions

Help-seeking and social support from family, friends, doctors, social service agencies and the police provide numerous benefits to those dealing with crime and other life challenging events. There is little doubt that experiences with violence and criminal victimization lead to a number of distinct help-seeking strategies for dealing with the
consequences of crime. Victims derive a number of emotional and tangible benefits from these help-seeking actions. This includes help and social support via strategies that primarily rely on family and friends or those that seek recourse from within the criminal justice system. In outlining these help-seeking strategies, my research has addressed a number of issues important to sociology.

My research has implications for changes in the way in which research and the public thinks about victims and discusses the appropriate ways to deal with issues of crime and violence. These issues have historically been claimed by the criminal justice system and have focused on the rehabilitation or punishment of the offender with little concern for the victims of crime. With recent changes toward selectively incarcerating the most dangerous and threatening offenders, the victims of crime and violence would appear to have achieved a prominent position in the public imagination and criminal justice policy. Through the lens of new legislation, policy initiatives and the efforts of the Victims Rights Movement it would seem that victims have staked a claim within the new crime agenda. Upon closer examination what we see is that some victims have made inroads, yet these initiatives will do little to help the majority of victims who do not enter the criminal justice arena. While new punitive laws may help to protect and provide resources to some categories of victims, it is not clear how these programs will address the real crime problem that is largely being addressed within the private sphere.
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APPENDIX

A.1 Criminal Victimization Screen
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk

C. CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION SCREENING
This section collects information on the type and number of times the respondent has been a victim of crime over the past 12 months. Each time a crime is reported in this section a Crime Incident Report is completed. Questions in this section are, for the most part, a repeat of the 1988 GSS questions, however, a few changes have been made. Instead of referring to the past year, the 1993 GSS asks respondents to refer to the previous 12 months, again because of monthly data collection. Additionally, two questions regarding sexual assault have been taken from the Violence Against Women survey.

The next few questions ask about some things, which may have happened to you during the past 12 months. Please include acts committed by both family and non-family members.

Did anyone take something from you by force or threat of force?

Now I’m going to ask you a question about being attacked. An attack can be anything from being hit, slapped, pushed or grabbed to being shot or beaten. Please remember to include acts committed by family and non-family.

Were you attacked by anyone at all?
Did anyone threaten to hit or attack you, or threaten you with a weapon?

During the last 12 months, has anyone forced you or attempted to force you into any sexual activity when you did not want to, by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in some way? Remember this includes acts by family and non-family and that all information provided is strictly confidential.

During the last 12 months, has anyone ever touched you against your will in any sexual way? By this I mean anything from unwanted sexual touching or grabbing, to kissing or fondling.
A.2 Crime Incident Report
1993 Canadian General Social Survey, Personal Risk

G. CRIMINAL INCIDENT REPORT
A Crime Incident Report is completed for every crime reported in Section C, Criminal Victimization Screen of the Personal Risk Questionnaire. The Crime Incident Report collects information on characteristics of victimization incidents (e.g. date, time, place), consequences of victimization, both physical and financial, and perception of criminal justice services. A large part of the 1993 Crime Incident Report is similar to the 1988 Crime Incident Report. However a few changes have been made. Questions concerning threats made to the respondent (G17 and G18) have been included. Inquiries as to whether the incident was related to the use of alcohol or drugs by the perpetrator or the victim (excluding victims of sexual assault) have also been added (G24a - G24c). Furthermore, the nature of police action (G57) as well as any other agencies contacted for help (G63) have been incorporated into the Crime Incident Report.

G54 Did the police find out about this incident?

G55 How did they learn about it?
RESPONDENT
SOME OTHER WAY

G63 Help sought from other person/organization?

G63A_C1 Who: Family?

G63A_C2 Who: Friends?

G63A_C3 Who: Clergy?

G63A_C4 Who: Victim/help agency?

G63A_C5 Who: Other?
A.3  Victimization Screen
Canadian Violence Against Women Survey

Section C: Violence by Strangers, Dates/Boyfriends, Others
It is important to hear from women themselves if we are to understand the very serious problem of male violence against women. I'm interested in knowing whether any of the following has happened to you since the age of 16. Your responses are important whether or not you have had any of these experiences.

Has a MALE STRANGER 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 ever TOUCHED you against your will in any sexual way, such as unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing or fondling?

Excluding husbands or common-law partners, has a DATE OR BOYFRIEND ever forced you or attempted to force you into any SEXUAL activity when you did not want to?

The following questions refer to OTHER MEN YOU KNOW, such as any relative, a doctor, someone at work, or anyone else. Please exclude husbands and partners.

(Apart from what you have already told me), since you were 16, has a 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 any incident that you have already told me about), since the age of 16, has ANY OTHER MAN YOU KNOW ever touched you against your will in a SEXUAL way, such as unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing or fondling?

Now, I'm going to ask you some questions about PHYSICAL ATTACKS you may have had since the age of 16. By this I mean any use of force such as being hit, slapped, kicked, or grabbed to being beaten, knifed, or shot. I would like to begin by asking you about MALE STRANGERS.

(Apart from any incident that you have already told me about), has a MALE STRANGER ever PHYSICALLY attacked you?

Now I'd like to ask you about PHYSICAL attacks by DATES and BOYFRIENDS. Please exclude husbands or common-law partners.

(Apart from any incident that you have already told me about), has a DATE or BOYFRIEND ever PHYSICALLY attacked you?
The following question refers to PHYSICAL ATTACKS by OTHER MEN YOU KNOW, such as any relative, a doctor, someone at work, or anyone else. Please exclude husbands and partners.

(Apart from any incident that you have already told me about), since the age of 16, has any other MAN YOU KNOW ever PHYSICALLY attacked you?

Section D: Threats by Strangers, Dates/Boyfriends, Others

The next few questions are about FACE-TO-FACE THREATS you may have experienced. By threats I mean any time you have been threatened with physical harm, since you were 16. Again, I'd like to begin by asking you about MALE STRANGERS.

(Apart from anything you have already told me about), has a MALE STRANGER ever threatened to harm you?

(Apart from anything you have already told me about), has a DATE or BOYFRIEND ever threatened you face-to-face?

The next question refers to OTHER MEN YOU KNOW. Again, please exclude husbands and partners.

(Apart from anything you have told me about), has a MAN YOU KNOW ever threatened you face-to-face?

Section J: Violence in Current Marriage/Common-law Relationship

We are particularly interested in learning more about women's experiences of violence in their homes. I'd like you to tell me if your husband/partner has ever done any of the following to you. This includes incidents that may have occurred while you were dating.

Has your husband/partner ever THREATENED to hit you with his fist or anything else that could hurt you?
Has he ever THROWN anything at you that could hurt you?
Has he ever pushed, grabbed, or shoved you?
Has he ever been violent toward you in any other way?
Has he ever slapped you?
Has he ever kicked,.bit, or hit you with his fist?
Has he ever hit you with something that could hurt you?
Has he ever been violent toward you in any other way?
Has he ever beaten you up?
Has he ever choked you?
Has he ever threatened to or used a gun or knife on you?
Has he ever forced you into any sexual activity when you did not want to, by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in some way?
Section L: Violence in Previous Marriage/Common-law Relationships

Interviewer Instruction: Read the following if the respondent does not have a current husband/partner:

We are particularly interested in learning more about women's experiences of violence in their homes. I'd like you to tell me if (any of) your previous husband(s)/partner(s) ever did any of the following to you. This includes incidents that may have occurred while you were dating.

Interviewer Instruction: Read the following if the respondent has a current husband/partner:

The following questions refer to your PREVIOUS husband(s)/partner(s). I'd like you to tell me if (any of) your previous husband(s)/partner(s) ever did any of the following to you. This includes incidents that may have occurred while you were dating.

Did your husband/partner ever THREATEN to hit you with his fist or anything else that could hurt you?
Did he ever THROW anything at you that could hurt you?
Did he ever push, grab, or shove you?
Was he ever violent toward you in any other way?
Did he ever slap you?
Did he ever kick, bite, or hit you with his fist?
Did he ever hit you with something that could hurt you?
Was he ever violent toward you in any other way?
Did he ever beat you up?
Did he ever choke you?
Did he ever threaten to or use a gun or knife on you?
Did he ever force you into any sexual activity when you did not want to, by threatening you, holding you down, or hurting you in some way?
A.4 Crime Incident Report
1993 Canadian Violence Against Women Survey

V. VICTIMIZATION REPORT
A Victimization Report is completed for a chosen incident reported in Sections A, B and C, Violent Victimization Screens of the Canadian Violence Against Women Questionnaire. To reduce respondent burden, details were asked about only one type of violence randomly selected among those experienced by the respondent, and when the type selected was non-spousal, questions were only asked about the most recent incident of this type of violence. The Victimization Report for Section V collects detailed information on a chosen incident of non-spousal violence.

W. INTIMATE ABUSE REPORT
A Victimization Report is completed for a chosen incident reported in Sections J and L, Violent Victimization Screens of the Canadian Violence Against Women Questionnaire. To reduce respondent burden, details were asked about only one type of violence randomly selected among those experienced by the respondent, and when the type selected was non-spousal, questions were only asked about the most recent incident of this type of violence. The Victimization Report for Section W collects detailed information on violence in a marital/common-law relationship.

SECTIONS V AND W VICTIMIZATION REPORTS

Did the police find out about this incident?

Did you ever talk to anyone about what happened, such as
   (Mark all that apply)
   Family?
   Friend/neighbour?
   Doctor?
   Minister, priest or clergy?

Did you ever contact any of the following services for help as a result of this incident?
   (Mark all that apply)
   Crisis centre/crisis line?
   Another counsellor?
   Women's centre?
   Community/family centre?
Section V: Victimization Report (For non-husband/partner violence)

If respondent has only one incident read: I understand that it may be difficult to discuss your experience, but if I may, I would like to ask you a few questions about the (most recent) time ... Interviewer: read only one of the following incidents

If respondent has more than one incident read: I understand that it may be difficult to discuss your experience, but if I may, I would like to ask you a few questions. In order to understand more about ALL TYPES of violence women face, I would like to ask you about the (most recent) time ...

Interviewer: read only one of the following incidents

- a stranger sexually attacked you
- a stranger sexually touched you against your will
- a date/boyfriend sexually attacked you
- a man you knew sexually attacked you
- a man you knew sexually touched you against your will
- a stranger physically attacked you
- a date/boyfriend physically attacked you
- a man you knew physically attacked you
- a male stranger threatened to harm you in person
- a date/boyfriend threatened to harm you in person
- a man you knew threatened to harm you in person

Section W: Intimate Abuse Report
(For all current/previous husband/partner violence)

If respondent has only one incident read: I understand that it may be difficult to discuss your experience, but if I may, I would like to ask you a few questions about any violence that has taken place with ... Interviewer: read one of the following

Your current husband/partner
Your previous husband/partner

If respondent has more than one incident read: I understand that it may be difficult to discuss your experience, but if I may, I would like to ask you a few questions. I am not going to ask about every experience you mentioned, but I would like to ask you about the violence that has taken place with ... Interviewer: read one of the following

Your current husband/partner
Your previous husband/partner
A.5 Victimization Screen

SECTION F: RAPE VICTIMIZATION

Two different sets of rape screening questions were fielded during Wave A and Wave B of the survey. Wave A respondents (N=500 women) were asked Version A rape screening questions and Wave B respondents (N=501) were asked Version B.

**Version A consists of two questions:**
Has a man or boy ever made or tried to make you have sex by using force or threatening to harm you or someone close to you? Just so there is no mistake, by sex we mean putting a penis in your vagina, anus, or mouth?

Has anyone, male or female, ever put or tried to put their fingers, tongue or objects in your vagina or anus against your will by using force or threats?

**Version B consists of four questions:**
Has a man or boy ever made or tried to make you have sex by using force or threatening to harm you or someone close to you? Just so there is no mistake, by sex we mean putting a penis in your vagina?

Has anyone, male or female, ever made or tried to make you have oral sex by using force or threat of harm. Just so there is no mistake, by oral sex we mean that a man or boy put his penis in your mouth, or someone, male or female, penetrated your vagina or anus with his/her mouth or tongue?

Has anyone ever made or tried to make you have anal sex by using force or threat of harm? Just so there is no mistake, by anal sex we mean that a man or boy put his penis in your anus?

Has anyone, male or female, ever put fingers or objects in your vagina or anus against your will by using force or threats?

Results from Wave A and Wave B were analyzed to determine which set of rape screening questions was more useable. Version C of the questionnaire, which was administered during subsequent waves of the survey, consists of all four of the questions in Version B, plus one question pertaining to attempted rape (see below). Lifetime prevalence estimates for attempted and completed rape reported by the Center for Policy Research are derived from data generated by Version C of the questionnaire.

**In Version C Only:**
Has anyone, male or female, ever attempted to make you have vaginal, oral or anal sex against your will, but intercourse or penetration did not occur?
SECTION G: PHYSICAL ASSAULT VICTIMIZATION

EXPERIENCED AS A CHILD

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about physical violence you may have experienced as a child. Aside from any incidents already mentioned, when you were a child did any parent, step-parent or guardian ever...

Throw something at you that could hurt you?
Push, grab or shove you?
Pull your hair?
Slap or hit you?
Kick or bite you?
Choke or attempt to drown you?
Hit you with some object?
Beat you up?
Threaten you with a gun?
Threaten you with a knife or other weapon besides a gun?
Use a gun on you?
Use a knife or other weapon on you besides a gun?

EXPERIENCED AS AN ADULT

Not counting any incidents you've already mentioned, after you became an adult did any other adult, male or female ever...

Throw something at you that could hurt you?
Push, grab or shove you?
Pull your hair?
Slap or hit you?
Kick or bite you?
Choke or attempt to drown you?
Hit you with some object?
Beat you up?
Threaten you with a gun?
Threaten you with a knife or other weapon besides a gun?
Use a gun on you?
Use a knife or other weapon on you besides a gun?
SECTION H: STALKING VICTIMIZATION

Two different sets of stalking screening questions were fielded during Wave A and Wave B of the survey. Wave A respondents (N=500 women) were asked Version A stalking screening questions and Wave B respondents (N=501) were asked Version B.

**Version A consists of one composite question:**

Has anyone, male or female, ever frightened you on more than one occasion by following you, spying on you, communicating with you against your will, or engaging in other harassing acts?

**Version B consists of a checklist of behaviorally specific questions and a follow-up question about whether the behavior happened on more than one occasion:**

Now I'm going to read you a list of other frightening or harassing things someone may have done to you. Not including bill collectors, telephone solicitors, or other sales people, please tell me if anyone, male or female, has ever done any of these things to you. Has anyone, male or female, ever...
Followed or spied on you?  
Sent you unsolicited letters or written correspondence?  
Made unsolicited calls to you?  
Stood outside your home or place of work or recreation?  
Showed up at places you were even though he or she had no business being there?  
Left unwanted items for you to find?  
Tried to communicate with you in other ways against your will?

Results from Wave A and Wave B were analyzed to determine which set of stalking screening questions was more useable. Version C of the questionnaire, which was administered during subsequent waves of the survey, consists of a modified Version B.

**Version C is a modified checklist of behaviorally specific questions and a follow-up question about whether the behavior happened on more than one occasion:**

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about following or harassment you may have experienced on more than one occasion by strangers, friends, relatives or even husbands and partners. Not including bill collectors, telephone solicitors or other sales people, has anyone, male or female, ever ... MARK ALL THAT APPLY  
Followed you or spied on you?  
Sent you unsolicited letters or written correspondence?  
Made unsolicited phone calls to you?  
Stood outside your home, school or workplace?  
Showed up at places you were even though he or she had no business being here?  
Left unwanted items for you to find?  
Tried to communicate with you in other ways against your will?  
Vandalized your property or destroyed something you loved?
SECTION I: THREAT VICTIMIZATION

The Screen consists of two questions:

Aside from any incidents already mentioned, has anyone else, male or female, ever threatened to harm or kill you?

Not counting events you've already told me about, how many people have threatened to harm or kill you?
A.6  Victimization Report


SECTION J: RAPE REPORT
A detailed rape report was administered for each perpetrator identified in the offender grid in Section F. If the respondent reported being raped by more than one boyfriend or date, male stranger, female stranger, male acquaintance, or female acquaintance, the referent offender for the rape was the most recent of the offenders in the offender grid.

SECTION K: PHYSICAL ASSAULT REPORT
A detailed physical assault report was administered for each perpetrator identified in the offender grid in Section F. If the respondent reported being physically assaulted by more than one boyfriend or date, male stranger, female stranger, male acquaintance, or female acquaintance, the referent offender for the physical assault was the most recent of the offenders in the offender grid.

SECTION L: STALKING REPORT
A detailed stalking report was administered for each perpetrator identified in the offender grid in Section F. If the respondent reported being stalked by more than one boyfriend or date, male stranger, female stranger, male acquaintance, or female acquaintance, the referent offender for the stalking was the most recent of the offenders in the offender grid.

SECTION M: THREAT REPORT
A detailed threat report was administered for each perpetrator identified in the offender grid in Section F. If the respondent reported being threatened by more than one boyfriend or date, male stranger, female stranger, male acquaintance, or female acquaintance, the referent offender for the threat was the most recent of the offenders in the offender grid.

SECTIONS J, K, L, M VICTIMIZATION REPORTS

Was the incident reported to the police?

Who reported this incident to the police?

Did you ever talk to a psychologist, psychiatrist or other type of mental health professional about this incident?

To whom did you talk about this incident? (Mark all that apply)
Crisis center, hot line
Battered women’s shelter
Homeless shelter
Attorney, legal aide, lawyer
Community, family center
Social services, welfare
Victim advocacy agency
Assailant's family
Parents, family of origin
Current family
Friend, neighbor
Doctor, nurse, other health professional
Minister, clergy, priest, rabbi
Law enforcement officer
Court officer, juvenile officer
Husband, boyfriend, fiancé, partner
Co-worker, boss, employer
Counselor, support group, A.A.
Phone company
Other

SECTION L: STALKING REPORT, ADDITIONAL REPORT QUESTIONS

What measures did you take? (Mark all that apply)
Talked to an attorney, got legal advice
Hired a private investigator
Called police, filed complaint
Enlisted help of friends, family
A.7 **Latent Structure Analysis**

In latent class analysis, model selection is based on parsimony and an adequate fit to the data. All models are compared to the model of independence. This is because while the latent structure models are hierarchical to the model of independence, the latent structure models are not hierarchical to one another. In deciding on the appropriate latent class model and comparing models, the researcher may calculate the change in the $L^2$ statistic between the model of independence and the latent structure model. Model comparison may also include comparing a latent structure model with the model of independence in terms of the proportional reduction in the unexplained variation in utilizing the latent structure model.

Brownfield and Sorenson (1987) and Taylor (1983) suggest that inspection of the standardized residuals may also provide an indication of model fit. The standardized residuals in latent structure analysis are normally distributed in a large sample with a mean of zero and a standard deviation not larger than one (Clogg, 1977). From the MLLSA computer output, as a general rule of thumb, standardized residuals over 2.0 indicate sources of poor fit. The grounds for selecting a model are also substantive (what makes intuitive sense, what is consistent with a priori theory) rather than statistical. The results of the latent class analysis and model selection should be theoretically meaningful and the acceptable model structure should make substantive sense (Brownfield and Sorenson, 1987).
A.8 Binary Logistic Regression

Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS) applied to a dichotomous dependent variable describes how the conditional average of the dependent variable, given a particular value of an independent variable, changes as a function of the independent variable. Specifically, an average between 0 and 1 represents a 'score' for the dummy variable that cannot be realized by an individual. Hence, this interpretation does not provide for an understandable interpretation when the dependent variable is dichotomous. Although estimates are unbiased, OLS is not an efficient estimator.

Alternatively, the linear-regression model may be applied to a dummy dependent variable, referred to as a linear-probability model. Fox (1997) outlines a number of reasons why the linear-probability model for dichotomous outcomes produces a model that is untenable. Since the dependent variable can only take the values of 0 and 1, the error is also dichotomous and hence not normally distributed. The assumption of normality is not critical to estimation of the normal-probability model as long as the sample size is sufficiently large, because the error is related to the probability of only two values of the error. Yet, Fox (1997) points out that the variance of the error in these models cannot be constant. The heteroscedasticity of the error terms results in "variances" that may be negative. The most serious assumptive violation is that of nonlinearity. The assumption that the error variance is zero is only tenable over a limited range of x-values. If the range of the independent variable is sufficiently broad, then the linear specification will not be confined to the 0 to 1 interval. As Fox (1997) points out, it makes no sense to interpret a number outside of the unit interval as a probability.
One solution to this problem is the constrained linear-probability model. These models constrain the unit interval of the probability. However, this model has a number of unattractive features, the first being instability. This instability is due to the reliance on only two points in estimating the model. Second, it is much more difficult to estimate the constrained model when there are several independent variables. Finally, the abrupt changes in the slope of the probability between 0 and 1 are unreasonable (Fox, 1997; 443). A smoother relationship between the probability and the independent variables is generally more sensible (Fox, 1997, 443).

In binary logit regression to ensure that the probability stays between 0 and 1, a positive monotone (non-decreasing) function maps the linear predictor into the unit interval. A transformation of this type retains the fundamentally linear structure of the model while avoiding probabilities above 1 or below 0. Any cumulative distribution function CDF meets this requirement:

\[ \pi_i = P(\eta_i) = P(\alpha + \beta X_i) \]

where the CDF \( P(.) \) is selected in advance and \( \alpha \) and \( \beta \) are parameters to be estimated. The transformation of the probability more commonly chosen is the logistic distribution:

\[ \Delta(z) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-z}} \quad \text{where } (\pi \approx 3.141) \text{ and } (e \approx 2.718) \text{ are the familiar constants.} \]

Using the logistic distribution produces a linear logistic-regression or linear logit model:

\[ \pi_i = \Delta(\alpha + \beta X_i) \]

\[ = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\left(\alpha + \beta X_i\right)}} \]

The logistic function is nearly linear between a 0.2 and 0.8 probability. This is why the linear probability model produces results similar to the logit model, except for
extreme values of $\pi_i$. There are two practical advantages of the logit model. The equation of the logistic CDF is easily calculated (Fox, 1997, 444). This is a particular advantage that is required for the estimation of the multivariate logistic distribution. Second, the logit model is easily interpreted. The inverse transformation of the logit model is directly interpretable as a log-odds. By rearranging the equation for the logit model:

$$\frac{\pi_i}{1-\pi_i} = e^{-(\alpha + \beta X_i)}$$

The ratio is the odds that the dependent variable is one. Taking the log of both sides of this equation is the log of the odds that the dependent variable is one rather than zero.

$$\log_e \frac{\pi_i}{1-\pi_i} = \alpha + \beta X_i$$

The logit is symmetric around zero and unbounded both above and below. It is therefore a good candidate for the dependent variable. Each coefficient indicates the log of the odds of being in a particular category of the dependent variable. Researchers often exponentiate these coefficients and refer to the odds of being in a particular category of the dependent variable. The effects on the odds is an efficient way to interpret logit output. It simplifies the discussion by assuming that the effects on the odds are constant.

From the original model:

$$\ln P / 1-P = \log\text{ odds} = a + bx$$

Exponentiate both sides to get a model for the odds:

$$P / 1-P = \text{odds} = e^a e^{b(x)}$$
A one unit change in the independent variable produces a change in the odds of $Y$. This is a multiplicative effect, the change in each independent variable multiplies the odds.

In regression, the coefficients measure the effect of exogenous variables on the average value of $Y$ and the average value of a dichotomous variable is equal to the probability that it assumes the value one. In the logit model, the nonlinearity of the relationship between $P(Y=1)$ and each independent variable means that the interpretation of the impact of a change in an independent variable on $Pr(Y=1)$ is less straightforward (Aldrich and Nelson, 1984; 42).
A.9 Multinomial Logistic Regression

In the multinomial, polytomous logit the dependent variable can take on any of $m$ qualitative values. The non-ordered polytomy is modeled as:

$$\pi_{ij} = \Pr(Y_i = j) \text{ for } j = 1, \ldots, m.$$ 

In the model there are $k$ regressors on which the probability depends and the dependence can be modeled using the multivariate logistic distribution:

$$\pi_{ij} = \frac{e^{\gamma_{0j} + \gamma_{1j} X_{i1} + \ldots + \gamma_{kj} X_{ik}}}{1 + \sum_{l=1}^{m-1} e^{\gamma_{0l} + \gamma_{1l} X_{i1} + \ldots + \gamma_{kl} X_{ik}}}$$

There is one set of parameters for each dependent variable category but the last category of the dependent variable functions as a type of baseline. The use of the baseline category is one way of avoiding redundant parameters. The model may be algebraically manipulated to produce:

$$\log \frac{\pi_{ij}}{\pi_{im}} = \gamma_{0j} + \gamma_{1j} X_{i1} + \ldots + \gamma_{kj} X_{ik}$$

for $j = 1, \ldots, m - 1$

The regression coefficients affect the log-odds of membership in category $j$ versus the baseline category. It is also possible to form the log-odds of membership in any pair of categories.