PREVENTING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SPECIAL FOCUS

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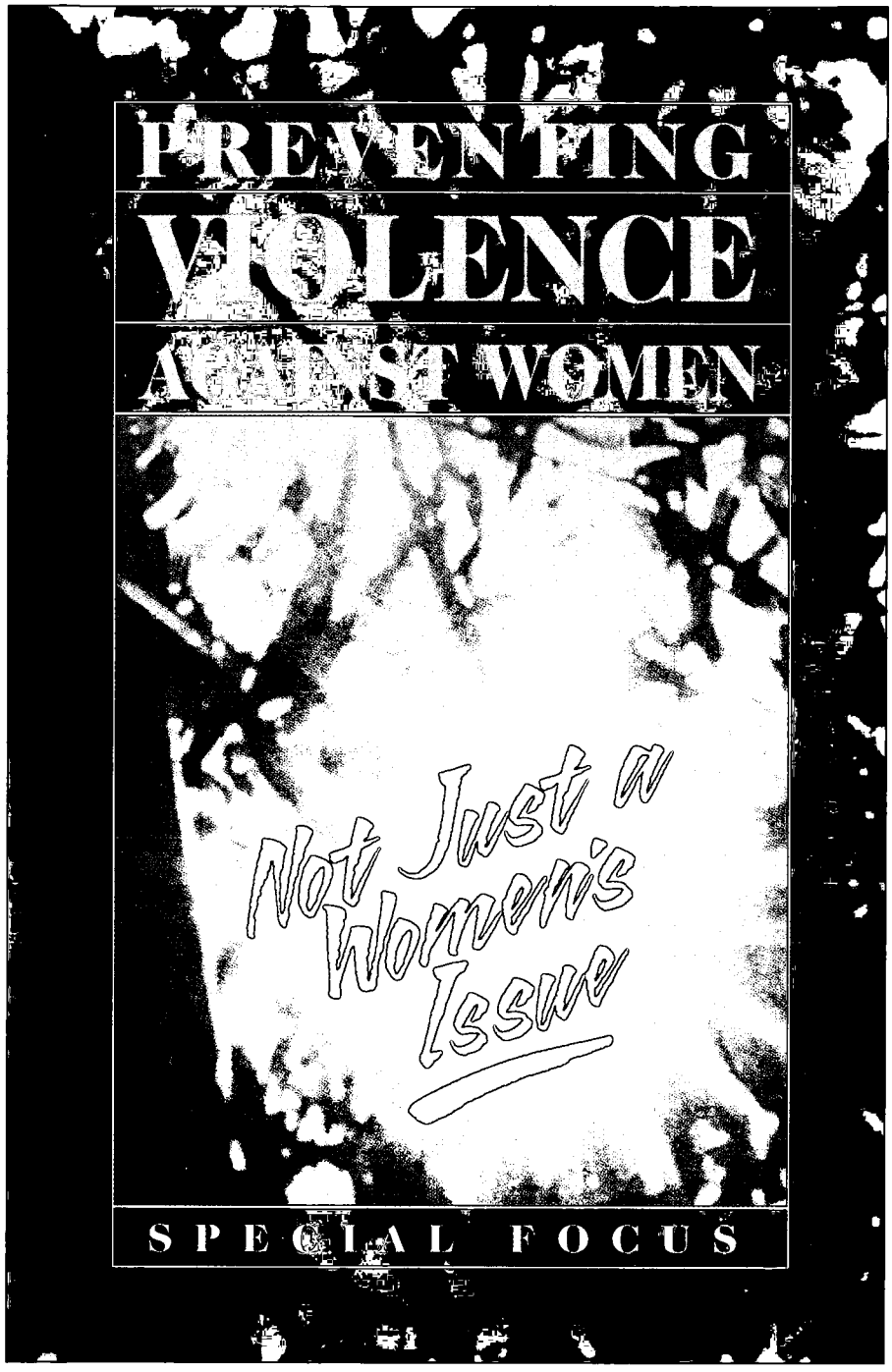

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TAKE A BITE OUT OF CRIME

The National Crime Prevention Council is a private, nonprofit tax-exempt [501(c)(3)] organization whose principal mission is to enable people to prevent crime and build safer, more caring communities. NCPC publishes books, kits of camera-ready program materials, posters, and informational and policy reports on a variety of crime prevention and community-building subjects. NCPC offers training, technical assistance, and national focus for crime prevention: it acts as secretariat for the Crime Prevention Coalition, more than 130 national, federal, and state organizations committed to preventing crime. It also operates demonstration programs and takes a major leadership role in youth crime prevention. NCPC manages the McGruff "Take A Bite Out Of Crime" public service advertising campaign, which is substantially funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice.

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Acknowledgments

This book was conceived as a comprehensive, inclusive review of criminal violence issues that particularly affect women. It deliberately took on the challenge of examining causal factors and prevention strategies for a wide variety of crimes. This choice led to an odyssey of reading and research, site visits, and dozens of interviews that spanned many disciplines, viewpoints, and geographic regions. Whether social scientist, police officer, attorney, educator, victim advocate, or counselor—these women and men all were deeply concerned for the victims of rape and domestic violence they encountered daily, often enraged by the system's failure to help such victims, and still determined to seek long-term solutions. *Preventing Violence Against Women: Not Just a Women's Problem* is dedicated to them.

The work on this document—research, framing, and writing—was essentially performed by Mary Jo Marvin of NCPC, who also edits *The Catalyst* newsletter. She tenaciously followed program trails, tracked down sources and resources, and wrestled with an extraordinarily complex and sensitive subject not only in order to understand it but in order to present it in a way that would benefit all those interested in community crime prevention. Her thoughtful concern, diligence, and persistence—as well as her craftsmanship as a writer—are reflected throughout the work.

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CHAPTER 1

Myths, Fears, and Stereotypes

Statistics, both self-reports and police records, show that women are significantly less likely to be victims of violent crime than men. But closer inspection reveals disturbing patterns in these numbers that symbolize a devastating breach of trust. Most women are not attacked by strangers—nearly two out of three know their assailants. The victims of rape and domestic violence are overwhelmingly female, and their attackers are overwhelmingly male. Moreover, these victims experience blame and social stigma from both men and women to a degree not imposed on individuals who have been mugged by a stranger or whose cars have been stolen or houses robbed. The criminal justice system often serves female victims poorly, exacerbating an understandable reluctance to report personally invasive crimes. Rape and domestic violence are among the most underreported of crimes; this fact leaves major gaps in information and contributes to police and courts sometimes giving such crimes lower priority.

Myth Versus Reality

Myths pervade the subject of female victimization. "She asked to be raped because her clothes were too tight." "She said no, but she really meant yes." "Battered women never leave the men who hurt them." "Domestic violence is a family matter." None of these blanket statements are true. Fueled by the media's focus on horrendous crimes, women most fear attacks by strangers, though they're more likely to be assaulted by someone they know. Middle-class and middle-aged women in the cities and suburbs attend self-defense classes and go about their lives nervously looking over their shoulders, even though crime statistics suggest their actual risk of violence from strangers is low. The fears of women in their teens and early 20s who live in inner cities are rooted in reality, but distrust of police and generational barriers may curtail their access to needed prevention information.

WOMEN AS VICTIMS

As Ronet Bachman points out in a National Crime Victimization Survey Report, women are significantly less likely than men to become victims of violent crime, but:

- More than 2.5 million women experience violence—rape, robbery, assault—each year.
- Nearly two out of three women victims of violence know their attackers, and one third know them well.
- Young black and Hispanic women are more vulnerable to violent crime than their counterparts, as are poor single women with low education levels who live in inner cities.
- Living in a suburb or rural area does not decrease a woman's risk of experiencing an act of violence by a spouse, boyfriend, or family member.[1]

This Book . . .

This book seeks to raise awareness about the extent, patterns, and impact of violent crimes against women. It examines statistics, highlights areas of controversy, and offers practical advice—through discussions, program profiles, and appendixes—for individuals engaged in both prevention and victim services. Starting with prevention strategies for self-protection and self-defense issues, chapters also address sexual assault/rape, date and acquaintance rape, domestic violence, workplace violence, and teen dating aggression. Legislative trends and contemporary issues, such as dealing with multicultural populations, are referenced as appropriate. The bibliography and appendices provide additional support and referrals to publications, videos, organizations, and programs. A new research paper by the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, "What Serial Rapists Say . . .," is published for the first time in Appendix 1.

This subject is dynamic. No one study can claim to be an exhaustive treatment of violent crime against women. This book was developed to educate, open minds, and provide ideas, support, and resources for individuals and organizations committed to reducing all kinds of violence. However, some themes with special relevance for prevention emerge:

- The true extent of rape by strangers, acquaintances, and intimates is unknown, as is the number of women battered

by boyfriends or husbands. Statisticians, law enforcement officers, and victim advocates agree that current estimates are low because of underreporting and differences in definitions.

- Public education is critical. It must convince men and women that rape and domestic violence are serious crimes, shatter the myths that foster victim blaming, convey basic prevention information, and let victims know what services exist to help them.
- Effective prevention strategies and services for victims depend on multidisciplinary partnerships, whether formal Family Violence Coordinating Councils or informal monthly meetings among police officers, rape and domestic violence crisis centers, and district attorneys and prosecutors.
- To prevent future violence, we must start teaching young children nonviolent ways to resolve conflict and raise awareness of the negative effects of gender stereotyping.
- Because the media strongly influence culture, values, and standards in today's society, we need a thorough examination of violence and gender stereotyping in both news and entertainment, along with research on how such patterns affect individuals in terms of relationships and solving conflicts.

A number of concerned professionals argue that neglect, verbal abuse, and even pornography constitute acts of violence against women. This discussion focuses on physical violence because one person intentionally inflicting physical suffering and pain on another is a crime, an event that is quite different from nonviolent acts of coercion. From a practical viewpoint, failing to differentiate forms of abuse makes it more difficult to discover causes and solutions in the controversial area of family violence.

The Fear Factor

Fear of crime shapes women's lives. Research consistently shows that women are more likely than men to change behavior to prevent crime—walking with a friend at night, installing better locks, carrying less cash when shopping. These are simple, commonsense precautions that everyone should take. Women, however, often go several steps further. They are afraid to take part in such evening activities as entertainment, classes, or meetings. Concern for safety when going to and

from work may limit employment opportunities. It's commonplace for victims of rape and domestic violence to live in constant fear of another attack, move to different neighborhoods, and abandon education and careers. "Contemporary women in the United States live their lives under the threat of sexual violation," says well-known researcher Mary Koss, "and this fear constitutes a special burden not shared by men."[2]

> *Man*: I was walking behind a woman student at night on a dark path, and I didn't want to scare her. But I didn't know whether to stop and let her go ahead so that I wouldn't frighten her, to walk up to her to make her feel more safe, or just to walk normally and let what would happen, happen. She heard me. When she turned around, I saw on her face a look of real terror. I thought to myself—What? She's scared of me? And then, for the first time, I really got it. I mean, I realized how much fear of physical violence women carry around with them all the time.
>
> *Woman*: You mean you didn't know?
>
> *Man*: Not 'til that night, no.
>
> **Source:** Stephen J. Bergman and Janet Surrey, "The Changing Nature of Relationships on Campus," *Educational Record*, Winter 1993.

Values and Attitudes that Nurture Violence

The roots of violence, many believe, can be found in cultural values and attitudes. The United States historically has tolerated and even glorified violence as a way to solve problems, although this tradition is increasingly challenged. Furthermore, how boys and girls are socialized plays a major role in explaining violence against women.

Let us be clear: Times are changing and individual exceptions always exist. Any discussion of gender stereotyping can easily become mired in the swamps of political invective. But researchers, victim advocates, media analysts, and others still see evidence of a culture that socializes males to be aggressive and females to be submissive. A value system that equates masculinity with strength and control and femininity with weakness and acquiescence can offer a rationale for violence

against women. This framework suggests that people have the right to control their partners and discourages equality in relationships.

Gender stereotyping is not just a women's issue. "The idea that males are physically aggressive and females are not has distinct drawbacks for both sexes," says novelist Katherine Dunn. "Defining men as the perpetrators of all violence is a viciously immoral judgment of an entire gender. And defining women as inherently nonviolent condemns us to the equally restrictive role of sweet, meek, and weak."[3] These damaging stereotypes are reinforced daily by the media—through movies and television, talk shows, magazines, newspapers, and commercials—and by a billion-dollar pornography industry. They are remarkably persistent in our culture.

Not Just a Women's Issue

Jackson Katz, co-creator of the Mentors in Violence Prevention Project at the Center for the Study of Sport in Society, believes that calling sexual harassment, rape, battering, and all forms of sexism "women's issues" is part of the problem. "It takes the focus off the perpetrators, it allows men to evade responsibility for the outrageous level of violence women are forced to live with," says Katz. "Men's lives are shaped profoundly by cultural constructions of masculinity," he adds. "Any serious attempts to reduce violence in our society must pay attention to the realities and complexities of men's experience."

Women are 51 percent of the population and almost half the workforce in the United States.

They are mothers, sisters, friends, grandmothers, wives, girlfriends, daughters, and aunts. Disconnection between the sexes, as among residents of a community, produces isolation, fear, and even backlash. And that leaves both women and men even more vulnerable to crime and fear.

Notes

1. Bachman, Ronet, *Violence Against Women*, A National Crime Victimization Survey Report, Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, 1994.
2. Koss, Mary P., "Rape: Scope, Impact, Interventions, and Public Policy Responses," *American Psychologist*, October 1993, pp. 1062–1069.
3. Dunn, Katherine, "Just As Fierce," *Mother Jones*, November–December 1994, p. 36.

CHAPTER 2

Street Sense and Self-Defense

Fear motivates people to seek information and help. Popular women's magazines from *Redbook* and *Family Circle* to *Self* and *Working Woman* have responded to readers' fears of crime with articles on personal safety, self-defense, home security, and driver safety. Discussions of options, personal boundaries, and easy-to-learn physical skills mute the "karate instructor" image that once symbolized self-defense. The advice stresses empowerment and prevention, echoing the themes found in effective programs operated by both police departments and private organizations. Arguments over whether to physically resist an attacker still rage, but advocates for both points of view stress options and decision making based on individual circumstances.

Although seldom acknowledged, fear of sexual violence probably underlies many women's quest for self-protection information and self-defense skills. Interestingly, instructors often find that labeling a presentation or class as anything but rape prevention draws more women. The WomenStrength program operated by the Police Bureau in Portland, Oregon, addresses assaults by strangers on the first night of its three-session course. "We used to start with rape," says director Mary Otto, "but the issue was too overwhelming for many of the women to deal with on the first round. Now we wait until the second session to talk about rape by acquaintances and domestic violence and cover sexual harassment in the third."

The Basics—From Avoidance to Resistance

Over the last three decades, women have raised their educational levels, entered the workforce in increasing numbers, delayed marriage, increasingly shouldered the responsibilities of single parenting, and moved into jobs formerly off-limits to them. They have, in doing so, shown a willingness to take responsibility for their own safety and generated a demand for practical prevention information.

Violence prevention classes for women are offered by diverse organizations, including police departments, rape crisis centers, YWCAs, community colleges, and martial arts schools. Almost all start their sessions with advice on reducing the risk of crime before it happens. Self-defense is defined as a continuum of actions, starting with avoidance and *possibly* ending with resistance. In its guidelines for choosing a self-defense course, the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault (NCASA) says:

> Self-defense is a set of awareness, assertiveness, and verbal confrontation skills with safety strategies and physical techniques that enable someone to successfully escape, resist, and survive violent attacks. A good self-defense course provides psychological awareness and verbal skills, not just physical training.

BODY LANGUAGE

A major training theme stresses body language and instinct, telling women to:

- Stay alert and tuned into their surroundings—in the neighborhood, at work or a shopping mall, waiting for a friend or a ride, on public transportation, in parking lots.
- Move with an air of confidence and purpose, making brief eye contact with people passing by.
- Trust their instincts and leave if someone or something makes them uneasy.

A related area of advice focuses on setting boundaries on personal space and protecting those boundaries. What is personal space? Mary Brandl, a Minneapolis-St. Paul-based instructor and consultant in self-defense, says that from the attacker's perspective, it's "handshake distance. We know that potential attackers gain a sense of power and control when they push into this space." WomenStrength's Mary Otto expands this concept to include personal information, noting that would-be attackers try to gather information about the intended victim. Victims can protect their personal boundaries by moving away or demanding that the other person move. "We must teach young girls to set these boundaries and that they don't have to be polite to someone in their space," stress Julie Brunzell and Stephany Good, Special Agents in the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension. "You can ask someone to move away and feel okay about it."

Experts also agree on the need for planning—a process that requires women to move away from the "it can't happen to

me" attitude to prepare mentally for how they'll deal with situations. "It is vital to think about an attack before it happens," advises Patricia Harman, a police officer in Prince William County, Virginia. "You don't want to waste precious time as your mind cycles through panic, shock, and disbelief."[1] While many attackers have a limited repertoire, they do have a plan, according to Mary Brandl. "We can also plan ahead," she urges. "Even a short self-defense workshop can give us a tremendous advantage by tripling or quadrupling our options."

Any presentation or class in crime prevention and self-protection must take care to avoid the trap of blaming victims. Emphasizing that a woman's decision on how to survive must be respected, the NCASA guidelines say:

> Women do not ask for, cause, invite, or deserve to be assaulted. Women and men sometimes exercise poor judgment about safety behavior, but that does not make them responsible for the attack. Attackers are responsible for their attacks and their use of violence to overpower, control, and abuse another being.

NO ONE "RIGHT" ANSWER

Reputable classes in self-protection offer no guarantees. They do make women aware of options available to them if attacked and urge individuals to think ahead about what they could do to prevent rape or other injury. In talking about sexual assault, WomenStrength highlights the strengths and limitations of seven options:

- ☒ Running to a place where there are other people
- ☐ Yelling angrily "No!," "Back off!," "Leave me alone!"
- ☐ Unexpected behavior to create a distraction
- ☐ Talking to buy time or negotiate
- ☒ Submission (*not* the same as consent)
- ☐ Physically fighting
- ☐ Weapons (using both purchased weapons and objects available at the scene)

There's no standard format for a self-defense course. Classes can be as short as three hours or as long as eight weeks. Regardless of length, they should offer women a place to explore options, learn prevention information and skills, and increase self-confidence. Many programs opt for female

Teaching Survival Skills

Since 1979, the WomenStrength program of the Portland, Oregon, Police Bureau has offered a nine-hour course (three sessions) to introduce teenaged and adult women to a variety of assault protection strategies, including some survival-level fighting skills. The program teaches an average of 1,000 women each year in classes that have seven to ten students per instructor. The sessions include discussions interspersed with practice of verbal strategies and physical skills. Some of these include kicks and hits to vulnerable body parts, as well as escapes from choke holds, body grasps, and wrist grasps. The instructors emphasize escape and multiple strikes to disable attackers, stressing that "what's required in a fight is to view it as a fight!"

Refresher classes are offered at least once a season. WomenStrength is funded totally by the Police Bureau. Classes, held throughout the city, are free. Volunteers teach classes and revise the curriculum and instruction techniques. Careful screening, intensive training, and monthly in-service sessions on a variety of subjects ensure skilled and committed volunteers.

instructors, to provide role models and make it easier for students to discuss sensitive issues. Others believe that a male instructor makes the learning experience more realistic.

Weapons—An Option with Serious Limitations

Weapons, whether lethal or nonlethal, have limitations as self-defense options. They must be accessible, not buried in a purse or briefcase. They are subject to mechanical failures. They can be turned against the victim. Some criminals, especially those on drugs, may not react as expected to mace or pepper spray. Even nonlethal weapons require some training to be used effectively. Depending on the state, possession may be regulated. Despite these serious problems, such products are aggressively marketed to women and widely available.

Firearms and other lethal weapons require considerable training, physical and mental preparation, constant readiness, storage precautions, and proper licensing. Rather than advocate purchasing weapons, self-defense instructors advise their students that women (and men) routinely carry items that can be used against attackers—keys, umbrellas, brief cases, backpacks, books, hair spray or perfume, flashlights.

All weapons can create a sense of false security that leads people to ignore commonsense prevention—strategies that could have prevented the confrontation from arising in the first place.

Fighting Back— A Judgment Call

Does fighting back help a woman escape an attacker or does it increase her risk of serious injury or death? The research literature on sexual assault continues to provide conflicting opinions. A study of serial rapists by the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit cautions that, because rapists' motivations differ, "there is no one specific way to deal with a rape situation." Special Agent Joe Harpold believes that fighting back always presents serious hazards because resistance "turns on" certain types of rapists, prolonging and heightening their pleasure and putting the victim in greater danger. It's a frustrating response to women who want an all-purpose answer, but Harpold maintains that he can recommend a course of action to a person threatened by a rapist only if he knows the location of the confrontation, the personality of the victim, and the motivation of the rapist.[2]

In contrast, studies done in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain suggest that women who resist an assault are no more likely to be injured than those who did not resist. All note, however, that this area of research continues to yield contradictory results and that additional study is needed, with particular attention to the sequencing of resistance strategies.[3]

Fighting back remains a judgment call that's based on an individual's physical and psychological capabilities and a split-second assessment of the attacker and environment. Drawing on her own experiences as a self-defense instructor, author, and victim, Py Bateman says, "In the 1970s I reassured all the nervous nellies about self-defense, saying it was only one option. Now I no longer soft-pedal, but state my opinion. When I was attacked, I delayed until he was cutting my face. That was a mistake. In some circumstances, fighting back is the only option, none of the other choices count. To keep it out of a woman's repertoire endangers lives."

Notes

1. Harman, Patricia, *The Danger Zone: How You Can Protect Yourself From Rape, Robbery, and Assault*, Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing, 1992, pp. 9–10.
2. Harpold, Joseph A., and Robert R. Hazelwood, "Rape: The Dangers of Providing Confrontational Advice," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, June 1986.
3. Zoucha-Jensen, Janice M., and Ann Coyne, "The Effects of Resistance Strategies on Rape," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 83, No. 11, November 1993, pp. 1633–1634.

CHAPTER 3

Rape Is About Power, Control, and Anger

> Rape, the crime and its attendant myths, is as old as dirt. . . . Rape is a hate crime, the logical outcome of an ancient social bias against women. We must not forget that it is supported by a system of language, law, and custom. The battle to eradicate sexual violence is not going to be won through information alone. Ignorance may foster hatred, but information and education will not undo it. No one has ever claimed that men rape because they don't know the statistics.[1]

Myths and conflicting statistics pervade discussions of rape,[2] prevention strategies, the criminal justice response, and help for victims. In 1992, the National Victim Center released *Rape in America: A Report to the Nation*, which reported that one out of every eight adult women had been the victim of forcible rape sometime in her lifetime.[3] This survey concluded that roughly 683,000 women were raped annually, far more than the 104,800 rapes reported to the FBI and the 133,000 detected in the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics.[4] Other researchers have documented rates of rape far above those cited in federal government sources. In a highly publicized study conducted by Mary Koss, one in four college women reported experiencing one or more attempted or completed rapes during a 12-month period.[5]

Regardless of numerical differences, all statistics on rape share these findings:

- Rape is the most underreported violent crime on which national statistics are kept.
- Rape victims overwhelmingly are female, and rapists overwhelmingly are male.

- Rape victims are young; over half the females who reported they had been raped in a 1992 NCVS survey were under 18 years old. *Rape in America: A Report to the Nation* found that close to two-thirds of rape victims were under 18.
- Only one-quarter to one-third of rape victims were assaulted by a stranger—someone they had never seen or did not know well.
- Rape victims are far more likely to develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression than other victims of crime.

Violence Wrapped in Myth

Rape is a violent crime—an act motivated by the need to control, humiliate, or vent anger. Rape can happen to anyone, regardless of physical appearance, dress, body language, or age. A rapist doesn't fit the stereotype of the menacing, sex-starved criminal jumping out of the bushes late at night in an unfamiliar neighborhood. He can be anyone—a delivery person, a colleague at work, a neighbor, a physician or dentist, an uncle, an attractive stranger met at a party. Roughly one-third of all rapes take place in daylight, and close to half occur at or near the victim's home. Rapists frequently have sexual relationships with spouses or girlfriends; they rape to fulfill other needs.

In *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, Susan Brownmiller cited four deadly male myths of rape: all women want to be raped; no woman can be raped against her will; she was asking for it; and if you're going to be raped, you might as well relax and enjoy it. Brownmiller argues that men have convinced many women that these myths are fact.[6]

These myths, especially the "she asked for it" variety, lay the foundation for another issue that sets rape apart from other violent crime—the heavy burden of blame society places on the victim. Following closely behind blame are shame and social stigma.

Rape Hurts the Body and the Soul

Rapists not only sexually violate their victims, they often inflict other physical injuries. The NCVS found that 60 percent of victims of rape by a stranger were injured. Of the victims raped by acquaintances or intimates, 43 percent were injured.

> Whether the assault is by a soldier today in Bosnia or by an acquaintance at home in the United States, it is the victims of rape who often feel that their honor has indeed been stained. . . . Shame is an almost universal response in women who have been raped, regardless of country, class or culture, researchers in violence find. Many victims of sexual abuse—and most victims are female—feel that they are no longer "intact." They believe they have been "defiled," that they are no longer lovable. In fact, it's almost as though society expects victims to emerge from the trauma of sexual assault with a sense of shame.
>
> Abigail Trafford, "An Apology That Shames the Victim," *The Washington Post*, September 13, 1994

In both groups, roughly 30 percent needed hospital care. HIV infection, other sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancy pose additional health threats to the rape victim. It's not uncommon for victims to suffer fatigue, tension headaches, gastrointestinal distress, and disturbed sleeping or eating patterns.

The psychological aftermath is equally devastating. Studies consistently show that fear, anxiety, depression, and sexual problems are common reactions. While these diminish over time, at least one of four victims still has psychological problems more than a year after the assault. Rape victims make frequent visits to their primary care physician in the months and years following the assault. But they go with vague medical complaints and seldom seek formal psychological treatment.[7]

Most rape victims meet the criteria for PTSD. In fact, rape is more likely to induce PTSD than robbery, physical assault, tragic death of a close friend or family member, or natural disaster. Whether it's acquaintance or stranger rape makes no difference in levels of stress. For years following the rape, many victims continue to be fearful and anxious, restricting their daily lives because they're worried about staying alone or going out alone. The victim's trauma also touches the lives of family members, friends, and co-workers.

FBI Research on Serial Rapists—What It Says About Prevention Tactics

The initial line of defense against stranger and even acquaintance rape lies in basic self-protection and home security measures. Recent FBI research based on interviews with incarcerated serial rapists supports traditional prevention strategies, but also helps pinpoint situations where women are especially vulnerable. The offenders' comments also underscore the conclusion that there's no one "right" way to prevent rape.[8] Each rapist surveyed had committed at least 10 rapes, exhausted his appeals, and voluntarily consented to be interviewed. All were serving long prison sentences.

The reasons most frequently given for choosing victims, according to this study, were opportunity and location. The serial rapists saw potential in many situations, such as a stranded car. They paid attention to body language, such as looking lost, that made a woman appear vulnerable. Dressing as a utility or maintenance worker was one ploy used to gain entrance to a home. These men tended to rape in areas they knew—they had lived there, committed other crimes there, or even conducted some surveillance. Darkness, bad weather, and secluded locations also presented opportunities, as did neighborhoods with an atmosphere of anonymity. Apartments were preferred by many because they could count on someone to open the main entrance. Many gained access through unlocked doors or windows. Others got into a victim's home or car by asking for help or directions. When asked what advice he would give to avoid being a rape victim, one rapist said:

I think being too trusting to a stranger. I think many women have the feeling or viewpoint that a rapist is someone that will hang out at a pornographic film, that he may have a thirst or particular appearance . . . they have to realize that it can be anyone—that if they're home alone, they shouldn't open the door to anyone they don't know, no matter what the circumstances are, no matter how serious it is.

Physical characteristics played some role in the selection of victims, but definitions of attractiveness were highly individual. One-third of the rapists were peeping Toms, and several stalked their targets. No rapist used one factor exclusively in selecting a victim.

I was planning on raping her, but then she started locking her windows . . . and keeping her curtains shut. Without that, I couldn't do anything to her. The one I ended up raping and killing lived next door to her. One night I saw her having intercourse with this guy, and I watched them make love . . . . She changed something about the window curtains so I could see in most of the time.

Roughly half the rapists admitted that physical or verbal resistance would make them break off the attack and flee. But a significant proportion said nothing would stop them, and several admitted they couldn't predict what they would do.

. . . She could have screamed. I'd of run like hell. . . . There was other houses around and it would of scared the hell out of me cuz somebody might of overheard and called the police. As far as fighting back, she didn't have a chance. She was trapped. And she could of marked me . . . if she'd of gouged me I'd of been screaming scared. Of course, I might of killed her too.

What does this research mean for prevention? Women of all ages should learn these key messages:

- ☐ Use body language that shows alertness and confidence. Be aware of what's going on around you.
- ☐ Install good locks on doors, windows, and sliding glass doors—and use them.
- ☐ At dusk or night, walk or park in well-lighted areas. Make sure your home has good lights over exterior entrances. Consider using timers for lights and spotlights.
- ☐ Always keep shades, curtains, and blinds closed at night, especially in bedrooms and bathrooms. Check how much a person could see looking through the windows from outside. Recheck at night.
- ☐ Never let someone from a utility or repair company into your home without calling the company to verify employment and the need to enter your home.
- ☐ If your car breaks down, stay inside, lock your doors, and ask anyone who stops to call the police.
- ☐ If you see a stranded motorist, drive to the nearest phone and call the police. If you have a car phone, use it. Don't get out of your car to help.
- ☐ Don't let someone you don't know—male or female—into your home to use the phone. Offer to make the call.
- ☐ If someone you know is sexually assaulted, encourage her (or him) to report it to law enforcement immediately.

The Criminal Justice System Responds to Rape

Response to Rape: Detours on the Road to Equal Justice, issued by the majority staff of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee in May 1993, concluded that the criminal justice system "simply does not accept that violent acts against women are serious

crimes."[9] The Committee's six-month investigation of state rape prosecutions found that:

- Ninety-eight percent of rape victims never see their attacker caught, tried, or imprisoned.
- More than half (54 percent) of all rape prosecutions result in either a dismissal or an acquittal.
- A rape prosecution is more than twice as likely as a murder prosecution to be dismissed and 30 percent more likely to be dismissed than a robbery prosecution.
- Almost one-quarter of convicted rapists never go to prison and another one-quarter receive sentences in local jails, where the average sentence is 11 months.[10]

In his introduction to the committee's report, Senator Joseph Biden argues that our justice system traditionally discounts violence between people who know each other, viewing the crime as a private matter. He also contends that the system—and the society it reflects—tries to normalize rape as the "mistakes of errant youth or negligent men" and blames the victim instead of her attacker.[11] Recent books written by prosecutors, Linda A. Fairstein's *Sexual Violence* and Alice Vachss's *Sex Crimes*, offer additional evidence and insights on how and why the courts often fail to treat rape victims with sensitivity and fairness.

TWO DECADES OF PROGRESS

This situation is particularly discouraging when viewed against the significant progress achieved in dealing with sexual violence over the last few decades. Reforms in most state rape laws have broadened the definition of rape to include penetration of any kind, removed corroboration by other witnesses and resistance requirements, and made the victim's sexual history inadmissible as evidence. To emphasize that rape is a violent crime, some laws have changed the term "rape" to "sexual assault." A number of states have eliminated marital rape exemptions. Others define some sexual assaults as bias crimes, giving increased latitude for civil remedies. To guide legislation and policy, several State Statistical Analysis Centers collect and publish data on sexual assault. At the national level, the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports and the National Victimization Crime Survey are working to improve their measurements of sexual assault.

Both courts and police departments have created innovative units that incorporate victim advocacy, counseling, and refer-

Diverse Neighborhood Demands Cultural Sensitivity, Aggressive Outreach

Quetzal Center seeks to "free sexual violence survivors from the captivity of fear and silence" through counseling, advocacy services, and referrals. As an agency of Community Counseling Centers of Chicago, Quetzal serves the multicultural Edgewater Uptown neighborhood. This area houses the city's highest concentration of Asian refugees and American Indians, a large Hispanic population, and a growing number of East Europeans, as well as African Americans and some immigrants from the Middle East. Edgewater Uptown also has a substantial homeless population who migrated to the neighborhood to obtain help from Chicago's social service and mental health agencies following deinstitutionalization. Quetzal's five-person staff consists of its director, two bilingual advocates, one court advocate, and a recently hired male community liaison who conducts empowerment groups for male adolescents and reaches out to gang members. Volunteers from colleges and universities supplement the professional staff. Funds come from a variety of sources on a year-to-year basis, including the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, and the Illinois Attorney General's Office. Quetzal joins a network of victim advocacy agencies that meets once a month with the head of detectives from the Chicago Police Department and a representative from the State Attorney's Office to discuss cases and problems. It also conducts training for police and judges on understanding the behavior of sexual assault victims.

"Rape transcends all ages and ethnic groups," says director Jean Brumfield. "A sense of powerlessness and a sense of vulnerability are common to all sexual assault victims. We let the victim set the agenda so she can regain a sense of control and power. If she wants to move, we help. If she wants to go to court, we help." Quetzal staff must work constantly to gain the trust of their diverse community. Staff members attend community meetings and counsel victims in their homes, schools, and offices. "You can't sit back and wait for these clients to come to you," stresses Brumfield. "We hold forums, go to police roll calls, and reach out to public housing complexes." Quetzal offers in-service training for social service providers, self-defense classes called "Women Can Be Strong," and sexual assault prevention workshops for children, teens, college students, and adults. Most rape victims who come to Quetzal were assaulted by an acquaintance; many are also victims of domestic violence.

Quetzal emphasizes culturally relevant community education. Its brochures are translated into Spanish, Polish, and several Asian languages. The agency must deal with Hispanics' fear of police and concern for their immigration status, the belief in Asian communities that a woman's rape brings shame to her entire family, the indirect communication styles of American Indians, and the beliefs among African Americans that sexual assault is strictly a family matter not to be reported to police. Regardless of culture, Quetzal encounters barriers stemming from poverty—no phone and no transportation make it almost impossible for a victim to pursue a case in court without an advocate. Distrust of the police also creates problems. To serve a multicultural community, "you must develop a real understanding of what it's like to live there," advises Brumfield, "and your staff must reflect the community."

rals into investigative and prosecutorial processes. These efforts not only nurture interagency cooperation, but can dramatically improve the chances for a successful investigation and prosecution. In the long-term, such programs should increase the reporting of sexual assault to law enforcement.

Most communities today have rape crisis centers with an array of services to help victims. Through protocols that spell out appropriate procedures and improved training, hospital emergency rooms better balance the requirement to collect evidence and the need to handle victims' medical and psychological problems. Civil liability suits by rape victims have forced businesses, universities, and other institutions to take such preventive measures as improved lighting and security guards.[12]

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 represents the first federal legislation to specifically address violence against women. Its Title IV, the Violence Against Women Act, incorporates legislation to toughen federal laws and evidentiary rules regarding sex crimes and add protections for the privacy of rape victims. It also authorizes grants for collaborative efforts among law enforcement, prosecutors, the courts, victim advocates, and service providers to reduce violence against women and to improve their range of services for victims. Crimes motivated by gender become a civil rights violation, opening another channel of compensation for women victims.

> You can't rape proof yourself in this world. It's a community problem—the larger culture has to change attitudes about women, sex, power, and abusers' power. Harsher penalties are not the answer. Rape happens because people are allowed to get away with it in their beliefs and attitudes.
>
> Heidi Kon, former Director, Quetzal Center, Chicago

DEALING WITH RAPE DEMANDS MULTIFACETED STRATEGIES

What can be done to respond better to survivors of sexual violence, to educate the public about prevention, and to debunk biases that blame the victim? *Rape in America* offered these recommendations:

George Mason University Takes Stand Against Sexual Assault

Connie Kirkland has been working to stop violence against women for almost 20 years, first as a counselor in a rape crisis center in the mid-1970s and now as Sexual Assault Services Coordinator at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. "Universities must have rape crisis and victim services on campus to help victims of crime immediately, since we are in loco parentis," maintains Kirkland. Although GMU provided crime prevention and victim services through its campus police department, pressure from the faculty senate and student organizations resulted in the creation of a new position, Sexual Assault Services Coordinator, within the office of the Dean of Students. This action also helped the university comply with the federal Higher Education Amendments of 1992 and recommendations from the Virginia Governor's Task Force on Substance Abuse and Sexual Assault. GMU takes a strong stand against sexual assault. Any student who commits a rape, on or off campus, is subject to expulsion. Sexual assaults, defined as any unwanted touching of a sexual nature, are serious violations of the student judicial code, faculty standards, and university employment policies.

Responsibilities that fall to the Sexual Assault Services Coordinator include chairing the Sexual Assault Advisory Board, coordinating education/prevention programs and policies, developing and providing training and advocacy programs for survivors and students accused of sexual assault, and developing publications and resource materials. It's not uncommon for a rape victim to fall behind academically and even drop out of school. An important facet of Kirkland's job is to intervene with faculty to salvage academic careers and advise teachers on responding appropriately to rape victims. If a victim of a campus rape does decide to leave, the university may refund tuition and purge the academic records for that semester. Kirkland speaks at campus events such as a Women's History Month lecture series, works with other campus organizations on sexual assault prevention presentations, organizes campus-community partnership events such as Turn Off the Violence Day, and talks to high school audiences. Her office also offers internships to students and works to include sexual assault issues in premed, prelaw, and nursing classes. These education and counseling efforts are supported by a campus police department that provides a range of services from emergency call boxes and escorts to speakers on crime prevention and orientation sessions for new students, housing coordinators, and residence assistants.

- ☐ Enact federal and state laws that provide privacy protections to victims of sexual assault to prevent media disclosure of their names and addresses.
- ☐ Provide education about crimes against women, especially rape, not only in secondary and higher education, but at grade-school and junior-high-school levels. Give particular attention to preteen girls and boys.
- ☐ Move rape prevention efforts beyond "stranger danger" and help girls and women protect themselves from people and situations that pose the highest risk of rape.

- Provide the medical and mental health communities with comprehensive training about the appropriate treatment of rape victims.
- Provide the public, the criminal justice system, and potential jurors in rape trials with accurate information about rape and rape victims to eliminate misconceptions.[13]

Criminal justice professionals, victim service providers, and researchers call for interagency working groups and protocols, victim assistance programs for traditionally underserved groups (ethnic and racial minorities, homosexuals, immigrants, disabled persons), and cross-training between victim assistance and criminal justice staffs. Another recommended innovation is giving the victim the option of informational reporting, so that law enforcement can collect data about rapists even when the victim does not wish to prosecute. Special sex crime investigation units and in-house victim advocates have proved their effectiveness.[14] A long-term strategy involves assistance early and often to child victims of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, to help restore their self-esteem and lower their risk of becoming violence-prone adults. Local rape crisis centers that provide front-line services to victims need greater support, both technical assistance and funds.[15] Increasing the willingness of victims to report rape remains a long-term goal of most strategies.

Note: This chapter and the following one on acquaintance rape focus on women as rape victims. While males can be rape victims, many more females than males report sexual assaults. Moreover, males generally are raped by other males.

Notes

1. Miller, Peggy, and Nancy Biele, "Twenty Years Later: The Unfinished Revolution," in *Transforming a Rape Culture*, Emilie Buchwald et al., editors, Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions, 1993, pp. 49–54.
2. Rape in this chapter is defined as an event that occurred without the individual's consent, involved the use of force or threat of force, and involved sexual penetration of the victim's vagina, mouth, or rectum. This coincides with the legal definition in most states of forcible rape or criminal sexual assault.
3. Lou Harris and Associates helped design the survey, which was conducted by the Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center of the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at the Medical University of South Carolina. Over 4,000 women over the age of 18 were interviewed. Only female interviewers were used.
4. *Crime in the United States 1993*, Uniform Crime Reports, Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, 1994; Bachman, Ronet, *Violence Against Women*, A National Crime Victimization Survey Report, Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, 1994.
5. Koss, Mary P., and Mary R. Harvey, *The Rape Victim: Clinical and Community Interventions*, Second Edition, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1991, pp. 8–16.
6. Brownmiller, Susan, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975, p. 346.
7. Koss, Mary P. "Rape: Scope, Impact, Interventions, and Public Policy Responses," *American Psychologist*, October 1993, pp. 1062–1069; Siegal, Judith, et al., "Reactions to Sexual Assault: A Community Study," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1990, pp. 229–246; "Violence Against Women, Relevance for Medical Practitioners," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 267, No. 23, June 17, 1992, pp. 3184–3189.
8. See Appendix 1, "What Serial Rapists Say . . ." by Georgina L. Rogers and Joseph A. Harpold.
9. *The Response to Rape: Detours on the Road to Equal Justice*, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, May 1993, p. 4.
10. Ibid, p. 11.
11. Ibid, pp. 4–5.
12. Epstein, Joel, and Stacia Langenbahn, *The Criminal Justice and Community Response to Rape*, National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, May 1994, pp. 1–3.
13. National Victim Center and the Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center, *Rape in America: A Report to the Nation*, Arlington, VA: National Victim Center, 1992, pp. 13–14.
14. Epstein and Langenbahn, *The Criminal Justice System and Community Response to Rape*, pp. 85–86.
15. Koss and Harvey, *The Rape Victim*, pp. 1066–1067.

CHAPTER 4

Don't Dismiss Acquaintance Rape—It's Still Rape and a Crime of Violence

"I didn't expect someone I knew to rape me," says the disbelieving college student.[1] Hyped in headlines and prime time, "date" rape conjures up confusion and a blurring of definitions. A blind date, a study session, a casual get-together after work, a party, a meal shared—these everyday occasions have turned into nightmares for victims of date and acquaintance rape.

Many are reluctant to acknowledge that a male can force a female acquaintance or a friend to have sex without her consent and without using force or threats. In committing this violent act, someone known becomes the unthinkable—a rapist. Guilt and fear of reprisal stop victims of such rapes from telling crisis centers, friends and family, or law enforcement. For everyone, confronting the reality of acquaintance rape means seriously questioning gender stereotypes and realizing that men and women often don't talk to each other candidly about their expectations of relationships.

Definitions Confuse the Issues

The very label "date rape" reflects a reluctance of law enforcement and society at large to consider sexual assault by someone known socially to the victim as a serious crime. But even conservative studies find that at least half of all rape victims knew their attackers. In addition, it's estimated that one-fifth of all college women have been raped by someone they knew. The medical and mental health literature finds no differences in trauma suffered by rape victims, regardless of relationship to the attacker. Contemporary sexual assault laws make no distinctions between stranger or acquaintance rape.

More and more, "date" and "acquaintance" rape are used interchangeably, although academic researchers often distinguish the two on the basis of sexual relationships or define date rape as one type of acquaintance rape. While the distinction may be important for survey research, this report uses the broader term, acquaintance rape, to encompass both.

Acquaintance rape is even more rarely reported to law enforcement than stranger rape. When cases do go to trial, studies show that jurors tend to be critical of any victim who has put herself at risk or had a prior relationship with the rapist.[2] In addition, a woman raped by an acquaintance can expect to be viciously attacked by the defense attorney in the courtroom. "Jurors . . . will be urged to see the victim as a liar—she was not raped, they will be told, she was a willing participant in a sexual act with the defendant, and now she is fabricating a crime."[3] Acquaintance rape victims take much longer to seek counseling, if they go at all. They deal with intense self-blame, as well as blame from friends and family—particularly if alcohol or drugs were involved.

Program strategies must educate women about preventing acquaintance rape, focus on how gender stereotyping affects attitudes, and make sure that rape survivors know about counseling services. Education efforts should target junior-high and high-school students, as well as young women and men in colleges and universities. Sports teams and fraternities require special attention; mounting evidence suggests that their members commit sexual assaults more frequently than other students.

The Stages of Acquaintance Rape

Dividing acquaintance rape into three stages—intrusion, desensitization, isolation—provides a useful framework for building prevention skills, according to Py Bateman, developer of date rape prevention programs for adolescents and past director of the Alternatives to Fear program in Seattle. The offender first intrudes into the private space of the intended victim through behavior such as suggestive remarks or touching that borders on the inappropriate. When these intrusions are made with no coercion or in situations where a rape would be impossible, the victim gradually becomes desensitized. In this second stage, she tolerates behavior that she normally would see as threatening; a social group may reinforce this acceptance. The desensitization stage makes it much easier for the rapist to isolate the victim and rape her. The victim is likely to blame herself for the rape, thinking she "led him on" and made mistakes in judgment.

Getting Men to Speak Out Against Sexist Violence

"Rape is traditionally a woman's issue, but who's doing the raping? We want to get men to speak out against rape, battering, sexual harassment, and all forms of men's violence against women," says Jackson Katz, co-creator of Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP). Based at the Center for the Study of Sport in Society at Boston's Northeastern University, MVP worked with more than 660 male (and 40 female) student athletes at four colleges and universities in New England during its first year. The project targets athletes because they have the status needed to influence their peers and because violence against women tends to be a problem in this subculture. In three sessions, MVP emphasizes getting men to talk to each other about masculinity, relations with women, and violence. "For most of these young men, it's the first time they have ever discussed these issues in any organized fashion," comments Katz. "Men fear introspection. It's the way our culture structures masculinity. As educators, we need to create spaces where men can have conversations about masculinity."

The key teaching tool is the *MVP Playbook*, a series of party and residence hall scenarios involving rape, battering, sexual harassment, alcohol and consent, and harassment of gays and lesbians. In highly interactive sessions, students are asked to think about what they could do in these situations. The multiracial MVP staff encourages the men to share personal experiences and discuss effective interventions.

The underlying message is that men have numerous options to interrupt and confront abusive behavior by their peers. In its second year, MVP trained individuals chosen from its sessions to speak to young people in middle schools, junior high schools, and high schools. MVP staff and graduates give presentations to fraternities, campus leadership groups, community groups, and student orientation meetings. A project to train female student athletes to talk to high-school girls about sexist violence issues was launched in fall 1994. In addition to his MVP work, Jackson Katz founded the Real Men organization in 1988 "to encourage a critical mass of men to speak out against sexism and all forms of men's violence against women." Real Men provides speakers, sponsors forums, holds fundraisers for organizations serving battered women, and produces and distributes literature at sports events.

To prevent acquaintance rape, women need to "recognize intrusion and to communicate effectively that it is not welcome and must stop," says Bateman. This isn't easy, since society still frequently teaches women to be passive and avoid confrontation and encourages men to be competitive and aggressive. Women have two tasks in the desensitization stage: to resist by not "getting used to" sexually intrusive behavior and to identify potentially dangerous men who choose to ignore the clear message that their language and actions are unacceptable. Avoiding isolation relies on basic prevention tactics, such as not accepting a ride with someone who makes you feel uneasy and planning options—from escape to self-defense—in case of a rape attempt.[4] Using this framework, the following prevention advice makes good sense.

FOR WOMEN

- Meet a first date or a blind date while you're with friends. Insist on going to a public place. Carry money for a phone call or taxi, or take your own car.
- Trust your gut feelings. If the way he acts makes you angry, nervous, or uneasy, get out. It's better to be embarrassed for a few minutes than have your life shattered by rape.
- Be careful not to let alcohol or other drugs decrease your ability to take care of yourself and make sensible decisions.
- Don't leave a party, concert, game, or other social occasion with someone you just met or don't know well.
- Communicate your sexual limits with a firm tone of voice and clear body language. Don't rely on ESP to get the message across, and don't send mixed signals.

FOR MEN

- Accept a woman's decision when she says "no." Don't see it as a challenge.
- Realize that forcing a woman to have sex against her will is rape, a violent crime with serious consequences.
- Avoid clouding your judgment and understanding of what another person wants by using alcohol and other drugs.
- Never be drawn into a gang rape—at parties, fraternities, bars, or after sporting events.
- Reach out and help a woman who wants out from a situation where she's being pressured to have sex or is being verbally or physically abused.

The Play's the Thing

A well-established nonprofit agency devoted to teaching teenagers in the Seattle area about sexual assault prevention, Alternatives to Fear turned to drama as an educational tool in 1990. "Teens are so resistant to being told what to do that we needed to find interesting ways to get the message across," says Py Bateman. "We decided a real play was needed, one with a storyline that could involve kids and use young actors." It took a grant from the state and two years to develop *Truth & Consequences*, which examines how the events of one evening dominate the lives of four young people.

At a post-game party, two high-school students end up in a bedroom after drinking, dancing, and flirting. Shelly finds it difficult to keep things under control and finally must defend herself as Brad tries to rape her. Meanwhile, Becky and Jim tentatively begin a friendship that will flourish as they learn to confide in and trust each other. The play's characters must confront the sensitive issues of date rape, self-defense, victim blame, and helping victims of attempted rape. At first, the project used high-school actors, but switched last year to drama students from the University of Washington who "were better actors and willing to do things that embarrass high-school students." Performance fees from schools support the play. Students rate the play highly for both education and entertainment.

A second play, *Boundaries*, previewed in fall 1994 thanks to another grant and three years of developmental work. It also talks about date rape and helping victims, but two of the main characters are Vietnamese teenagers and the scenarios speak to generational issues that affect Asian communities. In *Boundaries*, high-school senior Anh Thi Tranh, called Asland by her friends, sneaks out to cheerleading practice and to spend time with Foresst who is also Vietnamese. They talk about the tension between the traditional beliefs of their families and their attempts to fit in at school. Influenced by a friend, Foresst pushes Asland sexually until, one night after a school dance, she must use skills learned in a self-defense class to ward off his advances. Her friends support Asland, but her sister urges that she also share her feelings with their mother. As in *Truth & Consequences*, this play talks about communication, mutual respect, and caring in relationships. In addition to coordinating performances, Bateman offers the plays to organizations outside Seattle along with a curriculum guide, director's and blocking notes, background information, and a post-play discussion guide.

Notes

1. *Campus Rape*, a video produced by the Rape Treatment Center, Santa Monica Hospital Center, Santa Monica, CA, 1990.
2. Epstein and Langenbahn, *The Criminal Justice and Community Response to Rape*, p. 66.
3. Fairstein, Linda A., *Sexual Violence: Our War Against Rape*, New York: William Morrow, 1993, p. 137.
4. Bateman, Py, *Teen Sex: Drawing the Line*, Seattle, WA: Alternatives to Fear, 1990.

CHAPTER 5

Domestic Violence—Unrecognized, Unreported, and Devastating to Families

In June 1994, charges that O.J. Simpson murdered his ex-wife Nicole and her friend Ron Goldman catapulted domestic violence into the public eye. To police, victim advocates, and shelter staff who deal daily with domestic violence situations, the patterns of abuse uncovered in the investigation were nothing new. But the media blitz certainly triggered what Family Violence Prevention Fund Director Esta Soler calls "a national teach-in on domestic violence."

Domestic Violence—A "Private Matter" Goes Public

The Family Violence Prevention Fund began working with The Advertising Council, Inc., in 1993 to develop the first national public education campaign focusing on domestic violence. "The issue has been so privatized that, in order to change attitudes, we needed a public conversation," says Soler. "Education is critical because society—families, religious institutions, the workplace—has to change its attitudes and believe that domestic violence is not normal behavior and is not acceptable." The campaign selected the theme, "There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence" for television, radio, and print ads that featured a toll-free number people could call for a free Community Action Kit. This guide not only highlighted effective local strategies to prevent domestic violence, but included the name, address, and phone number for the domestic violence coalition in every state.

Launched in July 1994, the ads provoked an extraordinary response—in September and October, "There's No Excuse" was the most supported Ad Council campaign. The 800 number logged more than 20,000 calls in the first four months. Foundations and corporations have provided additional support for the campaign and the Family Violence Prevention Fund. Clearly, a groundswell of concern about domestic violence had been building, thanks to the diligent and often unrecognized efforts of victim advocates, shelters, caring

police officers, and prosecutors. With the convergence of a highly publicized case and an advertising campaign, the public conversation is well under way. It has raised awareness, debunked some myths about the crime of domestic violence, and created ongoing discussions about a complex problem.

Looking at the Numbers

As in other crimes of violence against women, statistics are confusing. Moreover, their accuracy is always compromised by the reality that much domestic violence is never reported to authorities of any type. Estimates of assaults on women by their husbands or boyfriends range from 1.8 million to 4 million each year, depending on definitions and survey techniques. Studies by the American Medical Association and others show that 20 percent to 30 percent of the women who seek medical attention in hospital emergency rooms are there because of a partner's physical abuse.[1] The National Crime Victimization Survey found that, annually, females experienced 10 times more incidents of violence by an intimate (defined as a spouse, ex-spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend) than do males.[2] An analysis of Uniform Crime Report statistics reported that 54 percent of the murder victims killed by intimates in 1977 were female. By 1992, the ratio had changed, with 70 percent of the victims being female.[3]

While acknowledging that the majority of batterers and their victims are young or middle-aged adults, advocates for older Americans emphasize that older women are also victims of domestic violence. Both the Women's Initiative of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) and the Older Women's League (OWL) report that abuse by a partner rather than an adult child constitutes a significant portion of elder abuse. AARP cites a survey that found that 58 percent of those elderly who said they were victims of physical abuse reported that the abuser was his or her spouse, compared to 24 percent whose abuser was an adult child.[4] A study sponsored by OWL for its 1994 Mother's Day Report stated that more than 1.4 million women ages 45 to 65 were physically abused by their spouses. These groups also point out that shelters are usually geared to younger women with children and that older victims of battering often have different needs with regard to housing, financial status, and counseling.[5]

Reliable statistics are essential in developing appropriate prevention tactics, obtaining funding, capturing public attention, and evaluating efforts to prevent domestic violence and help

its survivors. "We must speak about domestic violence with one voice," says Mary Ann Fenley of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta. With this goal in mind, the CDCP has convened a working group of experts in the field to establish uniform definitions that consider injury severity, severity of violence, and weapon use. In addition to supporting a national survey of violence against women conducted by the National Institute of Justice, the CDC is assessing the usefulness of existing data sources—HMOs (health maintenance organizations) and the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System. Other CDC funding initiatives include research grants on risk factors in family violence, data collection and prevention programs undertaken by state health departments, community-based projects for delivering family violence interventions, a curriculum on dating violence that is now being tested in rural North Carolina, and a study of gun use in American households.

Children and Family Violence

Researchers consistently find correlations between child abuse and violence committed as its victims grow up. Being abused or neglected as a child increases a person's risk for an arrest as a juvenile by 53 percent, as an adult by 38 percent, and for violent crime by 38 percent.[6] Men who were abused as children or who witnessed violence between their parents are more likely to be abusive adults than their counterparts who never experienced or witnessed abuse. However, these are not the only factors that explain or predict battering—social factors including age, employment status, and stress also correlate with a propensity for domestic violence.[7] With regard to women, a survey of state prisons discovered that more than four in ten reported prior physical or sexual abuse.[8]

Nearly half the children of battered women have been physically abused, according to several studies. Simply witnessing a mother's abuse can contribute to low self-esteem in girls, aggression and behavior problems in both sexes, problems with social relationships, depression, and anxiety.[9] Both researchers and practitioners in the domestic violence prevention field believe that children who grow up in violent homes are more likely to become abusers *and* victims, because they view such violence as normal and even acceptable.

Children's Hospital Reaches Out to Abused Mothers

In the mid-1980s, the staff of Children's Hospital in Boston began to question whether they could truly help child victims of abuse as long as they ignored abuse of the mothers. When a search for effective interventions in medical or child protection settings met with frustration, the hospital staff developed AWAKE (Advocacy for Women and Kids in Emergencies) to offer advocacy and support to mothers while the hospital provided medical care to their children. Doctors, nurses, social workers, and police refer mothers to AWAKE. "Battered women aren't looking for counseling or advocacy services when they come to a hospital, but they *are* thinking about leaving their abuser," observes Jennifer Robertson, Director. "It's a good time to talk to them." Most accept help: in 1994 only five or six of the more than 300 women referred to the program refused services.

AWAKE links these battered women with an advocate, often herself a survivor of abuse. This advocate works with hospital staff and outside agencies to devise a safety plan and offer other kinds of help to keep the mother and children free from violence and, whenever possible, together. These services include ongoing telephone and personal contact, court advocacy, referrals for legal advice and medical care, individual counseling, and support groups. To deal with a bicultural clientele, two advocates speak Spanish. "Culture always plays a role because there are differences in child rearing and home life," says Robertson. "Services needed don't differ because battering is battering, but it is more difficult for minorities or women with disabilities to find help." The five-person staff is augmented by volunteers who provide child care, a graduate student intern who does casework and counseling, and college interns who work on a variety of projects, including resource manuals and outreach calls.

AWAKE not only offers education and support groups for mothers, but also conducts support groups for children aged six to ten. To protect the child, the mother must have separated from the abusive father or the abuser must be involved in a treatment program for batterers. "There's nothing out there for children except one-to-one therapy," stresses Robertson. "When mothers are dealing with the problems of leaving an abusive relationship, they often separate emotionally from the kids. These children need to know they are not alone." Working with eight children at a time for eight to ten weeks, the group leader asks the children to make self-portraits, describe who has power in their lives, and talk about love, respect, and anger. Mothers agree not to ask about the sessions, although children are allowed to tell their mothers if they wish.

Although it's less of a struggle each year, AWAKE staff find that doctors and nurses often don't understand the dynamics of battering and the extent of the problem. Many still think it's intrusive to ask patients if their husbands or boyfriends have abused them. In addition to ongoing education for hospital staff, AWAKE conducts training for police officers and college students in nursing, social work, and criminal justice. It recently placed an advocate in a housing project that is 75 percent Hispanic and 25 percent African American as part of a project to combat infant deaths and low birth weights. In the first week, the advocate received ten referrals. "I see a little bright light, but not enough" concludes Robertson. "Women are leaving abusive relationships, and they are leaving sooner. But we need to focus on young children, teaching them about healthy relationships, power and abuse, and conflict resolution."

News accounts of domestic violence often carry a tone of amazement and shock, suggesting the discovery of a brand new social problem. Blame falls on the victim, alcohol or other drugs, or the abuser's childhood. The batterer and the community are absolved from responsibility. Researcher Richard Gelles cites eight myths about family violence that feed this denial and hinder progress in raising public awareness and developing prevention strategies.

THE MYTHS

Family violence (child and spouse abuse) is:

- Rare
- Confined to mentally disturbed or sick people
- Confined to the lower classes
- Occurs in all groups, and social factors are not relevant

And:

- Children who are abused will grow up to be child abusers.
- Battered wives like being hit, otherwise they would leave.
- Alcohol and drug abuse are the real causes of violence in the home.
- Violence and love do not co-exist in families.[10]

Although statistics on family violence are not precise, it's clear that millions of children, women, and even men are abused physically by family members and other intimates. Research rejects the myth that all abusers are mentally ill. Reports from police records, victim services, and academic studies show that domestic violence exists in every socioeconomic group, regardless of race or culture. However, this evidence also suggests that domestic violence does not occur equally across various demographic groups. For example, several studies have found that unemployed men and men with low incomes have higher rates of battering. On the other hand, the extent of domestic violence in middle- and upper-class families is probably underestimated, because these women rarely report or seek help to escape from batterers who wield tremendous economic and social power and may be skilled in psychological harassment.

Because many male batterers also abuse alcohol and other drugs, it's easy to conclude that these substances cause domestic violence. They apparently do increase the lethality of violence, but they also offer the batterer another excuse to evade responsibility for behavior. The abusive man typically controls his actions, even when drunk or high, by choosing a time and place for the assaults to take place in private and go undetected. In addition, successful completion of a drug treatment program does not guarantee an end to battering. Abusing an intimate and abusing substances are two different problems that should be treated separately.[11]

Perfect correlations rarely occur in the social sciences, cautions Gelles. Family violence results from complex interactions among individual, situational, and social factors.

Why Doesn't She Leave?

The most common response to battering—"Why doesn't she just leave?"—ignores economic and social realities. How can the victim flee to safety when shelters often are full and family, friends, and workplace are not always supportive? Can the woman financially support herself and her children, faced with rent and utility deposits, day care, health insurance, and other basic expenses? Will she be condemned by her religious group for breaking up the family? Will her immigration or refugee status be jeopardized? Can she abandon all hope that the person she loves will change? Finally, a woman may actually increase her chance of being killed if she leaves.

The media and the criminal justice system tend to portray the battered woman as weak. Advocates strongly disagree with this image.

I've never met a battered woman who didn't think of herself as a strong woman. Most are doing all the regular things of life—they're keeping the house, they're holding down a job, raising their kids—all while they're living in this terrible situation. They're doing all the things that put the rest of us under stress, plus they're trying to appease this man to keep him from being violent. So, yes, they're strong. They cope with an incredible amount, and that's the way they think of themselves, and they don't want to—can't—think of themselves as helpless battered women. But at the same time they are being victimized by these tyrannical, abusive men.[12]

In past decades, only a small number of battered women left the relationship. Today, many advocates believe that the pattern has changed. "I've been working with domestic violence victims for 17 years and, in the past, 70 percent of the women who came to us returned to the relationship," recalls Linda Healy, executive director of Mutual Ground in Aurora, Illinois.

"Now, 70 percent do not." She adds, "All we can do is give women choices." These choices—such as a crisis hotline, temporary shelter, restraining orders, counseling, court advocacy—have increased substantially since the 1970s, when women's groups opened the first shelters and started hotlines. But they are still inadequate, especially for racial and ethnic minorities and in rural areas.

What Can You Say to a Victim?

- I'm afraid for your safety.
- I'm afraid for the safety of your children.
- It will only get worse.
- We're here for you when you are ready or when you are able to leave.
- You deserve better than this.

Source: Sarah Buel, Esq., in "Courts and Communities: Confronting Violence in the Family," Conference Highlights, National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 1994.

The Safety Plan

Every woman in an abusive relationship needs a safety plan. The District of Columbia Coalition Against Domestic Violence has published a wallet-sized card that gives names and phone numbers of shelters, legal services, and support groups, and lists basic elements of a safety plan. Shelters and crisis counselors have been urging safety plans for years, and police departments, victim services, hospitals, and courts have adopted this strategy. An easy-to-read handbook, *You Can Be Free*, gives clear instructions for planning for an emergency escape and then preparing to leave permanently.[13] The Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence offers a model plan, as does the San Diego City Attorney's Office. Safety plans should be individualized—for example, taking account of age, marital status, whether children are involved, geographic location, and resources available—but still contain common elements.

The Role of Race in Services for Battered Women

"When I was abused, I wasn't going to tell a white woman my problems," says Antonia Drew. "I started a program for women like me." Drawing on her experiences as a victim and later as a counselor/advocate, Drew founded the Asha Women of Color Project in Milwaukee in 1989. Different cultures have different help-seeking behaviors, parenting styles, values, and beliefs. According to Drew, many African American women deal with conflict by expressing anger, reacting to a husband's or boyfriend's assault with verbal and physical aggression. Because of this behavior, police and prosecutors often view her less as a victim and more deserving of the abuse. Drew found that African Americans didn't seek counseling for many reasons. One was that advocates simply told them to leave the abuser and gave no practical advice on dealing effectively with the man's violent behavior, realistic alternatives, and keeping the family together when appropriate. Also, domestic violence programs failed to address the heterogeneity within the African American population.

Asha (the Swahili word for "life") offers support groups for African American women, providing transportation, child care, and a group meal. Participants meet twice a week for two hours, from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Women are encouraged to stay in the group for at least six months. Two full-time Asha advocates (one is bilingual) are based in the District Attorney's Domestic Violence Unit. Available to help any victim of domestic violence regardless of race or gender, these individuals walk victims through the complicated system and provide references and referrals to empower victims to rebuild their lives.

Formerly under the Harambee Ombudsman Project, Asha Women of Color became independent and changed its name to Asha Family Services in 1994. While the United Way provides base funding, a CDC grant will allow Asha to implement the UJIMA program for men who batter, add a Hispanic component, and conduct evaluations. The five-year grant represents a collaboration among the Milwaukee Women's Center, the Sojourner Truth House, Asha Family Services, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Based on work in prisons teaching living skills to men, the UJIMA program was designed specifically for African American men who are experiencing problems with expressing anger and resolving conflicts. Sessions focus on: accountability; responsibilities to self, family, and community; abusive behaviors, including domestic violence, sexuality, and drug abuse; and behavior modification techniques. Groups consist of 15 to 20 men, both volunteers and court-mandated, and run for 30 weeks.

"Fear makes it hard for battered women to think clearly. Many are ill from physical and mental abuse. We say, 'you don't deserve this,' and repeat information about what options are available several times," comments Drew. "We have to teach people how to handle conflict and persuade men that their manhood is not based on their need to control women and beat them. Police, courts, and women must hold men accountable."

When creating a safety plan, a woman should:

- ☐ Think about all possible escape routes: doors, first-floor windows, basement exits, elevators, stairwells. Rehearse if possible.
- ☐ Choose a place to go—a friend or relative who will offer support no matter what, a motel or hotel, a shelter.
- ☐ Pack a survival kit with money for cab fare, a change of clothes, extra house and car keys, birth certificates, passports, medications and copies of prescriptions, insurance information, checkbook, credit cards, legal documents such as separation agreements and protection orders, address book, any valuable jewelry, and papers that show jointly owned assets. Conceal it in the home or leave with a trusted neighbor, friend, or relative.
- ☐ Try to start an individual savings account. Have statements sent to a trusted relative or friend.
- ☐ Avoid arguments with the abuser in areas with potential weapons, like the kitchen or garage, and in small spaces without access to an outside door.
- ☐ Know the telephone number of the domestic violence hotline. Contact it for information on resources and legal rights.
- ☐ Review the safety plan monthly.

Can Batterers Be Treated?

Psychological studies show that batterers, like other violent criminals, tend to use violence to demonstrate power and achieve control. Certain factors are associated with battering—for example, low self-esteem, witnessing domestic violence as a child, having a lower educational and career status than a spouse—but no one causal factor stands out. Attorneys and counselors observe that batterers tend to blame the victims and avoid responsibility, saying things like "she asked for it" or "if she had shut up, I wouldn't have hit her." Robert Allen and Paul Kivel of the Oakland Men's Project argue that "men who batter and men who don't are not all that different. Male violence is normal in our society and vast numbers of men participate. Men batter because we have been trained to; because there are few social sanctions against it."[14]

Society's longstanding view of domestic violence as a private matter has been one among many obstacles to successful treatment for batterers. Such programs were not developed until the late 1970s, and evaluation research on their effectiveness has been scarce and inconclusive. Most men enter these programs because of a court order, and many do not complete the course. Most treatment programs last no longer than six months; follow-up or probation supervision is minimal or nonexistent. A few batterers are genuinely motivated to change, especially if intervention takes place in the early stages when abuse has not become routine. Others may simply shift from physical attacks to verbal threats and other forms of psychological intimidation.

The Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) in Duluth, Minnesota, has gained national recognition for its 26-week

West Virginia Coalition Works for System Change, Expands Rural Services

West Virginia, a rural state with a population of 1.7 million, boasts of its low crime rate—yet 43 homicides in 1993 were related to domestic violence. Geographic isolation, poverty, and a decline in jobs and economic resources aggravate domestic violence and pose major barriers to services for its victims. Against these odds, the accomplishments of the West Virginia coalition Against Domestic Violence (a collaboration of all domestic violence programs in the state) are remarkable. With a five-year grant from the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, the coalition has expanded domestic violence services from 15 to 30 of the state's 55 counties. Working with other agencies, the coalition crafted the Family Violence Prevention Act, enacted in 1992, and lobbied successfully in 1994 for a proarrest policy to help police respond to domestic violence calls. Also in 1994, a partnership between organized labor and the battered women's movement produced a revised stalking law.

Established in 1979 as a voluntary network of directors from domestic violence programs, the coalition rethought its goals and mission in the mid-1980s and emerged as a stronger, more focused organization. The central office is located in Sutton, a small town in the middle of the state, and staffed by two full-time professionals, Sue Julian and Diane Reese. They focus on system change such as legislation and police training, provide technical assistance to local programs, and raise funds from public and private sources. The grassroots programs offer direct services, including emergency shelter, transportation, a 24-hour crisis line, counseling, support groups, advocacy, community education, children's programs, and training for local law enforcement and social services.

"The power, control, manipulation, and intimidation issues involved in domestic violence are the same in rural, urban, or suburban areas. The biggest difference lies in the ability of rural victims to access services," says Sue Julian. Transportation poses a major barrier. Back roads are rough and often impassible, public transportation doesn't exist, and women may not be

curriculum (court-mandated) that challenges abusers' attitudes and their learned behavior of dominance and control. But at least half the men who complete the program will abuse the same or another woman, according to its trainers. Recognizing the complex nature of the problem, the DAIP forms one component of a coordinated response to domestic violence. The Duluth model includes a mandatory arrest policy, a comprehensive array of services for victims, a "no drop" prosecution policy, and automatic arrest and jail time for offenders who miss three consecutive DAIP sessions.[15]

"People say that batterers' programs don't work," says Esta Soler of the Family Violence Prevention Fund. "How can they when the media, the churches, and the workplace give different messages? We need public outrage and an orchestra of messages that surround individuals."

allowed to use the family car or truck. Geography intensifies the social and psychological isolation experienced by all battered women. In addition, some religious beliefs foster the "you made your bed, you lie in it" attitude and discourage divorce. Hunting rifles and knives are present in every home. For women who want to leave an abusive relationship, options in rural areas are extremely limited; there are few housing alternatives and fewer employment opportunities. Everyone knows everyone else, making confidentiality almost impossible.

In this environment, the coalition focuses on placing and supporting outreach workers who can offer information and options for protection to women in abusive relationships. Their presence also sends the message that domestic violence is a serious crime. These individuals' responsibilities include helping victims understand domestic violence, providing legal advocacy, arranging transportation, and raising public awareness. Hotlines offer immediate help in a crisis. When possible, the program hires an outreach person from the county where she will work; about half are survivors of abuse. To help ensure that outreach offices are sustained beyond the term of the Hilton Foundation grant, the foundation set forth a matching funds requirement for the programs. One strategy lies in recently introduced legislation to increase marriage fees, with revenues going to domestic violence programs. An AmeriCorp grant from the Corporation for National Service has helped the coalition open more outreach offices and shelters.

When asked about problems she encounters, Julian says, "Although things are moving in the right direction, many in the criminal justice system still have a hard time understanding why battered women just don't leave, and some still believe they deserved the abuse." In the long term, she argues that "We must educate men to be caring and get them to let go of the power issue, so we can live together. And we need a curriculum in the schools that teaches nonviolence as a means to resolve conflicts."

STATES REFORM LAWS

Beginning in the late 1970s, pressures from women's groups coupled with research documenting spouse and child abuse forced the criminal justice system to rethink its "hands-off" attitude toward domestic violence. Many states passed laws making partner or spouse abuse a criminal act. Half the states adopted laws requiring police officers to make arrests if there is probable cause to believe that abuse has occurred. This trend was in part spurred by the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment conducted in 1980–83, which found arrest to be an effective deterrent as compared with mediation or merely separating the parties and restoring order. At the same time, police executives sought ways to handle domestic violence incidents more effectively, since they accounted for a significant portion of 911 calls. Law enforcement's fears regarding civil liability also played a role in the shift toward treating domestic violence as a serious crime.

Other domestic violence initiatives undertaken by states focused on mandated treatment for batterers, child custody rights for abused women, training for police and court personnel, funding for shelters and victim advocacy programs, and community-based family violence task forces. In 1992, the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, with support from the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, embarked on a three-year project to draft a Model State Code on Domestic and Family Violence, assisted by a panel of judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, battered women's advocates, law enforcement officials, legislators, and others. The code covers criminal penalties and procedures, victims' rights, civil orders for protection, child custody issues, and prevention and treatment issues.

In the 1990s, all states and the District of Columbia enacted some form of anti-stalking law. While provisions vary widely from state to state, such laws can offer additional protections to victims of domestic violence who are stalked and harassed in other ways by their abusers. Charged by the U.S. Congress with developing a model anti-stalking law, the National Institute of Justice issued a final report in 1993 and organized regional seminars for states in implementing anti-stalking codes in 1994 and 1995. The report acknowledged that most stalking victims are former lovers, former spouses, or spouses, and concluded that only a multidisciplinary approach could solve the stalking problem.[16]

A COMPREHENSIVE FEDERAL EFFORT

The Violence Against Women Act passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 provides for a national domestic violence hotline along with grants for battered women's shelters, education, and community-based

Police Family Trouble Center Relies on Volunteers

In 1990, the Memphis Police Department adopted a prevention approach to domestic violence, catalyzed by the realization that 78 percent of its homicides were linked to domestic disturbances and by the murder of a woman officer by her boyfriend. In addition, domestic conflicts accounted for a significant portion of repeat calls for police assistance. The department created the Family Trouble Center (FTC) and hired Dr. Betty Winter, an experienced advocate for battered women, as manager. The FTC provides selected services: crisis counseling and referrals to victims of domestic violence, outreach phone counseling to victims listed on police reports of domestic assault, court-ordered Anger Management Groups for abusers, and presentations to community groups to raise awareness and sensitivity.

The staff of three professionals relies heavily on volunteers from nearby universities (graduate and undergraduate students) to provide counseling and phone outreach. Other volunteer support comes from the Ghandi Institute and churches. The dependence on volunteers means that recruitment and training consume much staff time. However, volunteers' enthusiasm and new ideas help prevent burnout. Students often volunteer at the FTC after graduation and provide an ongoing network of support in the community.

An Anger Management Group consists of 12 classes that meet once a week for two hours. Each group has eight to 12 members, all sent by the courts. Usually led by a male-female team, the sessions stress that batterers must claim responsibility for their actions, talk about power and control, learn communication skills, and examine the differences between discipline and abuse. "The men know how to control their anger, and they lose control when they choose to," says Winter. "Many grew up in violent households, and we have to point out the connection between that and their behavior as adults." She adds, "These men are very good at manipulating and being charming. If they can't control by violence, they do so by charm." Over three-quarters of the individuals ordered into the Anger Management Group complete the course. These graduates can, and do, call the FTC for counseling; a few have returned to help facilitate sessions. When a sample of 120 graduates was followed up after one year, only 12 had been re-arrested for domestic assault. "When they complete the Anger Management Group, some batterers have made real life changes," recounts Dr. Winter. "But I want to write warning labels on others, and a few should just go straight to jail."

The FTC plans to split its advocacy and mandated counseling efforts into two separate programs, add parenting skills groups, develop a curriculum, and organize a Speakers' Bureau. Winter believes that police and courts will respect a domestic violence program that offers services to help them. "We need to pay attention to what victims are telling us, stop blaming them, and offer options," she concludes. "The victim should not have to make the wheels of justice go."

programs to reduce domestic violence. The act makes it a federal offense to cross state lines to abuse a fleeing spouse or partner. In addition, it becomes a crime for anyone under a restraining order for domestic abuse to possess a firearm. In March 1995, former Iowa Attorney General Bonnie Campbell was appointed to coordinate the U.S. Department of Justice's initiatives to address violence against women.

PROSECUTORS AND COURTS

Domestic violence prosecutions and requests for restraining orders increased dramatically during the 1980s, frequently outstripping the courts' abilities to handle such cases. Difficulties stemmed from many factors, including the criminal courts' focus on due process, uncooperative or reluctant witnesses, limited sentencing alternatives for abusers, and general lack of understanding among judges and prosecutors regarding the dynamics of family violence. However, the system did begin to change. Casey Gwinn, who oversaw the pioneering San Diego City Attorney's Domestic Violence Unit, identified five major trends in prosecution:

- Prosecutors assuming an increasingly active role in community-based coordinating councils
- Early intervention at the misdemeanor level before conflicts escalate into aggravated assaults or homicides
- Policies and protocols that focus on the abuser rather than the victim, shifting responsibility for the criminal case from the victim to the prosecutor
- Elimination of victim-blaming policies and procedures
- Increasing emphasis on long-term accountability for the abuser rather than quick fixes like fines or diversion programs[17]

When the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges identified state-of-the-art court programs in domestic violence, it found several common elements: services to victims; services to batterers; teamwork with prosecutorial units and law enforcement; coordination of or participation in community response; and advocacy to change laws and procedures affecting victims of domestic violence, their children, and their abusers.[18]

DOES ARREST PREVENT FUTURE VIOLENCE?

Mandatory arrest laws increasingly have come under attack from law enforcement and even battered women's organiza-

tions. The Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment was the first study to test whether arrest deterred future violence in misdemeanor domestic violence cases. Although the research team headed by Lawrence Sherman clearly identified the limitations of the study, it received widespread attention from policymakers and academics. Replications in other cities (Omaha, Milwaukee, metropolitan Miami, Colorado Springs, and Charlotte, North Carolina) failed to produce conclusive evidence that arrest alone could solve the problem of domestic violence. According to Sherman, these experiments *did* produce the following conclusions:

- Arrest increases domestic violence among people who have nothing to lose, especially the unemployed.
- Arrest deters domestic violence in cities with higher proportions of white and Hispanic suspects.
- Arrest deters domestic violence in the short run, but escalates violence later in cities with higher proportions of unemployed black suspects.
- A small portion of all violent couples produce the majority of domestic violence incidents.[19]

Instead of the mandatory approach, some departments have adopted a presumptive (also called preferred) arrest policy, a move that has achieved positive results when coordinated with other community agencies.[20] This policy means that an arrest should be made unless clear and compelling reasons exist not to arrest. Regardless of the debate over its long-range impact, arresting an offender does give the victim a respite from fear and an opportunity to assess options and look for help. Proponents of the policy also claim it reduces bias in arrests.

Drafters of the Model State Code on Domestic and Family Violence expressly endorsed arrest as a deterrent to future violence, stressing that arrest also sends a clear message that such violence will not be tolerated and offenders will be held accountable. However, they found the debate between proponents of mandatory and presumptive arrest inconclusive and provided model language for both approaches. The presumptive arrest provisions forbid officers from basing the decision whether to arrest on the victim's consent or request or on a perception of the victim's willingness to testify or otherwise participate in a court proceeding.[21]

Preventing Domestic Violence-Related Homicides in Chicago

The Domestic Violence Reduction Program (DVRP), an unprecedented partnership between the Chicago Police Department, the Chicago Abused Women's Coalition (CAWC), and Family Reserve, pairs officers and advocates in crisis intervention teams based in the Third District police station. Grand Crossing, an area of roughly 86,000 residents, was chosen for the four-year pilot program (started in mid-1993) because it had three times the citywide rate of domestic violence-related homicides. The DVRP's development was also spurred by research by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority on the effectiveness of homicide prevention strategies directed toward specific demographic groups. Ten advocates, a coordinator, four police officers, and a part-time sergeant work two shifts, 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. One advocate, soon to be joined by a police officer, covers the 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. period.

Any officer who responds to a call involving domestic violence provides a referral to the unit. An advocate-officer team contacts the family within 24 hours, either by phone or in person. Families who have placed multiple calls to 911 about domestic violence, cases involving weapons or injuries, and situations where children are present receive top priority and a home visit. The team offers a full range of services—crisis intervention, help with protection orders, transportation to a shelter, counseling, and referrals to health and housing assistance. "These families are not in the safety net system. Just getting them to talk to us is a major step," contends CAWC's Executive Director Vickii Coffey. "We are serving women who have never before asked for help. For the few who walk in, there are hundreds who don't make these kinds of overtures." In the twelve months that ended September 1994, the special unit handled more than 1,000 clients. DVRP staff and the sergeant for neighborhood relations publicize the program through community meetings and the media. Word-of-mouth also brings victims of domestic violence to the station.

Introducing domestic violence advocates into the police station has not been easy. "We don't talk or think the same. Our different experiences color perceptions," says Family Reserve Director Joyce Cowan. "Advocates take a longer view—we understand why women don't accept services immediately. Because of the nature of their jobs, police officers want to collect the facts, assign blame, and close the case quickly." But Cowan stresses that the different skills of advocates and officers enhance each other's work. Ride-alongs, roll-call training, support from police management and other funding partners, and time have helped build empathy and trust. Chicago's endorsement of community policing also holds promise for DVRP. The precinct is divided into 12 beats, with a domestic violence team assigned to each. This arrangement allows advocates and officers to know the families, identify patterns, and intervene before conflicts escalate into homicides. Problems involving recordkeeping processes and computer systems have delayed DVRP's efforts to collect evaluation data. But Coffey maintains, "We know we have made an impact because people are aware of our services."

To help domestic violence victims, Joyce Cowan believes that as many avenues of support as possible are needed, including more shelters and advocacy services. Finally, "Only bringing all representatives to the table—attorneys, police, hospitals, mental health and social services, and victim advocates —will have the greatest impact. Different agencies have different ways of doing things, and we all become isolated."

ORDERS OF PROTECTION

Orders of protection, obtained in the civil court, are a standard prevention tactic in domestic violence cases. Protective orders can be short term, obtained when the applicant shows she is in danger of immediate harm, or longer term when issued after a court hearing. Such orders can prohibit the offender from any contact with the victim; evict the offender from the victim's home, place of work, or school; order the offender to pay spouse support, child support, or other compensation; or order counseling. Critics claim protective orders often enrage the batterer and place the woman in greater danger or are ineffective because they're difficult to enforce. Research suggests that comprehensiveness and specificity are keys to effective protection orders. Denver's Judge Jacqueline St. Joan describes a protection order with "teeth" as:

T = Tight boundaries
E = Effective, specific language
E = Every aspect of the order completed *so it*
T = Tells police what to do *and is*
H = Helpful to children.[22]

Administrative aspects of the court system can pose barriers to women obtaining protection orders: fees; hard-to-understand forms; limited, inconvenient hours for applications; no translating services for non-English-speaking victims; no child care facilities for applicants; and staff unwilling or without time to explain the process.

Moving Toward Solutions

Despite efforts by police departments, courts, and prosecutors to obtain justice—or simply safety—for victims of domestic violence, the criminal justice response too often remains uneven, uncoordinated, and ambiguous. Many individuals working in shelters and victim services acknowledge increasing trust and cooperation with law enforcement, but express frustration with prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges. Advocates, criminal justice professionals, and academics all conclude that success against domestic violence will have to be multidisciplinary and coordinated—it needs to involve the whole community. Necessary tactics include a forum regularly attended by all who are part of the system dealing with domestic violence and training for all who come into contact with the victims and perpetrators of family violence. As one victim of domestic violence explained, "a whole lot of pieces

have to work together to help the battered woman survive. If one falls down, it won't work."

"A real tendency to blame the victim" poses a significant barrier to change, according to Merry Hofford, director of the Family Violence Project at the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. "This attitude leads to unproductive responses—the police don't answer the call, the prosecutor doesn't follow up aggressively, judges are lenient." She adds that people don't consider the impact of domestic violence on children. "I think it's presumptuous to say people must change their attitudes," continues Hofford. "I'm happy if people walk away from my training sessions with an awareness of their own attitudes and that there are other viewpoints out there worth considering. I believe you have to feel this issue in your gut before you understand it."

Using Technology to Protect Battered Women

Since 1992 ADT Security Systems has worked with police departments and district attorneys to give an extra layer of protection to battered women stalked and threatened by their abusers. Under the AWARE (Abused Women's Active Response Emergency) program, ADT installs security systems and emergency response pendants in homes of women who have obtained restraining orders against their abusers and are considered at high risk of serious injury. If a woman is threatened, she presses the panic button on the alarm panel or pendant; the ADT dispatcher receives the emergency signal and immediately calls the police, who give the call top priority.

ADT donates the time, equipment, and signal monitoring capabilities for up to 12 residences in a community. The women recipients are selected by social service providers, law enforcement, shelters, and district attorneys' offices. Currently, 31 communities participate in AWARE. The program is credited with helping to save the lives of 14 victims of domestic violence and has improved the quality of life for many more.

Local officials involved with AWARE have unstinting praise for its effectiveness and ADT's commitment. Many feel that AWARE not only affords domestic violence victims additional protection, but also raises public awareness of the problem and sends the message to batterers that the criminal justice system won't tolerate their violent behavior. "The biggest benefit of AWARE is its psychological effect," says District Attorney John Fahy of Bergen County, New Jersey. "The women feel safer and are able to get on with their lives."

What Can Each of Us Do?

- Become aware of how we may unconsciously contribute to violence by supporting violent entertainment, seeking win/lose situations to conflicts with others, or being physically or emotionally abusive to people we care about.
- Speak out publicly and take action personally against domestic violence when a neighbor, a co-worker, a friend, or a family member is involved.
- Encourage your neighborhood watch or block association to become as concerned with watching out for domestic violence as with burglaries and other crimes.
- Call the police if you see or hear domestic violence.
- Reach out to support someone whom you believe is a victim of domestic violence and/or talk with a person you believe is being abusive.
- Help others become informed by inviting speakers to your church, professional organization, civic group, or workplace.
- Support domestic violence counseling programs and shelters, which are inadequately funded.

Adapted from "Preventing Domestic Violence" by Laura Crites in *Prevention Communique* (March 1992), Crime Prevention Division, Department of the Attorney General, Hawaii.

What Can Communities Do?

- Expand education and awareness efforts to increase positive attitudes toward nonviolence and encourage individuals to report family violence.
- Form coordinating councils or task forces to assess the problem, develop an action plan, and monitor progress.
- Mandate training in domestic violence for all social service and criminal justice professionals.
- Advocate laws and judicial procedures at the state and local levels that support and protect battered women.
- Establish centers where visits between batterers and their children may be supervised, for the children's safety.
- Fund shelters adequately.
- Recruit and train volunteers to staff hotlines, accompany victims to court, and provide administrative support to shelters and victim services.
- Improve collection of child support.
- Establish medical protocols to help physicians and other health care personnel identify and help victims of domestic abuse.
- Provide legal representation for victims of domestic violence and their families.
- Address needs of population groups who have difficulties accessing services: immigrants and refugees, gays and lesbians, racial and ethnic minorities.

Note: This chapter focuses on women in heterosexual relationships as victims of domestic violence. Women's violence toward husbands or boyfriends remains a controversial issue. While wives do strike their husbands, police records and other case evidence show that the serious injuries, social isolation, and economic hardships associated with domestic violence overwhelmingly are problems for victimized women. Another emerging issue involves domestic violence between homosexual partners, but researchers, service providers, and law enforcement have paid far less attention to this population.

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CHAPTER 6

Violence Invades the Workplace

Workplace violence immediately brings to mind a mentally unstable, disgruntled worker shooting and killing a supervisor, ex-spouse, or colleague—thanks to the media's focus on such traumatic events. But surveys conducted by management consultants, human resource associations, insurance companies, and others reveal a continuum of threats, intimidation, and assaults that jeopardize employee well-being and company productivity. Among the reasons cited are a society whose members increasingly turn to violence to solve problems, loss of jobs and advancement opportunities because of to aggressive corporate downsizing, alcohol and drug abuse, widespread availability of firearms, and stress stemming from technological innovation and a more diverse workforce with differing values and attitudes. Preventing violence in the workplace has emerged as a priority issue for businesses, which not only face lost productivity and personal tragedy but liability issues as well.

- One in six violent crimes—robbery, rape, assault—occurs in the workplace.
- Men victimized at work are more likely to be attacked by a stranger, while women are more likely to be attacked by someone they know.
- Homicide is the leading cause of fatal injury to women in the workplace. Violence took the lives of 188 women workers in 1993—40 percent of 481 women killed on the job that year.[1]

Women make up almost half the workforce. Moreover, the U.S. Department of Labor predicts that 99 percent of women in the United States will work for pay outside the home at some time in their lives. While women today can be found in almost every job and profession, most still work in traditionally female, low-wage occupations—clerical, sales, and service positions.[2] According to the National Institute for Occupa-

tional Safety and Health (NIOSH), homicide poses the major occupational hazard for the nation's working women. Individuals employed in the retail and service sectors—dealing with the public and money transactions—are at greatest risk.[3]

Statistics and Definitions

Reliable collection of data on injuries and fatalities at work faces numerous obstacles. Definitions used by state and federal agencies vary, as do reporting mandates and coding procedures. Worker's compensation claims, death certificates (the basis for NIOSH's National Traumatic Occupational Fatality database), and self-report surveys provide most the information but often don't address the circumstances of the assault or the victim-offender relationship. Incidents such as threats, harassment, and even physical assaults may be handled by a company's security or human resources department and not reported to law enforcement. A women sexually assaulted by a co-worker or beaten by her husband at home might not tell anyone because of shame or fear of losing her job.

The term "workplace violence" encompasses harassment, verbal threats or intimidation, assault, and homicide that take place at the worksite, whether the incident involves strangers or acquaintances. To understand causes and develop prevention strategies, this complex phenomenon can be broken down into the following categories:

Robbery: Usually connected with retail (convenience stores and gas stations) and service establishments (restaurants and bars).

Other "Stranger" Crimes: Includes thefts (and the violence that might result from discovering the crime in progress) and sexual assault.

Interpersonal Conflict on the Job: Employees who disagree with each other or whose personal styles clash.

Job-Based Conflict: Employees or former employees disgruntled with the employer's or supervisor's actions or with a customer's behavior; also, a customer dissatisfied with an employee's or firm's performance or a patient in a hospital or clinic suffering from a drug reaction or mental illness.

Spillover Violence from Outside the Workplace: Domestic violence or other interpersonal violence that enters the workplace from "outside" (harassment, assault, homicide).

Preventing Workplace Violence— From the Woman's Point of View

SECURITY

A physically secure work environment provides a first line of deterrence to crime and violence and peace of mind for women, who generally fear crime far more than men. Access controls can range from a receptionist to security guards to complex alarm systems (with specific policies to guard codes, keys, and keycards). For example, a midwestern warehouse installed an emergency button for the receptionist in case she needed to alert security and management to persons (usually ex-boyfriends or ex-girlfriends) likely to cause trouble. Protection services include lighting and patrol of parking lots or garages, regular building patrols, escort services for those working late or arriving early, and locks on restrooms and stairwell doors. Technology offers back-up protection through video cameras, closed circuit television, and silent alarms.

Physical design—such as increasing visibility to passersby, improving lighting, and repositioning merchandise—can help prevent crime. For example, Florida mandates certain crime prevention measures for convenience stores (adequate exterior lighting, a security camera, employee training), while California requires that all hospitals institute violence prevention plans by mid-1995.

HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGEMENT: SCREENING, TRAINING, COUNSELING

Reference checks, credit and criminal background checks, medical exams, drug tests, thorough interviews, and even psychological tests can help employers identify predictors and patterns of violence before hiring an employee. These tools must be used carefully to avoid charges of privacy invasion or discrimination. Supervisors need training to spot signs of potential violent behavior and respond appropriately when someone they oversee experiences or commits any act of workplace violence. All employees can benefit from workshops in conflict management, effective communications, and cultural diversity awareness.

Brown-bag lunch seminars, newsletters, employee orientation, posters, and fliers are avenues to educate people about basic crime prevention, from office security to rape prevention. Incidents involving sexual assault and an increasingly diverse work force prompted DuPont to launch its Personal Safety Program in 1986. Several hundred supervisors and thousands of female employees attended a day-long rape prevention seminar. Workshops regularly added to the program address sexual harassment, domestic violence, and potential conflicts in a multicultural environment. DuPont also provides a 24-hour hotline to give employees medical and legal assistance.[4]

Many organizations, including the U.S. Postal Service, offer employees a hotline number to report crime, harassment, and concerns about potentially violent co-workers. Management experts also recommend developing a trauma plan that deals with the practical decisions a company must make if an act of violence occurs. It should address issues such as crisis intervention, debriefing witnesses, counseling for distressed employees and their families, and handling the media.

POLICY AND LEADERSHIP

To create a safe work environment, management policies and actions must send a clear message that harassment, threats, discrimination, or fights are not tolerated. Grievance procedures should make it easy to report problems with co-workers or supervisors. Free, confidential counseling offered through an Employee Assistance Program (EAP) can help employees who need assistance with anger management. Effective communication is essential. If a domestic violence victim trusts her employer and talks about the problem, supervisors or colleagues can help protect her by screening phone calls or moving her office. Negligence in hiring, security, and management practices exposes any organization to costly worker's compensation claims and civil liability suits.

Companies with vision see that the entire community, not just the workplace, must change. They can publicize anti-violence and anti-bias information in employee newsletters, fund a conflict resolution training course in local schools, lend executives to nonprofit organizations that work for community betterment, and encourage employees to volunteer as mentors, crisis hotline counselors, or mediators.

Marshalls Against Domestic Violence

Marshalls, an "off-price" retailer with 24,000 associates (employees) and almost 500 stores, launched a national initiative addressing domestic violence in late 1993. The decision by company president Jerry Rossi to focus the company's philanthropic efforts on domestic violence prevention was based on an employee advisory committee's recommendation and his personal experience serving on the board of St. Ann's Home—a safe haven for children who have witnessed their mothers' beatings and frequently have suffered abuse themselves.

At the national level, Marshalls formed a partnership with the Family Violence Prevention Fund, helping to finance the "There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence" public education campaign and the Fund's Community Action Kit. The company donated a percentage of all sales on October 4, 1994—"Shop 'til It Stops!" day—to the Fund and challenged other businesses to make similar commitments. To support this event, Marshalls' advertising department created in-store posters, ads, shopping bag fliers, and stickers for associates to wear. The jewelry buyer worked with a vendor to design exclusive holiday pins that were sold, with proceeds going to the Fund. Sales on October 4 experienced a double-digit increase, compared with the same day the previous year.

Marshalls has raised over $450,000 for national and local efforts to end domestic violence. This amount includes $115,000 raised on "Shop 'til It Stops" day, company donations and proceeds from fundraising events, and pledges from Marshalls associates who choose to support the campaign against domestic violence during the company's annual associate giving drive. Associates' pledges will fund Marshalls Domestic Peace Prize—an awards program to honor innovative domestic violence prevention programs around the country that can serve as models for similar efforts in other communities. Additional funding for the awards program came from other corporations.

"We want to have a deeper impact than just raising money," says Barbara Smith, director of corporate relations. "We want to create an environment of awareness." Marshalls publishes information on domestic violence in its employee newsletters and on posters. "Employees who were battered women did seek help, and their managers knew where to send them because of materials provided by the company," adds Smith. Roughly 300 associates in the Boston area participated in the 1994 Walk for Jane Doe, an annual event that benefits local shelters. Associates at Marshalls' Andover, Massachusetts, headquarters celebrated "Christmas in July" by donating linens, clothes, and toys to women and children in a nearby shelter. In the Philadelphia area, Marshalls works with a local shelter to provide battered women with gift certificates to purchase clothes for job interviews.

Violence in the Home Affects the Workplace

"Women who have been abused take the violence with them to work and it shows—in lost productivity, stress, increased health costs, employee absenteeism and turnover, and sometimes, workplace violence," points out Esta Soler of the Family Violence Prevention Fund.[5] Many leaders of corporate America agree, according to a 1994 survey conducted by Roper Starch Worldwide on behalf of Liz Claiborne, Inc. Interviews

with 100 senior executives in Fortune 1,000 companies disclosed that:

- Fifty-seven percent believed domestic violence is a major problem in society.
- One-third thought this problem had a negative impact on their bottom lines.
- Four out of ten were personally aware of employees and other individuals affected by domestic violence.

Even as women enter the workforce in increasing numbers and domestic violence grabs headlines, corporate America appears uncertain of how to respond to the issue. In the Claiborne survey, only 12 percent said corporations should play a major role in addressing domestic violence while 43 percent reported they would respond to the problem in the future. Nearly all (96 percent) felt that responsibility for addressing domestic violence should ideally fall to the family.

CORPORATIONS PIONEER PREVENTION

Times are changing, however, as more employers wake up to the fact that domestic violence is bad for business. Several corporations, in addition to Marshalls, have assumed leadership roles by raising funds, promoting public education, helping their own employees, and developing model programs. In 1991, Liz Claiborne launched its Women's Work program as a series of community-based, public art projects designed to heighten awareness on issues of particular concern to women and their families. The company first commissioned a group of visual artists to create images addressing domestic violence that were displayed on nearly 200 billboards and transit shelters in San Francisco during National Domestic Violence Awareness Month, October 1992. Recent efforts have included the survey of corporate leaders, displays of the Women's Work campaign materials at the American Medical Association and American Bar Association conventions, and distribution of the "It Begins at Home: Stop Domestic Violence" images created by artist Annie Lemieux for mugs and t-shirts sold to benefit domestic violence organizations. All Claiborne employees and their spouses nationwide have access to a strong EAP program via a toll-free hotline or on a walk-in basis. The company also started Family Stress seminars, in English and Spanish, that address domestic abuse from an educational and practical standpoint.

Building on a longstanding EAP program, Polaroid endorses a multifaceted approach to family and domestic violence. Recognized as a pioneer in this area, Polaroid is working with the Injury Control Center of the Harvard School of Public Health to examine the response of companies and organizations to domestic violence in the workplace and identify effective strategies for preventing abuse. Elements in the corporation's comprehensive program include training for EAP staff in counseling and referrals for domestic violence victims, lunchtime seminars for employees featuring guest speakers from the community, and personnel policies designed to accommodate victims of family violence who need time off to seek safety and protection, go to court, or arrange new housing. Polaroid also donates funds to battered women's shelters throughout Massachusetts and encourages other businesses to take up the fight against domestic violence. Professional seminars for law enforcement illustrate how to photograph domestic violence injuries for court records.

Gradually, corporate America is accepting Esta Soler's challenge that "Each of us has the power to help stop domestic violence. Every segment of our society must send the same message. Abuse is unacceptable and we will not tolerate it any longer."

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CHAPTER 7

Prevention Starts Early—Working with Children and Teens to Break the Cycle of Violence

Discussion about violence against women—and violence in society as a whole—tends to focus on horrifying statistics, victims' ordeals, and failures of the judicial system. Community groups and government agencies work diligently to help victims survive and to prevent further injury or death. These vital efforts help women who have been raped or battered regain control of their lives and help transform public tolerance of such abuse into public outrage.

But can this violence be prevented in the first place? Like many others who deal daily with victims of crime and violence, Carole Sousa and Anne Parry—veteran workers in battered women's shelters—have sought hope for the future by creating prevention programs for young people. Sousa heads the Dating Violence Intervention Project in Boston, a curriculum for teenagers to teach them that violence is unacceptable in relationships. A founder of the Rainbow House shelter in Chicago, Anne Parry started the Training Institute for Choosing Non-Violence to teach preschoolers how to have healthy relationships without violence. In 1994, she designed a summer program for the city that links teens and young children in the "Take Ten" action plan for nonviolence.

The Dating Violence Intervention Project

Teachers, counselors, and shelter staffs see increasing violence in teen dating relationships. It's often hard for teens to recognize such abuse because of their inexperience. Insults, jealousy and possessiveness, yelling, manipulative and controlling behavior, threats, slapping, and punching are all facets of dating violence. Peer pressure makes it difficult for young people to leave abusive partners. Teens rarely seek help with dating problems, especially from adults. Both schools and parents tend to minimize dating violence, but young men and women involved in such relationships may establish patterns of violence that last a lifetime.

The Dating Violence Intervention Project (DVIP) represents an eight-year collaboration between Transition House, a shelter for battered women and their children, and Emerge, a pioneer intervention program for violent and abusive men. DVIP's cornerstone is the three-session curriculum, *Preventing Teen Dating Violence*, in which male-female teams first help students identify abusive behavior and learn respectful ways of communicating and resolving conflict. The second session examines sex role stereotyping, sexism, and homophobia as they relate to violence against women. The final class features presentations by a former batterer and a formerly battered woman. The curriculum does not claim to be value neutral, but is based on the following premise: the stereotypical belief that men have the right to control women, combined with the stereotypical belief that women are not equal to men, leads to violence and abuse. *Preventing Teen Dating Violence* has been presented to thousands of students in the Boston metropolitan area and used widely as a model not only in the United States, but in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

Another innovative school-based program for young men targets three groups:

- Individuals who must attend weekly groups as part of the school's disciplinary process and who have gotten into trouble for violence, the threat of violence, or harassment toward a female member of the school community;
- Voluntary participants referred by school staff as being at high risk for violence toward young women; and
- Boys who want to help themselves or a friend.

Both teachers and students are highly supportive. Teens on suspension have voluntarily showed up at school to attend their groups.

In 1993, DVIP embarked on a pilot program with the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Training Council to train teams of police officers and educators to give prevention presentations to seventh- and eighth-grade classrooms. The male-female teams define abuse and then explore sexual harassment, date rape, and (usually at students' request) child abuse. Response has been excellent, and the state plans to expand the program. DVIP sponsors evening forums and workshops for parents on dating violence, domestic violence, and related resources. It also trains students as peer leaders who then help other teens understand the individual and social factors that cause and prevent dating violence.

"There's very little for kids that focuses on dating violence," says Sousa. "Our programs are expanding, and we haven't run into any opposition, as sex education classes often do. It's a different framework, and we don't threaten anyone." She adds, "I moved from shelter work to working with teens because it's more hopeful. Kids are more honest than adults, and their defenses aren't up—yet."

Early Warning Signs of Teen Dating Violence

Are you going out with someone who . . .

- Is jealous and possessive toward you, won't let you have friends, checks up on you, won't accept breaking up?
- Tries to control you by being very bossy, giving orders, making all the decisions, not taking your opinion seriously?
- Scares you? Makes you worry about reactions to things you say or do? Threatens you, uses or owns weapons?
- Is violent: Has a history of fighting, loses temper quickly, brags about mistreating others?
- Pressures you for sex or is forceful or scary about sex? Gets too serious about the relationship too fast?
- Abuses alcohol or other drugs and pressures you to take them?
- Blames you for any mistreatment? Says you provoked it?
- Has a history of bad relationships and blames the other person for all the problems?
- Believes that men should be in control and powerful and that women should be passive and submissive?
- Makes your family and friends uneasy and concerned for your safety?

Adapted from *Preventing Teen Dating Violence.*

Rainbow House Institute for Choosing Non-Violence

"The key to violence prevention lies in relationships and how we treat each other," argues Anne Parry, creator and director of Rainbow House Institute for Choosing Nonviolence. Founded in 1982, Rainbow House offers a wide array of shelter, counseling, advocacy, and other services needed by battered women and their children. But the agency's mission has always encompassed community education and a commitment to prevention. In 1988, Parry started to develop a violence prevention curriculum for high schools under a grant from the Illinois Attorney General's office. "I quickly realized that juniors and seniors were well on their way to becoming battered women and batterers," recalls Parry. "For young adults, violence becomes cool, enjoyable, exciting. I needed to reach younger children. I was looking for that moment in child development when you can permanently influence behavior in individuals. After talking with children and teachers, I chose preschoolers—three, four, and five-year-olds."

The result was *Choosing Non-Violence*, a ten-hour training for teachers and parents that equips them with an approach to teach young children about alternatives to violence. "When I worked as an advocate for domestic violence victims, I kept hearing men say in court I took it as long as I could. I had no choice,'" adds Parry. "We always have a choice." *Choosing Non-Violence* teaches children that they have words to use to communicate how they feel and they have choices to make about how to express their feelings. It's okay to feel what they feel, but violence is unacceptable, unnecessary, and inappropriate. Instead, other skills are needed—how to speak up, how to defend and protect themselves with words, and how to negotiate and resolve problems and conflicts without hurting or destroying someone or something. Parry and other preschool teachers worked with these concepts in the classroom and saw things change. One skeptic became a total convert when, after six months of applying *Choosing Non-Violence*, he realized that the four-year-olds weren't coming to him every other minute to settle their conflicts.

A grant from the Chicago Community Trust allowed Rainbow House to found the Institute for Choosing Non-Violence in 1993, add staff, and respond better to requests for presentations and materials. More than 800 early childhood teachers in Chicago (including Head Start staff) have completed the *Choosing Non-Violence* training. The Institute has helped start pilot projects in four states and now conducts training of trainers workshops.

. . . Talk It Out!
. . . Walk It Out!
. . . Wait It Out!

TAKE TEN

. . . Deep Breaths
before you say something that hurts.

. . . Steps Back
before getting involved in a fight.

. . . Seconds
before using something as a weapon.

Violence has had its turn . . .
and it isn't working.
TAKE TEN . . . it's time.

In 1994, Chicago's Department of Human Services and the Chicago Park District asked Parry to design a summer violence prevention program that used teenagers that the agencies hired to work with young children. She developed "Take Ten" to give people practical, hands-on ways to stop violence. The program trained 30 adult youth coordinators who then trained 100 teen "ambassadors" in a week-long session. Working in pairs, these young people then taught small groups (10 to 15 children) who were between the ages of six and 12. A guidebook contained exercises to help adults clarify their own understanding of violence and nonviolence and to provide ideas and activities for the teen ambassadors to use. The program was so successful that it won a public endorsement from Mayor Richard Daley and is being repeated in the summer of 1995.

"Choosing Non-Violence is not something that happens on Tuesday afternoon from 2 until 2:30," concludes Parry. "Choosing Non-Violence is an overlay for your entire life. It's the way you treat people from the very minute you walk in until the very minute you walk out of the classroom." She adds, "We need to designate more safe places for children—a home, a classroom, a Girl Scout troop, a Boys & Girls Club, anyplace where violence will not be tolerated."

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Defending Our Lives. An award-winning documentary on domestic violence. Video rental $45, purchase $150 ($124 to battered women's shelters), plus shipping, from Cambridge Documentary Films, Inc., PO Box 385, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Escape the Abuse. Encourages women to have a safety plan so they can leave an abusive relationship in a way that increases their safety and that of their children; talks about protection orders and crisis services. $219 from Intermedia, 1300 Dexter Avenue North, Suite 220, Seattle, WA 98109. Call 800-553-8336 for information on other videos dealing with domestic violence and sexual assault.

Far Away From the Storm. Short video that uses children's drawings set to music to illustrate how children of battered women are affected by domestic violence. $20 from Victim Services, Communications Division, 2 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10007. 212-577-7700.

Restoring Dignity: Frontline Response to Rape. Designed to sensitize and train the first people who respond to survivors of sexual assault, the 30-minute tape focuses on real people—rape victims, New York City police officers, social workers—sharing their insights about the crime of rape and the recovery process. A joint project of The Long Island College Hospital and the Junior League of Brooklyn. $150 from Project: Response to Rape, 6105 Madawaska Road, Bethesda, MD 20816.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

What Serial Rapists Say . . .

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The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, previously part of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, is known for studying crimes from the offender's perspective to assist the Bureau and local police in profiling possible suspects. This study concentrates on the narrative section of interviews with serial rapists, covering material that has not been considered in previous studies. The offenders' quotes are taken directly from the narrative interviews conducted by Behavioral Science Unit experts.

This article looks at serial rape from a crime prevention point of view, examining how rapists choose and gain access to victims, what tactics might interrupt a rape at various stages, and ways to avoid rape. What do the rapists' perspectives offer police to be able to better identify, protect against, and locate offenders? The authors reviewed the narratives and selected quotes that illustrated the offenders' perspectives. These quotes should not be taken as evidence of typical rape situations, but should be considered in context of the offender's views. It must be emphasized that the authors are not offering advice to victims, but rather a view of how the crime is seen through rapists' eyes. This effort is especially not to be construed as an attempt to offer readers advice as to what they should do if confronted by an assailant. The dangers of giving confrontational advice are discussed in a 1986 article by Hazelwood and Harpold.[1]

The Sample

Funded by a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), Special Agents from the FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime

(NCAVC) interviewed 41 incarcerated serial rapists during 1984 and 1985. To be included in the study, the rapists had to have committed at least 10 confirmed rapes, exhausted all of their judicial appeals, and agreed to participate in the study. Their ages ranged from 23 to 55 years, with a mean of 35.2 years at the time of the interviews. All those interviewed were male; 35 were white, five were black, and one was Hispanic. Thirty-four rapists were employed while they were raping; only three listed themselves as chronically unemployed. Their income at this time ranged from $5,000 to $52,000 per year, with a mean income of $16,446. At the time of their last rape, nine of the rapists lived alone, while 30 lived with a spouse or parents. Of the 41 offenders interviewed, 29 had been married at least once; 14 had been married more than once. The educational level of the offenders ranged from five to 17 years. Twenty-five had obtained a high-school diploma or a GED and nine held an associate's or bachelor's degree. Intelligence scales were available for 33 offenders. Four were below average, 12 were average, nine were bright normal, and eight were superior to very superior. The interviews were open ended and ranged from 4.5 to 12.5 hours.[2] Not all offenders had responses in all of the areas discussed in this study. Other results of the serial rape research program have been published in a variety of articles.[3]

What Rapists Say . . . About How They Chose Their Victims

OPPORTUNITY

The most frequent reason stated in the interview for choosing a rape victim was opportunity (23 of 39 offender responses or 58 percent). Opportunity took two forms: situations that the rapist created and controlled or situations that the victim unknowingly created. The stereotyped situation of an attack in an alley on a dark night certainly occurs, as demonstrated below.

I was coming home from school, and I saw this girl walking on this street. It was a rainy night, no one on the street, a dark street in a hippie part of town . . . she walked past the alley, I came up behind her and grabbed her.

This is the typical view that the public holds of an attack, a secluded dark area in some other part of town. Unfortunately, the rapists state that they do not confine themselves to such situations. The following took place at midday and in an open public area.

I was cutting through the parking lot and saw a woman get in her car—getting ready to get into her car. She was putting stuff she had bought in the trunk and had just opened the car door. I ran up behind her and told her to get in the car and she got in.

Neither do the rapists always confine themselves to one victim or to an area free of bystanders.

The urge to rape, when it comes over me, the first woman that's around, and it doesn't have to be a secluded area . . . It's happened in a crowd where I have grabbed someone. Matter of fact, I grabbed two people at one time . . . There was a crowd of a couple of hundred people, and I'm right in the middle of them.

Rapists see potential in many different situations. They are quick to take advantage of a situation that they can turn to their benefit. Stranded individuals are popular targets.

A woman had a flat tire and was attempting to change it, had luggage sitting out behind the car and I made a decision to rape her even before I got out.

Rapists appear to be sensitive to body language that makes a person appear vulnerable.

. . . I was driving down this road. She was walking the other way, and . . . she looked like she was lost . . . She was an attractive girl, blonde, nicely dressed, and . . . I asked her if she wanted a ride. She said, Jesus. She said, 'yes.' So she got in . . .

Despite law enforcement warnings, victims often fall for the con approach by rapists dressed for their role. Maintenance or utility worker uniforms and police badges have been used. Taken from the police report, the following quote is an example of a rapist planning for a victim of opportunity. People are not always who they appear to be.

. . . [rapist] was cleaning a church. Two girls stopped by and talked with him. . . .He [went inside and] dressed up like a minister and took some packages outside and put them on the sidewalk. When a 12-year-old came by he asked her to help carry the packages into the church. When he got her into the church, he grabbed her and assaulted her. [Note: Although convicted, this rapist never admitted his crimes and answered all questions about sexual assaults in the third person.]

Occasionally, the victim unknowingly supplies the rapist with the opportunity. The following is an example of such a case.

. . . she stopped me and asked me to help her push the cart to her car, the decision [to rape] was made when she asked me if I wanted a ride home . . .

There are times when the serial rapist must take an active role in the search for a victim.

I was driving down the road and I seen this apartment house and I just pulled into the apartment house and went up and knocked [on] the door. I carried a gun nearly all the time, and a woman come to the door and when she did I just whipped out the gun, threw down on her and took her back into the apartment . . . there was no plan . . .

This rapist stated that if the first apartment had been empty or if a male had answered, he would have just continued to knock on doors until a female answered.

LOCATION

The second most frequently mentioned reason for choosing a victim was the location (22 of 39 offender responses or 56 percent) of the victim.

The serial rapist selects a location because of familiarity with the area, either through previous crimes, residing there, or surveillance.

The reason I picked this spot here was something that had stuck in my mind from being here before. I'd done a burglary in that area before, in an apartment just an apartment or two away from here, and I think this girl was out shaking rugs or something.

I knew the neighborhood because I was raised up there.

Darkness is used by some serial rapists as a cloak to hide their activities. The combination of darkness, bad weather, and a secluded location can provide the perfect opportunity for the rapist to act.

I had to tell you that lighted areas are the best area, they have to be damn fools to walk down dark roads. I caught three or four of them on dark unused roads. . . . They were just walking up a dark road. The darkness was my safety.

Not all offenders seek out seclusion and darkness.

This was an area where there are a lot of apartments and a lot of traffic and a lot of people moving around all the time, so I wouldn't be very noticeable, I mean people wouldn't notice someone else coming around . . . no matter what area I went to, I'd hunt for the conditions, conditions for getting away.

Here the rapist can blend in using the environment as a shield. Neighborhoods where residents are unaware of their neighbors create a haven for offenders by creating anonymity.

Apartments, because of their concentration of residents, are favored by some rapists. They are perceived as targets of opportunity because someone, somewhere in the building will open a door. Rapists also pay close attention to the demographics of their area.

I knew previously to the attack that there were apartments with single women living in them. . . . I was familiar with the surroundings.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The third most frequently mentioned reason (19 of 39 offender responses or 49 percent) for choosing a victim was the victim's physical characteristics. These characteristics were

defined as some physical element of the victim. They could be clothing as well as physical shape.

Only one serial rapist was adamant that physical characteristics had nothing to do with his selection of a rape victim.

. . . that old shit about them wearing miniskirts and all that, that's all bullshit. A victim is a victim . . . I did one, one night, that was 300 pounds.

However, there are physical characteristics that other offenders mention. Some offenders have very specific criteria when choosing a victim.

. . . this woman got out and she was attractive. That was one of the elements. Certain things, the clothes they wore, how they were built physically, were important. I looked for a specific type of person. Very sexual, in tight pants or a sweater, tight shirt, good figure, early 20s, mid 20s.

Clothing draws the attention of the rapist, perhaps triggering the chain of thought that leads to the rape.

My intentions weren't to rape her. I just wanted to see her. . . . She was wearing a micro-miniskirt . . . she was looking good . . . I just started thinking . . .

Physical attractiveness did appear to be important, but definitions of physical attractiveness varied with the rapist.

If she were slender, well built and I didn't have to see her face, that's all the criterion. She could be flat-chested, I like flat-chested women . . .

. . . physically attractive, voluptuous type . . . medium to a little heavy . . . Any woman that is pretty is all right.

Other rapists looked for physical or dress characteristics that fed their fantasies or angers.

. . . the physical resemblance struck me as her appearance to the secretary that I had been having this go-around with for a little bit. . . . The frustration and everything just hit me, that this is her. She was the surrogate.

. . . the more attractive to me a woman was, the more of a threat and thus the greater the enemy I perceived her to be. . . . I also tended to choose attractive young victims over old and ugly. This reflects my feeling that sexual allure is the female's primary source of illegitimate power, as opposed to intelligence, talent, training etc. that I view as legitimate. . . . Thus the more attractive to me a woman was, the more of a threat and thus the greater an enemy I perceived her to be.

PEEPING

The fourth most frequently mentioned reason of how a rape victim was selected was peeping (13 of 39 offender responses or 33 percent). Some offenders had established regular peeping rounds.

. . . and window peeped while I was out, to discover where they were, and to pick a victim . . .

Not all rapes were so preplanned. Many of the rapes were the result of impulse during the rapist's peeping rounds.

I went to this one house, and there was a woman who had fallen asleep watching TV and there was fuzz on the screen. She had on a little nightie, sexy and short negligee. I was looking in the window when the idea of going in and doing what I wanted to her came to me, so I did.

Peeping activities can start as just peeping but then build into the act of rape by triggering the rapist's fantasy.

The light's on and they go over to the bed and the window shade is just so I can see them and they are going to make love. I watch them make love. It just drove an obsession in my mind for this girl.

In one case a selected victim suddenly changed her habits and saved her life. Ironically, her neighbor changed her habits at the same time, which cost her life.

. . . I was planning on raping her, but then she started locking her windows . . . and keeping her curtains shut. Without that, I couldn't do anything to her. The one I ended up raping and killing lived next door to her. One night I saw her having intercourse with this guy, and I watched them make love. . . . She changed something about the window curtains so I could see in most of the time.

RESIDENCE

The fifth most frequent response (10 of 39 offender responses or 25 percent) was that there was something about the victim's house that attracted the rapist.

Main thing was her house, its location. It was in a suburb, an open field, a high wooden fence around it, complete closure, concealment from the outside. Nobody could see me coming or going.

Many other reasons were given for victim selection. Finding a stranded female, a female alone, a hitchhiker, or a victim under the influence of drugs or alcohol, being teased by the victim, and a lack of awareness by the victim were all reasons given for victim selection. One offender combined different methods.

Women alone tend to cluster geographically [in apartments] . . . I used other 'lead sources' . . . Examples are student directories, newspaper stories in combination with phone books, the 'Open Education Exchange' etc.

It is important to remember that no one factor is used exclusively by a rapist in selecting his victim. As one rapist stated in an earlier quote, "That was one of the elements" used in his selection.

What Rapists Say . . . About How They Gained Access to Their Victims

UNLOCKED DOORS

Despite constant warnings from law enforcement personnel, people still leave their doors unlocked. This was the most frequently mentioned way (19 of 36 offender responses or 53 percent) rapists gained access to their victims.

I went through the front door in every case except one, and I went through the window [there].

Even when retiring for the evening, doors are left unlocked.

. . . a car pulled in at this house. A woman got out, went into her house and she was alone . . . after a while the lights went off . . . her sliding glass door on her patio in the back was open. I went in . . .

Sliding glass doors are the most difficult type of entry or exit to secure. Sliding glass doors cannot be safely left open just because they are in enclosed yards.

. . . in this apartment complex . . . they have enclosed, fenced yards now, where most of the apartments would leave their sliding glass doors in the back unlocked. And they were right at the bedroom . . .

Unfortunately, the "back in a minute" phenomenon still exists as demonstrated by the following quote.

[She] left the apartment complex, went down to the little laundry room that was provided by the apartment complex owners, and in doing so she just walked off and left the door unlocked. I just opened the door and walked in while she was off down there. While she was gone I unlocked a couple of windows then I left.

Leaving a door not just unlocked, but standing open, is high-risk behavior and an invitation for a criminal.

I just trotted in the back yard like I lived there, and they had a little patio in the back with two doors open, inward to the living room . . .

Those in vehicles also need to be aware of their doors.

I walked up to the car and started talking to her. . . . She said she was traveling. I said, so am I. I opened up the car door, told her to slide over and she said, what? . . . for some reason she slid over, and I got in the car . . .

TARGETING/STALKING

The second most frequently mentioned way (13 of 36 offender responses or 36 percent) offenders gained access to their victims was by targeting or stalking them.

I'd watched her for a week or so . . . I seen her drive into her driveway about midnight. Then I went back about 2 or 3 in the morning . . .

Peeping is used as a method of selecting/targeting a victim.

I had been peeping on her for sometime. Her husband was a soldier. He was gone . . . I could tell she was alone.

The classic surprise approach is used by the offender in the following quote.

My plan was to get into the house and wait until midnight. Then while they were sleeping, I would wake them up and threaten them, tie them up. . . . It was planned.

Individuals need to learn to trust their instincts. If, when they come home, something doesn't feel right or is disturbed, they need to contact the authorities immediately without entering the residence or office.

Sometimes the rapist enters the residence before the attack to set up his escape route in advance—so he will not find himself trapped in the home—as well as setting up access to the residence.

. . . in this case, I had a victim I knew I wanted to get, but I didn't have the access. So I waited . . . and decided to drive by and see if anyone was there, and it didn't look as if anyone was there during the daytime, so I parked over on the backside of it, jumped the fence, and went over and checked, and nobody was home and the back door was open. So I went in and undid a window latch so the window would be open . . . I'd have my access.

Leaving a car unlocked in a parking lot or garage can create an opportunity for the rapist.

I would be in a parking lot somewhere, and they would get out of their cars and go in to where they were going, and I would go over and get in their car and pull out their registration and read off the address. I would just go to where they lived before they got home.

WINDOWS

Unlocked or open windows was the third most frequently mentioned method of gaining access to the victim. No room was exempt from their search for entry.

I entered by way of a kitchen window on that lower apartment. The window was unlatched and standing open.

. . . but before she went to bed she opened her window that was off the dining room . . . that was her big mistake, that was the way I got in was through the window.

. . . [I] walked around the house trying doors and windows and stuff, and I finally came to a basement window that was unlocked. I pushed on it, and it opened and I snuck in.

A screen over a window gives a false sense of security to the resident of the home.

I hopped over the back fence through the back yard around . . . where her bedroom window was. The screen was on, but the window was up all the way. I took the screen off and climbed through the window.

APPEAL FOR AID

An appeal for assistance by the rapist was the fourth most frequently mentioned method used by the rapist.

First there is the classic con requesting use of the phone.

There was a lady, I knocked on the door, and I told her my truck had broken down. I asked her if I could use her phone. She said yes. She turned around, and I put my hand over her mouth and I said "Look, I'm not going to hurt you, I just want to be intimate with you."

Then there is asking for directions.

. . . and I picked her up and asked her where the park was. I told her I was trying to find an apartment over there, where there was a party going on, and could she show me. She said, sure, and she got into the car.

Some cons are designed to lure the victim into isolation as this one was.

. . . talked the boy into taking a ride with me in my car. [I used the] pretext of we were going to buy a trailer, and I was supposedly having him [show me so I could] show my wife where the trailer court was.

Other cons are designed to be disarming, like looking for a puppy or . . .

And I walked up to her and told her I was looking for my little sister, and I asked her if she had seen children playing. And she said no . . . there was like a path going off into the woods, and we walked that way, and I grabbed her around the throat, put a knife to her throat, and took her over into the woods and undressed her . . .

How compliant the victim will be is very important to some rapists. They will try to determine before acting against someone whether the individual will be compliant enough to act as the rapist wants.

I mean, just from simply asking directions for someplace or something, in the time that it would take her to give me those directions, I could just about tell, you know, when, you know, what she would do when it comes down.

What Rapists Say . . . About Why the Rapist Broke Off an Attack

Rapists are careful to choose situations that do not put them at risk when they rape. Different distractions or situations may occur that cause the rapist to flee.

PHYSICAL RESISTANCE

The most frequent reason given by the subjects for breaking off a rape was physical resistance (17 of 31 or 55 percent).

. . . try and force them into cooperating. If they didn't, if they screamed out, if they struggled, if I felt like it was too risky to continue, then I'd leave immediately, which happened fairly often.

She kicked me in the testicles and ran into the bathroom and locked the door. I got up and left.

Physical resistance is not without its hazards. The endings could have been very different with the victims seriously injured or killed had the rapist been a different type. Data have indicated that, in some cases, when the victim resisted, the amount of pleasure experienced by the rapist was greater and the duration of the rape was longer.[4]

They were trying to do me in with a shower rod. They came running straight at me and I really didn't know what to do. I knew it [a B.B. gun] would hurt her, but I had it up about that high and just kept shooting and she just kept running at me. . . . I sidestepped her, and the other one was trying to, I guess, hit me with the shower curtain rod. . . . I just took it away from her and pushed her down. The other one by this time had the door open and was running down the stairs screaming and hollering. I panicked then. So I just took off right down behind her. She went one way screaming, and I went the other way. I got out of there.

In this case one victim was shot in the head and throat with the B.B. gun. If the B.B. gun had been a pistol, the victim might have been killed. The rapist was caught by surprise twice, first by the presence of the roommate and then by the amount of resistance the victim offered.

VERBAL RESISTANCE

Fear of discovery will make the rapist break off an attack. In the study, 14 out of 31 offenders (45 percent) stated that they broke off an attack because of verbal resistance by the victim.

I would confront a victim . . . and try to force them into cooperating. If they didn't, if they screamed out, if they struggled, if I felt it was too risky to continue, then I'd leave immediately.

Some rapists must depersonalize their victims in order to rape them. When a victim is able to break through this depersonalization, the rapist may flee.

I decided to rape her, but I couldn't get it in. She was crying that it hurt. It was kind of pitiful. I couldn't go through with it.

If the victim is going to verbally resist her assailant, she must do it immediately before he has a chance to isolate her.

. . . she yelled and was yelling for somebody by name, and so I departed immediately.

. . . she started to scream and I twisted her arm hard and told her to knock it off . . . then I said ,"Go ahead and scream. Nobody will hear you." Because we were way up in the mountains.

If the rapist fears he is losing control of the situation, he has two choices: run or regain control.

In the beginning, if they screamed or anything happened, I'd run like a scared rabbit. I wouldn't advise that though . . . There was one time when this one started screaming, and I just started hitting until she shut up.

One type of rapist is usually unwilling to harm his victims. Had the victims encountered any other type of rapist, they could have easily lost their lives or been badly injured.

I pulled a knife on a girl one time and I told her to come on, we're going to go over here where there ain't nobody, and I'm going to rape you. And she said, "No, you can go ahead and kill me." Well, once she took away that power, that control, she ain't scared of that knife—I might as well not have it. I better get the hell out of here. I had a gun one time, and forced my way into a girl's car . . . and I told her what I wanted . . . I had to get out of there. Because once I seen that she wasn't afraid of the gun, then I had no control over her.

WHEN THE VICTIM WON'T COOPERATE

The third most frequent reason given by the subjects for breaking off an attack was that the victim, in some way, refused to cooperate when approached or attacked.

She had her window cranked about that far, it's broad daylight. I said, "What's the matter?" She said, "The oil light keeps coming on and the car smells funny." You could smell oil burning. I said, "What do you want me to do?" She said, "Can you call a tow truck?" I said I'd stop at the next exit and tell them that she needed help.

If resistance is not given immediately but delayed, the attacker could grow angry and use force to subdue the victim rather than flee. In the following case, the victim risked angering or challenging the authority of the attacker to the point that he could feel that he needed to respond forcefully. Instead of the attacker fleeing, he could have as easily killed her.

I pulled a knife out on this one girl, and she grabbed my hand and pushed it around and said no. I put it back over to her again, and she pushed it away again, and then she got out of her van. I got out and took off.

What Rapists Say . . . About What Could Have Stopped an Attack

When the rapists were asked to speculate on what could have stopped an attack after they had made contact with their victim, 37 out of 41 (90 percent) of the subjects responded.

VERBAL RESISTANCE

Verbal resistance was mentioned by the offenders most frequently (21 of 37 responses or 57 percent). If a victim is no longer an object, but personalized, the rapist may not continue his actions.

She probably could have said something, and I would have just let her walk right on out the door. . . . I guess if she would have said something about her family . . . but she didn't say a word, nothing.

An immediate, loud, verbal response by the victim destroys the isolation that the rapist needs to commit the crime and may scare him off.

I attempted to rape another woman. But it didn't work out. And the woman screamed, started screaming, and I just run. . . . If they screamed or made any kind of fuss or tried to bite me, I'd probably just run. Had she started screaming, if she had screamed or said something to that couple that walked past, I would have run. I would have run.

Screaming is not the only noise that has driven a rapist away. This victim took advantage of her neighbor's proximity.

I'd been scared away by a woman screaming, banging on the wall. I had somebody screaming one time that made me hit the road. One woman one time was just banging on the wall, screaming, trying to wake up the people next door. That's enough.

Rapists are aware of the risks when they commit a rape. They carefully weigh those risks when committing a rape and try to protect themselves or at least minimize their chance of detection. Therefore, anything that tends to raise the risk to the assailant tends to lower the risk to the potential victim.

PHYSICAL RESISTANCE

Should the victim resist or not is one of the questions that both law enforcement officers and private citizens face every day. The victim, the physical environment, and the rapist vary so greatly in every case that no one answer can be given that would be safe for each and every rape. This is the second most frequent response (18 out 37 responses or 49 percent).

Like I said, that don't mean it would work every time. Some people say you should put up a struggle, but sometimes it just depends on the person and how far he is gone. Luckily, I did have some sense of value left at times. Then, at times I didn't. It just depends on the person. One woman could try it and could really end up getting hurt.

Physical resistance does have its hazards.

[What if she had fought you?] I would have beat the shit out of her then. I wouldn't care anything about knocking her down.

NOTHING WOULD STOP THEM

When asked what would stop the rape once the victim and rapist had made contact, 14 of 37 offenders responded that nothing would stop them.

[Is there anything this woman could have done?] Nothing short of killing me.

I was real determined. There was no hesitation at all . . . when I had that knife in my hand, I wasn't afraid of anything.

The sex act, the sex urge, the urge to have sex was so overwhelming that it had to be completed. It just had to be done.

What Rapists Say . . . About How to Avoid Being a Rape Victim

This section of the research is offered with a caveat. The responses given by the rapists must not be construed as advice on how to avoid being raped in all situations. Different types of rapists will react differently to different types of victim response. Some will occasionally change their pattern of behavior during their rape careers. An offender's responses may also have been influenced by self-interest, therapy he has undergone, or information he has gleaned from attending rape-prevention seminars before his arrest. Nevertheless, these statements do offer us a chance to view the rapists' perspectives.

RESISTANCE

The following quote illustrates a victim's dilemma when faced with the decision of whether to resist and demonstrates that the rapist often does not even know what his response would be to a specific situation. Four of the 18 (of 41) rapists who responded recommended caution when resisting.

I knew she was smaller than me and I could overpower her . . . she was docile for the most part . . . . I figured I could get away with this one, she's not gonna fight me back, it's safe. She could have screamed. I'd of run like hell. . . . There was other houses around and it would of scared the hell out of me cuz somebody might of overheard and called the police. As far as fighting back, she didn't have a chance. She was trapped. And she could of marked me. . . . If she'd of gouged me, I'd of been screaming scared. Of course, I might of killed her too.

. . . if I had a daughter and she wants to keep that virginity and she wants to keep her sex, she better fight, scream, claw, kick —everything she can do because if the man is going to kill her, he's going to kill anyway . . . if the man's got a gun, you better go along with it. If he's got a knife, you have a chance. If he doesn't have either one, you better fight like hell.

. . . I want to tell you, if I ever took it in my mind that some girl wanted to throw some karate shit at me or something like that I would have hurt her, I would of hurt her bad.

NOT BEING ALONE

Not being alone, especially after dark, was the second most frequently mentioned response with 13 responses out of 41 (32 percent). Rapists mention that they look for women living alone because they make easier targets than those with roommates or households. One rapist stated that he studied apartment buildings because he noticed that single women tend to cluster geographically and used this information to target victims. If he could not get access to one woman, there were others nearby he could try. It should be noted, however, that a few rapists prefer to assault while controlling others at the same time. Consequently, individuals should take precautions, such as locking doors, even when at home with family.

CLOSING/LOCKING DOORS AND WINDOWS

Locking and closing doors and windows tied for the second most frequent response, with 13 out of 41 rapists (32 percent) giving these comments on how to avoid being a rape victim.

In my charges, if people had locked their doors and locked their windows and maybe made a little more precaution about using good locks and windows that couldn't be opened—not just locking them but having some mechanism to where it would take an extra effort to get in. That's one thing, but everyone knows that. Half these people left their doors or windows open—wide open—not locked at all and, just in my case, the victims—if they resisted, I left.

Like, some women, they go out at night. Some of them don't even shut the door going to do the laundry. Some of them don't even shut it and lock it on their way out. They go to the laundry and leave the door wide open. Some of them leave the windows open during the night as well as the doors. Some houses you can break into pretty easy. Like, with a B.B. pistol, I shot a hole in a window and stuck a piece of wire from a hanger in and unlocked the window. It's pretty easy to do, even with three panes of glass.

STRANGERS

When asked what advice he could give to avoid being a victim, one rapist responded;

I think being too trusting to a stranger. I think many women have the feeling or viewpoint that a rapist is someone that will hang out at a pornographic film, that he may have a thirst or particular appearance . . . they have to realize that it can be anyone. That if they're home alone, they shouldn't open the door to anyone they don't know, no matter what the circumstances are, no matter how serious it is.

But it seemed like most of my victims, I had to talk either away from the area they were in or I had to use something to get them into a position to get them away from that area.

Eleven rapists out of 41 (27 percent) responded that people need to be wary of strangers. They stated that no matter what his appearance, no stranger should be taken at face value. It must be noted, too, that not all rapes are committed by strangers.

LIGHTING

Lighting was suggested by 9 rapists out of 41 (22 percent) as a precaution against rape.

Some precautions like well-lit areas, spotlights on top of their houses and all the way around would ward off trouble. I would never approach a well-lit area.

. . . stay in lighted areas . . . be alert to surroundings . . . if a car drives by—look at it.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS

Offenders had other comments on how to avoid becoming a rape victim.

Keep blinds closed. Be conscious of it. . . . It is something in today's society a woman needs to be conscious of, especially a woman living alone. I think one of the biggest things that can help is to let the woman go outside after dark, walk around the house or apartment that she lives in, and try and figure out how to break into it. . . . Look in the window and see what she sees. I can look in 90 percent of the windows and tell if a woman lives in that house.

I would say, don't allow themselves to be picked up at dances and bars and parties by someone they don't know. By someone they do know even then—because most of these women I knew. Some of them I knew very well.

The best advice I could give them is to either create some type of diversion to scare the rapist or comply with him and hope you don't get hurt any worse than you're getting hurt.

. . . [At the] time I was committing mine, had I seen a man's personal items in a house, it was sufficient to keep me from going in the house, of coming back to it. . . . I never messed anywhere there was a dog . . . especially if it was a big dog.

I think they should be a little more selective in who they get in the car with, or put themselves in the situation with that they can be raped. . . .Find out what kind of person this is, try to find out their name or something about them, had any of the women known anything about me, I would have went on and found somebody else . . . women should never get in a car with anyone they don't know. . . . If they had gotten my license plate number, there is no way that I would try to rape them. Just common sense is the best thing a woman can use.

Conclusions

This study has kept the interpretation of the rapists' responses to a minimum to let these individuals speak for themselves. It is hoped looking at the crime of rape from this perspective will give new insights to assist those involved in rape investigation, community education, and offender treatment.

These observations from men who rape enhance our awareness. Because many rapists surveyed do weigh risks, their views validate any and all prevention efforts that increase perceived risks before confrontation with the victim. Crime prevention measures should not and do not begin at the confrontation, and they are limited at best after it has occurred. Crime prevention begins at the point when a person accepts the possibility that such an assault might happen to him or her, a friend, a wife, a daughter, or a mother. Crime prevention progresses through that person's actions to develop a plan of response—installing security measures (and using them) in homes, cars, offices, etc.; learning about the behavioral considerations such as those discussed here; and developing collective actions with others such as traveling in groups or forming a neighborhood watch and escort programs.

It is very important for people to develop, trust, and act on their instincts. Rapists appear to be ordinary, everyday people. They don't wear signs to identify themselves. Most rapists don't like what they are doing—they don't even like themselves. This study also found that the offenders wanted a hotline that would allow them to seek help in curtailing or stopping their behavior.

Information on rape is limited compared to the true scope of the problem because not enough victims report the crime. One rapist stated that only one out of five of his victims reported the attack. If victims came forward, these offenders would be apprehended much more rapidly, which could help prevent others' suffering.

The perception that rape is only a woman's issue must be overcome. Rape affects not only the victims, but also their families and the community. There are many more good men than rapists. As statesman Edmund Burke said, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Notes

1. Hazelwood, R. R., and Joseph A. Harpold, "Rape: The Dangers of Providing Confrontational Advice, *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, June 1986, pp. 1–5.
2. Hazelwood, R. R., and Warren, J. "The Serial Rapist: His Characteristics and Victims (Conclusion)," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, February 1989, pp. 18–25.
3. Hazelwood, R.R., and Burgess, A., "An Introduction to the Serial Rapist: Research by the FBI," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, September 1987, pp. 16–24; Hazelwood, R. R., Reboussin, R., and Warren, J., "Serial Rape: Correlates of Increased Aggression and the Relationship of Offender Pleasure to Victim Resistance," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1989, pp. 65–78; Hazelwood, R. R., and Warren, J., "The Serial Rapist: His Characteristics and Victims," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, January 1989, pp. 18–25; Hazelwood, R. R., and Warren, J., "The Criminal Behavior of the Serial Rapist." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, February 1990, pp. 11–16.
4. Hazelwood, R. R., Reboussin, R., and Warren, J., "Serial Rape: Correlates of Increased Aggression and the Relationship of Offender Pleasure to Victim Resistance," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1989, pp. 65–78.

APPENDIX 2

Sources of Help

Organizations

Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence
1914 North 34th Street, Suite 105
Seattle, WA 98103
206-634-1903

Serves as an educational resource for religious communities on issues of sexual abuse and domestic violence. Provides materials (newsletter, videos, curricula, books, brochures) that are interfaith in perspective, multicultural and multiracial, and multimedia. Offers training to clergy, denominational staff, religious educators, seminarians, and secular professionals.

Family Violence Prevention Fund
383 Rhode Island Street, Suite 304
San Francisco, CA 94103-5133
415-252-8900

Focuses on domestic violence education, prevention, and public policy reform. Develops prevention strategies in the justice, public education, and public health fields and spearheads the "There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence" public service ad campaign launched in 1994. Offers a newsletter, training curricula for criminal justice professionals, brochures and posters, and materials on battered and refugee women's rights. Also provides direct services to battered women and training to law enforcement and others in the San Francisco area.

National Center on Women and Family Law, Inc.
799 Broadway, Suite 402
New York, NY 10003
212-674-8200

Provides legal assistance and information to advocates, policymakers, and attorneys for low-income women in the areas of battery, child custody, child sexual abuse, child support, parental kidnapping, and rights of single mothers. Publishes a bi-monthly newsletter, *The Women's Advocate*. Operates the National Battered Women's Law Project that produces resource materials and serves as a clearinghouse on legal issues facing battered women.

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
PO Box 18749
Denver, CO 80218-0749
303-839-1852

Serves as an information and referral center for grassroots shelters and service programs assisting battered women and their children. Also provides information to the general public, the media, and battered women; lobbies for legislative reform; promotes the development of model programs; and sponsors National Domestic Violence Awareness Month.

National Coalition Against Sexual Assault
PO Box 21378
Washington, DC 20009
202-483-7165

Works to build a network through which individuals and organizations working against sexual assault can share expertise, experience, and information. Disseminates information, sponsors Sexual Assault Awareness Month in April, compiles statistics, publishes newsletter. Membership consists of rape crisis centers, associated agencies, and individuals.

National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL)
1560 Broadway, Suite 700
Denver, CO 80202
303-830-2200

Serves lawmakers and staffs of the nation's 50 states, commonwealths, and territories. Provides research, publications, consulting services, meetings, and seminars. Tracks state legislature efforts in the area of family violence.

National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges
Family Violence Project
University of Nevada, Reno
PO Box 8970
Reno, NV 89507
702-784-6012

Serves as a resource for courts handling cases involving violence among family members. Operates the Resource Center on Domestic Violence: Child Protection and Custody and the Model Code on Domestic and Family Violence implementation project. Holds conferences to help states design plans to curb family violence and provides training and technical assistance to those seeking to enhance system responses. Publishes an array of publications in the area of family violence.

National Crime Prevention Council
1700 K Street, NW, Second Floor
Washington, DC 20006-3817
202-466-6272

Publishes books, a newsletter, kits of camera-ready program materials, posters, and information and policy reports on a variety of crime prevention and community-building subjects. Offers training, technical assistance, and national focus for crime prevention. Acts as secretariat for the Crime Prevention Coalition, more than 120 national, federal, and state organizations committed to preventing crime. Operates demonstration and other programs. Manages the National Citizens' Crime Prevention Campaign which includes the McGruff "Take A Bite Out Of Crime" public service advertising.

National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA)
1757 Park Road, NW
Washington, DC 20010
202-232-6682
800-TRY-NOVA (800-879-6682)

Operates a national victim service hotline, 24 hours a day. Gives callers names, addresses, and phone numbers of victim services and shelters for battered women in their area. Lists are updated based on information received from state coalitions against domestic violence and other sources. About 80 percent of all calls to the toll-free number are for domestic violence referrals and information. Also sends out printed materials.

National Victim Center (NVC)
2111 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 300
Arlington, VA 22201
703-276-2880

Advocates for victims of crime at the state and federal level. Services include publications (such as a newsletter and a directory), library resources, referrals, training, and technical assistance.

Office for Victims of Crime Resource Center
National Criminal Justice Reference Service
Box 6000
Rockville, MD 20849-6000
800-627-6872

Responds to requests from researchers, professionals, and individual victims for victim-related information. As a federal clearinghouse, collects books and articles covering child physical and sexual abuse, victim services, state victim compensation programs, domestic violence, victim-witness programs, and violent crime. Funded by the U.S. Department of Justice's Office for Victims of Crime.

Older Women's League
666 11th Street, NW, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20001
202-783-6686
800-825-3695

Advocates for midlife and older women on health, pension, and job discrimination issues. Publishes a Mother's Day Report each May; 1994's report was "A Call to Action: Ending Violence Against Midlife and Older Women."

American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)
The Women's Initiative
601 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20049
202-434-2400

Publishes a resource guide designed to help domestic and elder abuse service providers better meet the needs of older abused women. For a single free copy, write to AARP Fulfillment, 601 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20049 and ask for item D-15777.

Violence Against Women Program Office
Office of Justice Programs
U.S. Department of Justice
633 Indiana Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20531
202-307-6026

Coordinates the activities of the bureaus within the Justice Department's Office of Justice Programs relating to violence against women. Also establishes the policy for and administers the department's formula and discretionary grant programs authorized by the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. Assists the nation's criminal justice system to respond to the needs and concerns of women who have been, or potentially could be, victimized by violence. Emphasizes enhanced delivery of services to women victimized by violence and works to strengthen outreach effort to minorities and disabled women. Will provide Indian tribal governments with funds to develop and strengthen the tribal justice system's response to violent crimes committed against Native American women.

Violence Policy Center
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
202-822-8200

Approaches firearms violence from a public health perspective and explores policy alternatives to commonly accepted views on gun violence. Researches interpersonal violence such as domestic assault and its link to firearms policy. Produces books, studies, and fact sheets in a effort to educate the public, news media, and policymakers.

The Domestic Violence Resource Network

In October 1993, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services provided funding to establish a network of domestic violence resource centers. This network provides statistics, information, technical assistance, and access to expert opinion on all aspects of domestic violence response and prevention. It also promotes research, policy analysis, and program development. Working with community-based shelter and hotline programs, state domestic violence coalitions, policymakers, and others involved in assisting battered women and their children, each resource center examines current and emerging issues and takes a leadership role in developing collaborative responses and solutions.

National Resource Center on Domestic Violence 800-537-2238
Fax 717-545-9456

Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Provides comprehensive information and resources, policy development, and technical assistance designed to enhance community response to and prevention of domestic violence.

Battered Women's Justice Project 800-903-0111

Provides training, technical assistance, and other resources through a partnership of three nationally recognized organizations:

Domestic Abuse Intervention Project of Duluth Fax 218-722-1545
Addresses the criminal justice system's response to domestic violence including the development of batterers' programs.

National Clearinghouse for the Defense of Battered Women Fax 215-351-0779
Addresses battered women's self-defense issues.

Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence Fax 610-373-6403
Addresses civil court access and legal representation issues of battered women.

Resource Center on Child Protection and Custody 800-527-3223
Fax 702-784-6628

National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges Family Violence Project
Provides information, consultation, technical assistance, and legal research related to child protection and custody issues within the context of domestic violence.

Health Resource Center on Domestic Violence 800-313-1310
Fax 415-252-8991

Family Violence Prevention Fund
Provides specialized information packets designed to strengthen the health-care response to domestic violence, as well as technical assistance and library services to support health care-based domestic violence training and program development.

Programs

ASHA Family Services
Antonia Drew, Director
PO Box 12513
Milwaukee, WI 53212
(v) 414-445-2742
(f) 414-562-1558

AWAKE
Jennifer Robertson
Children's Hospital
300 Longwood Avenue
Boston, MA 01225
(v) 617-355-7979
(f) 617-730-0461

The Center for the Study of Sport in Society
Jackson Katz, Mentors in Violence Prevention Project Coordinator
Northeastern University
360 Huntington Avenue, 161CP
Boston, MA 02115
(v) 617-373-4025
(f) 617-373-4566

Chicago Abused Women Coalition
Greenhouse Shelter
Vickii Coffey, Executive Director
PO Box 477916
Chicago, IL 60647-7916
(v) 312-489-9081
(f) 312-489-9081

Dating Violence Prevention Project
Carol Sousa, Director
PO Box 530
Harvard Square Station
Cambridge, MA 02238
(v) 617-354-2676
(f) 617-497-4836

Family Trouble Center
Dr. Betty Winter
Memphis Police Department
620 S. Lauderdale
Memphis, TN 38103
(v) 901-942-7283
(f) 901-775-0079

George Mason University
Sexual Assault Services
Connie Kirkland, Coordinator
Fairfax, VA 22030-4444
(v) 703-993-4364
(f) 703-993-2839

Institute for Choosing Nonviolence
Anne Parry, Director
Rainbow House
PO Box 29019
Chicago, IL 60629
(v) 312-521-5501
(f) 312-521-4866

Mutual Ground
Linda R. Healy, Executive Director
Judith Burks, Associate Director
PO Box 843
Aurora, IL 60507
(v) 708-897-0080 (Domestic violence)
(v) 708-897-8383 (Sexual assault)
(f) 708-897-8439

Quetzal Center
Jean Brumfield, Program Supervisor
Community Counseling Centers of Chicago
5710 N. Broadway
Chicago, IL 60660
(v) 312-334-8608
(f) 312-728-6517

West Virginia Coalition Against Domestic Violence
Sue Julian and Diane Reese, Coordinators
PO Box 85
Sutton, WV 26601
(v) 304-765-2250
(f) 304-765-5071

WomenStrength Program
Mary Otto, Director
Bureau of Police, Portland
1111 SW 2nd Avenue
Room 1552
Portland, OR 97205
(v) 503-823-0296
(f) 503-823-0289

PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO WORK WITH BATTERERS

Abusive Men Exploring New Directions (AMEND)
777 Grant Street, Suite 600
Denver, CO 80203
303-832-6363

Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP)
206 West Fourth Street
Duluth, MN 55808
218-722-4134

Emerge
2380 Massachusetts Avenue, Suite 101
Cambridge, MA 02140
617-422-1550

Men Overcoming Violence (MOVE)
54 Mint Street, Suite 300
San Francisco, CA 94103
415-777-4496

NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION COUNCIL
1700 K Street, NW, Second Floor
Washington, DC 20006-3817