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Sexual Assault and Robbery Disclosure: An Examination of Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law

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Sexual Assault and Robbery Disclosure: An Examination of

Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law

by

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of the requirements for the degree of
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DEDICATION

For all the women who have ever been told they can't have it all.
<u>You can</u>.

MEMORIAM

In loving memory of Scott F. Allen

The best person I have ever known.

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ABSTRACT

The majority of research on victim decision making has focused narrowly on reporting to police neglecting other ways in which victims seek help after a victimization experience. Similarly, this research also focuses on only one crime at a time, typically sexual assault, or focuses broadly on categories of violent crime. This dissertation aims to explore variations in victim help-seeking by examining and comparing various combinations of formal disclosure. Moreover, this study compares two distinctly different yet comparable interpersonal violent crimes: sexual assault and robbery. In so doing, this study employs the Theory of the Behavior of Law to examine whether social structure predicts the decision to formally disclose across these two crimes. Using National Crime Victimization Survey data from 1996-2015 (n=3,095), logistic regression is employed to explore formal disclosure, police reporting, and exclusive victim agency usage among female sexual assault and robbery victimizations. The results found little theoretical support; however, results consistently indicated that crime type was strongly related to all strategies of disclosure. These findings suggest that the Theory of the Behavior of Law does not explain victim decision making. Theoretical and practical implications as well as avenues for future research are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

Crime victims use a variety of strategies to cope with victimization. Coping often includes seeking help by disclosing traumatic events. Disclosure can range from telling family and friends to formally reporting to the police. While many victims do tell someone about the experience (Demers, Roberts, Bennett, & Banyard, 2017), only 54% of violent victimizations are reported to police (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2014). This number is even lower for those who are victims of sexual violence, with estimates of reporting ranging from 14% to 43% among the general population (Campbell, 2008; Patterson, Greeson, & Campbell, 2009; Ullman, 2007). Reporting to police is beneficial to both the individual and society. For one, reporting to police can potentially reduce repeat offending among offenders, provide justice, and increase public safety (Abel et al., 1987; Bachman, 1993, 1998; Felson & Paré, 2005). Secondly, jurisdictions can have a more accurate perception of the frequency of violent crime, which can influence funding allocated to prevention and victim service programs. Finally, the victim can receive the medical, psychological, and legal help necessary for the best recovery possible.

Reporting to police is not the only option a victim has after a crime. Crime victims can use other formal, non-legal services such as counseling, rape crisis centers, or victim advocacy agencies. These agencies can provide victims non-legal relief, and in turn, may encourage formal reporting. Furthermore, using victim agencies or other mental health services can offer coping strategies, social support, and positive mental health outcomes (Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996).

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The negative consequences of not reporting victimization (to the police or non-legal services) are far-reaching for both the individual and community. At the individual level, victims who do not disclose are more likely to suffer psychologically, struggle with substance abuse, experience unsatisfying sexual relationships, and have lower self-esteem (Cohen & Roth, 1987). These consequences may lead to pattern behaviors that increase the likelihood of re-victimization (Acierno et al., 1999). At the community level, without formal reports, perpetrators are much less likely to suffer legal and social consequences and may reoffend (e.g., Lisak & Miller, 2002). Furthermore, official crime statistics influence the distribution of funds for interventions, prevention, and victim services (Koss, 1996), and these statistics influence societal perceptions of crime severity.

While research on sexual assault, especially campus sexual assault, has garnered increased attention regarding the decision to report, other serious crimes, such as robbery, have received less empirical attention—especially for female victims. While there has been some research on victim help-seeking behavior generally (e.g., Kaukinen, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c), the correlates of disclosing or formally reporting have not been thoroughly examined for some types of crime victims. For example, research on robbery has not received as much attention as sexual assault, especially for female victims. Though robbery and sexual assault are both interpersonal, violent crimes with lasting negative consequences (Resick, 1987), comparisons of the two crimes, especially regarding reporting, have been limited. The majority of research on reporting has focused on one crime specifically or examines multiple crimes together and has been limited to reporting only to police.

This dissertation contributes to the existing research on reporting and help-seeking by drawing on Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law to provide a theoretical framework to

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examine and compare two violent crimes: sexual assault and robbery. This theory is ideal for examining reporting behavior because of its focus on the structural factors that predict the utilization of law rather than individuals' decision making. This theory allows for a more contextualized understanding of how different factors, such as the victim-offender relationship and victim and offender characteristics, influence reporting behavior without having to examine psychological factors and motivations.

Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law

Donald Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law (1976) was constructed to explain how the use, or mobilization, of law varies as a function of societal characteristics. These characteristics, called dimensions, include *stratification*, *morphology*, *culture*, *organization*, and *informal social control*. These dimensions are proposed to explain how individuals manage conflict (Black, 1976). Conflict is part of daily life, but how individuals respond to or manage conflict is contingent on their place in social structure, which is determined by the aforementioned dimensions. *Stratification* concerns the vertical distance, or social status inherent with gender, wealth, and race. *Morphology* relates to the both relational distance (i.e., the relationship between the victim and offender) and radial distance (i.e., integration in society). The *cultural* dimension refers to a person's ideals, values, and system of knowledge, while the *organizational* dimension refers to an individual's propensity for collective action. Finally, the *normative* dimension refers to the use of informal social controls. The better positioned someone is in social space (i.e., higher in stratification or more integrated in society), the more likely they are to mobilize law or report crime.

Beyond reporting to the police, Black (1998) described several other strategies for dealing with conflict: self-help, avoidance, negotiation, settlement, and toleration. Self-help

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refs to aggression (Black, 1983), which may include physical violence (Black, 1998). Avoidance is a conflict management strategy that entails curtailing interaction either temporarily or permanently. Negotiation requires an agreed upon resolution for the conflict between the two parties while settlement involves a nonpartisan third party for mediation or arbitration (Black, 1998). Finally, toleration is "inaction when a grievance might otherwise be handled" and is "the most common response of aggrieved people everywhere" (Black, 1998, p. 88). Similar to Black's propositions concerning the mobilization of law, Black suggests that the dimensions of social structure shape alternative strategies to conflict management. For example, Black (1998) asserts that those most likely to tolerate conflict are those who are intimate with their aggressor, from the same culture, and against an organization.

In short, Black argues that the dimensions of social life, through social structure, predict the method of conflict management employed (Black, 1976). However, he does not discuss other conflict management strategies or help-seeking behaviors that do not fit in the above categories, such as utilizing mental health or victim services—he only argues that law varies inversely with informal social controls. Given that victim help agencies were in their infancy when the Behavior of Law was developed and were not explicitly considered by Black as conflict management strategy, theoretical examinations have rarely included service utilization. This study will thus further explore conflict management by examining how the dimensions of social space relate to reporting to police, using victim agencies, or not formally disclosing to either and how the dimensions of social structure may differentially influence sexual assault and robbery victims' decision to disclose.

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Crime Type and the Decision to Disclose

While Black's (1976) theory uses social structure to explain reporting decisions, there are other characteristics related to the mobilization of law. Among individual characteristics, crime type is possibly the most salient factor in the decision to report. The disparity in crime reporting due to crime type is especially evident for sexual assault, for which reporting is relatively rare (BJS, 2015). Prior research has established that rape victims often do not report their victimization because of fear that others will judge and blame them (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Ullman, 1996).

Sexual assault is associated with the most social stigmas surrounding the culpability of the victim, which do not feature as prominently for other forms of victimization. Robbery, for example, is also a violent interpersonal crime and does not carry the same negative perceptions. Perpetuated through overt victim-blaming and covert rape myth acceptance, victim-worthiness often varies by crime characteristics. These characteristics operate to create an "ideal" or "real" crime victim (Estrich, 1987). When a victim does not exhibit characteristics of a "real" victim, they are often blamed for the victimization. Blame can come from friends, family, the police, or even the victim, and manifests in the decision to report the victimization to law enforcement. Victim blaming is especially prominent for sexual assault: victims are often chastised for encouraging the assault (i.e., wearing a short skirt), not putting up a fight, or being intoxicated. Manifestation of victim blame on both the individual *and* societal level is evidenced, at least in part, by extraordinarily low rates of reporting. These stigmas may also lead to greater use of victim help agencies rather than formal reporting. If a victim is afraid of retaliation or disbelief, they may be more likely to seek counseling or therapy rather than relief from the criminal justice system.

Integrating crime type with Black's postulates could render a deeper and more contextualized insight into how societal and individual perceptions manifest in social structure and influence the decision to disclose sexual assault and robbery. Black (1976) argues that societal and individual perceptions are non-factors in the decision to report, implying that stigma would *not* affect the decision to report. Black's theory is one of the few theories designed to explain reporting behavior, and focuses only on an individual's place in society—all other aspects of human nature are dismissed (Black, 2000). Black thus contends that the crime itself does not matter; therefore, victims of sexual assault and robbery who decide to report should have the same social characteristics.

The Present Study

The study presented here aims to build upon several bodies of literature by applying a theoretical framework to reporting to police and help-seeking behavior. This project will draw from Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law to examine the correlates of help-seeking strategies of female robbery and sexual assault victims. Violence against women is a well-researched topic; however, there is less research concerning the social-structural differences in help-seeking behavior. This study uses data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) to examine disclosure using the Behavior of Law. The NCVS is well suited for this project for several reasons. First, it is a nationally representative sample that spans three decades. Second, it provides many variables necessary to study the Behavior of Law. In this vein, though the NCVS does not include measures of beliefs, attitudes, moods, literacy, or knowledge of agencies, these factors are not purely sociologically and should be theoretically irrelevant. However, it is an important limitation to note that these factors cannot be considered in this study.

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Moreover, using robbery, a crime typically perpetrated against men (e.g., Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000), and one that is ostensibly predatory and therefore garners more empathy for victims, to compare the reporting behavior of female victims is ideal for several reasons. First, both crimes are interpersonal violent crimes that can cause lasting harm and trauma. Second, the gendered nature of robbery victimization provides a good juxtaposition against the gendered nature of sexual assault. In other words, because men are more likely to be victims of robbery while women are more likely to be victims of sexual assault, perceptions of the two crimes and victim blaming likely affects reporting decisions (Cook, 1987; Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000). Furthermore, robbery is characterized as an instrumental crime (Cohn & Rotton, 2003) while sexual assault is considered as either an expressive crime or an instrumental crime (Rosenberg, Knight, Prentky, & Lee, 1988). Robbery and sexual assault are also ripe for comparison because they are both interpersonal Part 1 offenses (UCR, 2015), that are less ambiguous than other crimes (such as physical assault). Finally, robbery has statistically higher rates of reporting than sexual assault (BJS, 2015) which allows for the comparison of individual and social-structural predictors of reporting between the two crime types. In other words, of interest is whether two victims similarly positioned in social structure will use the same conflict management strategy for sexual assault compared to robbery.

This research contributes to existing research in several ways. First, there is a need for a theoretical examination comparing types of disclosure among victims. Second, providing an examination of two different crimes, one that holds a societal stigma and one that seemingly does not, can provide insight into how crime type affects the decision to report. Furthermore, providing a unique examination of Black's theory can expand the utility of the theory and its application. Finally, knowing what victimization characteristics predict type of disclosure can aid

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in developing population-specific programs aimed at increased reporting. Increasing reporting is important for many reasons. Awareness of the severity and prevalence of crime affects changes in security and can help with apprehension of perpetrators who could harm others. More resources can be provided for those who are victimized, and with more information about who uses victim agencies, awareness about and use of these helpful agencies can be increased.

Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation is organized by chapter, with five additional chapters to follow this introductory chapter. First to be discussed in Chapter 2 is the extent and nature of sexual assault and robbery. Next, Chapter 3 provides a theoretical perspective and overviews Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law. This chapter will provide the theoretical framework for the current study. Details regarding the current study, as well as hypotheses are presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 comprises the methodological section of this study, which overviews the sample, outlines the operationalization of the variables, and presents the analytic strategy. Chapter 6 contains the results of the analyses. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the study and provides directions for future research.

Introduction

Crime-reporting statistics have indicated that many crime victims do not report this experience to law enforcement (BJS, 2015). This is especially true for victims of sexual assault, for whom reporting is especially rare. Prior research has established that rape victims often do not report their victimization because of fear that others will judge and blame them (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Ullman, 1996). Although it is important to study correlates of reporting generally, considering how the stigma attached to certain crimes affects the decision to report victimization could be crucial to fully understanding the decision to report. Sexual assault is arguably the crime with the most victim blaming and negativity for the victim. Other interpersonal crimes which entail similar consequences, such as robbery, do not carry the same negative perceptions. The differing perceptions, coupled with disparate disclosure rates, between these two crimes provide an excellent stage for comparing correlates of victims' decisions to report.

This chapter discusses the extent and nature of sexual assault and robbery. This chapter first provides the definitions, victimization rates, and consequences of sexual assault and robbery. Next, the chapter discusses the similarities and differences of these two crimes. This chapter then concludes by discussing police reporting and agency usage.

Sexual Assault: Definitions, Prevalence, and Consequences

Sexual assault is any type of sexual contact that occurs without the explicit consent of the recipient (Department of Justice [DOJ], 2017) and is an issue of both public safety and public health. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), in 2015, identified 431,840 incidents of sexual assault or rape (BJS, 2015). Sexual assault victims can endure immediate, as well as long-term, mental and physical health consequences. For example, 19% to 22% suffer from genital trauma, 25% to 45% suffer non-genital trauma, up to 40% are infected with a sexually transmitted disease, and up to 5% become pregnant (Holmes, Resnick, Kirkpatrick, & Best, 1996). Furthermore, 80% of rape victims suffer from chronic physical or psychological conditions (American Medical Association [AMA], 1995). Rape victims are 6 times more likely than other crime victims and 13 times more likely than non-crime victims to attempt suicide (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992). Negative consequences are extensive in that victims of sexual assault experience long-term physical and mental health problems, such as anxiety and depression, sleep problems, weight change, and a host of other traumatic reactions (Black et al., 2011; see also Bordere, 2017). While the costs suffered by victims are far-reaching, the costs to society are also of great concern: sexual assault is believed to be one of the costliest crimes at an annual estimation of $127 billion (Miller, Cohen, Wiersema, 1996).

Given the host of negative consequences of sexual violence, extant research has examined sexual assault and has focused on several aspects of sexual violence perpetration and victimization. The seminal, nationally-representative study by Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987) examining college students from 32 universities indicated 54% of female respondents experienced some type of unwanted sexual contact while 25% of male respondents experienced

unwanted sexual contact. Among those victims, 28% and 8% of these incidences were attempted or completed rapes for female and male victims, respectively (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). More recent and general studies have exhibited similar findings (see Cantor et al., 2015; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007; McCaskill, 2014; Sinozich & Langton, 2014).

Typologies of Sexual Assault

Researchers have long recognized the variation in forms of sexual assault, indicating that there is a need for distinct classifications of incident types (Krebs et al., 2007). Among such classifications are those based on the victim-offender relationship, and those based on how the assault was perpetrated. Classifications based on the victim-offender relationship are typically broken down as intimate rape, acquaintance rape, and stranger rape. Similarly, classifications based on how the assault was completed or attempted are categorized as forcible, coercive, or incapacitated (Krebs et al., 2007).

Physically forced, stranger-perpetrated sexual assault is one of the easiest-to-conceptualize forms of sexual assault. A victim being physically restrained, held down, or otherwise physically forced to engage in sexual intercourse with a stranger fits with stereotypes of the "classic-rape perspective" (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Victims in these cases are more likely to be perceived as "real" victims (Estrich, 1987; Williams, 1984). The key aspects of forcible rape are the victim-offender relationship and the use of force. These components most easily distinguish a sexual assault as nonconsensual, as it is more believable that rape occurred if the assailant was a stranger, violent coercion was used, and injury was suffered by the victim (DuMont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Gunn & Minch, 1988).

Incapacitated rape is often perceived in contrast to forcible rape. Definitions of consent vary markedly by jurisdiction, but generally require that one must provide continuous agreement for participation throughout the duration of a sexual encounter (RAINN, 2018). Individuals who are sleeping, under the influence of drugs/alcohol, or are otherwise physically helpless, are unable to provide legal consent. Further, prior sexual contact or an existing romantic relationship does not imply consent. One of the most pervasive forms of incapacitated rape and sexual assault involves intoxication. Incapacitated rape can occur when a victim voluntarily or involuntarily consumes substances that incapacitate him or her beyond the ability to provide consent to sexual contact. The most common type of incapacitated sexual assault is alcohol/drug-enabled sexual assault, which occurs after the voluntary consumption of drugs or alcohol by the victim (Krebs et al., 2007). Nearly half of all sexual assaults of college students involve alcohol use by the perpetrator or victim (Abbey et al, 2001; Koss, et al., 1987) and 1 in 5 sexual assaults in the general population involve intoxication, primarily through the intake of alcohol (Kilpatrick et al., 2007). Despite the consensual nature of the intoxication, if the individual does not want sexual contact and/or is unable to give consent this is still considered sexual assault (Krebs et al., 2007).

Robbery Definitions, Prevalence, and Consequences

Defined by the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), robbery is "the taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear" (UCR, 2016). Robbery has surprisingly high prevalence rates given the lack of scholarly attention the crime has garnered: NCVS statistics report 664,210 robberies in 2014 and 578,580 in 2015, meaning 2.5 and 2.1 robberies occurred per 1,000 residents 12 years and older respectively (Truman & Morgan, 2016). Of these robberies, 61% were reported to police in 2014 and 62% were reported in 2015 (Truman &

Morgan, 2016). Among robbery victims, research estimates that approximately 35% are female while 65% are male (Cook, 1987; Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000).

Robbery is a violent crime that has long-term consequences similar to sexual assault (Resick, 1987), but has received far less attention. Despite the dearth of research on robbery victimization, the existing research has established that there are many consequences of being a victim of this crime (Resick, 1987). Among such consequences are the obvious loss of property as well as a slew of psychological consequences including PTSD, fear, depression, nervousness, paranoia, sleep disruption, difficulties at work, and problems functioning socially (Friedman, et al., 1982; Gale & Coupe, 2005; Krupnick, 1980; Norris & Kaniasty, 1994; Resnick et al., 1992). According to Resnick (1987), one-third of robbery victims reported severe PTSD symptoms and 10% were still displaying symptoms nine months after victimization. Similarly, Shapland's (1984) study indicated that three months after the crime 35% of victims were suffering psychological effects and this percentage dropped only to 31% after nine months. Furthermore, nearly a third of robbery victims suffer injuries (Boland & Wilson, 1978), and many of these injured victims require hospitalization. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) have also indicated that one in 750 robberies result in victim death and one in 40 results in serious injury (Cook, 1987).

Characteristics of Robbery

Robbery is considered an interpersonal, violent crime. However, unlike sexual assault, robbery is typically considered an instrumental crime. Instrumental crimes, like theft, burglary, and robbery, involve behavior that has a specific and tangible goal, such as the acquisition of property (Cohn & Rotton, 2003). Robbery, motivated by monetary or material gain, can range from large bank holdups to street confrontations involving little financial loss for the victim (Cook, 2009). Research on robbery motivation has found that robbers mainly desire to prevent

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resistance, obtain as much money or property as possible, and get away safely and without detection (Conklin, 1972; Jacobs, 2000; Wright & Decker, 1997). Robbers often choose targets based on locations with potentially attractive targets such as customers retrieving money from Automated Teller Machines (ATMs), intoxicated patrons leaving a bar or restaurant, or commuters using public transportation (Block & Davis, 1996; Scott, 2001; Wright & Decker, 1997). Robbery is also often classified by weapon presence and type. Non-armed robberies, or muggings, are often initiated by an attack, whereas hold-ups, or robberies with lethal weapons, are usually initiated with threats and/or the brandishing of a weapon (Cook, 1987). The threat of violence alone is often sufficient for victim compliance, but displaying a gun or other lethal weapon makes the threat even more credible (Cook, 1987).

Though robbery is typically considered a "stranger" crime, a large portion of robberies is committed by acquaintances. In Felson and colleagues' (2000) study on robbery, characteristics of stranger and acquaintance robbery were compared. Results of this study indicated that over one-third (34.8%) of robberies reported to the NCVS between 1992 and 1995 were committed by someone with whom the victim was acquainted, with 15% of offenders being unrelated to the victim (Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000). The typical victim was a single White male aged 30 or older while the typical offender was a lone young Black male. Thirty-six percent of victims were women. Furthermore, the victim was typically uninjured and suffered a loss less than $500. (Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000). Similarly, Cook (1987) indicated that older victims (55 and older) were more likely to both be attacked and to seek hospital treatment. Cook also found that robberies by strangers resulted in less serious injury than acquaintance robbery. Similar to Felson and colleagues' findings, Cook (1987) indicated that most victims were male and White, and most offenders were Black men. Furthermore, female victims were at a higher risk for robbery

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by a family member, and female victims also suffered greater monetary loss than male victims (Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000).

Comparison of Robbery and Sexual Assault

Because research on sexual assault has typically focused on women and robbery research has typically focused on men, direct comparisons of research on the two crimes are difficult to make. Therefore, it is important to note that when discussing robbery, most findings are related to men or mixed samples and when discussing sexual assault, most findings are related to women.

The first, and perhaps most startling, difference between sexual assault and robbery is the stark differences in the decision to disclose for each crime. Generally, robbery victims report to police nearly twice as often as sexual assault victims (62% v. 33%) while sexual assault victims use victim agencies more than twice as much as robbery victims (20% v. 9%) (BJS, 2015). This difference in disclosure is clearly evident and leads to speculation as to why disclosure rates are so different for these crimes. As stated above, sexual assault and robbery are two interpersonal violent crimes that carry two different societal perceptions. Sexual assault is often fraught with victim blaming and stigma while robbery is not. Furthermore, robbery is perceived as an instrumental crime with a tangible goal (Cohn & Rotton, 2003). Sexual assault, on the other hand, is considered as either an expressive crime that is not tied to financial gain but is seeded in anger or sadism or an instrumental crime wherein the perpetrator seeks victim compliance (Rosenberg, Knight, Prentky, & Lee, 1988). Moreover, robbery can target an organization more so than an individual in cases like bank and gas station hold ups—though an individual is the victim of the robbery, the target is the organization. While there are differences between the two crimes, sexual assault and robbery have similar characteristics. Among these similarities are the

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consequences victims suffer, a gendered nature of offending, a gendered nature of victimization, and somewhat inaccurate perceptions of the crimes themselves. These similarities and differences are discussed below.

The typologies of robbery and sexual assault are often characterized differently. Although both crimes can be committed via threat of or use of physical force, other forms of coercion, such as intoxication, are different for the two crimes. Research has shown that intoxication is common in cases of sexual assault (Kilpatrick et al., 2007); however, a link between intoxication and robbery has not been established. The use of a weapon during robbery may be more common simply because of the nature of the crime, whereas the majority of sexual assaults are not committed with a weapon (e.g., Dworkin, Menon, Bystrynski, & Allen, 2017). Another typological difference could be motivation: robbery is more likely to occur out of financial need (Wright & Decker, 1997) while motivation for sexual assault has been described as driven by anger or hostility or sexual or sadistic motives (e.g., Groth, Burgess, & Holstrom, 1977; Knight & Prentky, 1990; Malamuth & Brown, 1994).

One of the few existing studies comparing these two crimes, stigma, and resulting victim blame found that victims of robbery were blamed (wherein blame was measured by respondents' indication of the how much of the crime was the victim's fault) more than victims of rape (Kanekar, Pinto, & Mazumdar, 1985). The authors argued that rape victims elicited more compassion than robbery victims, and asserted, albeit with uncertainty, that robbery victims may be more blameworthy because they willingly carry valuables on their person. A more recent study, however, found that when comparing victim blame for rape and robbery found, more blame was attributed to the victim and less blame to the perpetrator for rape (Bieneck & Krahe, 2011). Results of this study also indicated that certain characteristics of the victimization

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impacted the attribution of blame for the perpetrator and victim for rape: if the victim was too intoxicated to resist, she was blamed more and the perpetrator was blamed less. Similarly, victim blame for rape increased when the prior relationship with the perpetrator was more intimate, and perpetrator blame showed a corresponding decrease. For the robbery cases, perpetrator and victim blame were the same regardless of these characteristics (Bieneck & Krahe, 2011). These results are indicative of disparities in the perceptions of both offenders and victims of rape and robbery. These findings also correlate to reporting and suggest that victims may be just as sensitive to these situational characteristics when deciding whether to report.

Likewise, media attention and research on media attention for the two crimes is often much different. Research examining the proliferation of rape myths and victim blame in the media has identified rape myths in both prime-time television and news media (Brinson, 1992; Cuklanz, 1996, 2000). Also, research has indicated that news reports of sexual assault often blame the victim and focus on the stereotypical, rarer sexual assault cases (Caringella-MacDonald, 1998; Gavey & Gow, 2001; Korn & Efrat, 2004; Los & Chamard, 1997). Conversely, there is hardly any research on media attention given to robbery victims—there is no "classic robbery model" and there is not a body of research on robbery myth acceptance. General research on crime victims has found that the portrayal of the victim and offender and the amount of media coverage differ depending on the case and victim characteristics (Biehal et al., 2003; Geokoski et al., 2012; Johnstone, 1994; Lundman, 2003; Mastin et al., 2007; Moscowitz & Duvall, 2011; Palazzolo & Roberto, 2011). When victims are perceived as vulnerable or innocent, they often receive more media attention and more detailed coverage (Christie, 1986; Gilchrist, 2010; Geokoski et al., 2012; Greer, 2007; Taylor et al., 2013). How these perceptions extend specifically to robbery victims remains largely unknown and understudied. The main

assumption derived from the lack of research on media attention and perceptions of robbery victims is that they are perceived somewhat positively and with less blame.

Despite these differences in sexual assault and robbery, there are several similarities. First, sexual assault and robbery both carry long-term consequences such as PTSD, anxiety, depression and fear (Friedman, et al., 1982; Gale & Coupe, 1995; Krupnick, 1980; Norris & Kaniasty, 1994; Resnick et al., 1992). These effects can be long lasting and cause problems in other areas of the victim's life. While robbery victims may be more likely to report, they are less likely to seek help for the consequences they suffer (Langton, 2011). Conversely, sexual assault victims rarely report, but often informally disclose to others for comfort and empathy (Frazier & Burnett, 1994; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Finally, both sexual assault and robbery are conceived as quintessential stranger crimes wherein the media portrays both crimes as occurring between complete strangers wielding a weapon. Overall, though sexual assault and robbery are both serious, interpersonal violent crimes, there are several differences between them that may relate to a victim's decision to disclose.

Informal Disclosure

Though informal disclosure is not measured or controlled for in this study, it is important to discuss this type of disclosure and its implications for formal disclosure. Informal disclosure mostly occurs when the victim desires emotional support and compassion that may not be obtained from formal authorities (Frazier & Burnett, 1994; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Similar to formal reporting, the fear of a negative response from friends or family is the greatest barrier to informal disclosure (Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Moreover, the reaction a victim receives from his or her informal support system can impact the decision to report to law enforcement or seek treatment. Victims who receive a positive, compassionate, and supportive response are more

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likely to believe they will receive a positive reaction if they reported formally (Feldman-Summers & Ashworth, 1981). Starzynski and colleagues (2005) found that women who disclosed to both formal and informal support sources were those women who typically experienced more stereotypical assaults. These victims also engaged in less self-blame, displayed more symptoms of PTSD, and received more negative social reactions than those disclosing to informal support sources only. This finding is indicative of internalized perceptions of the crime affecting the decision to report. Furthermore, research has shown that victims experience negative reactions from informal support providers, such as family or friends, which can include unintentionally negative reactions, such as encouraging secrecy (Herbert & Dunke-Schetter, 1992; Sudderth, 1998) or blaming the victim (Davis, Brickman, & Baker, 1991; Siegel et al., 1989; Ullman, 2000).

While research has established that most victims do not report sexual victimization to authorities, there is evidence that many sexual assault victims do disclose informally (Fisher et al., 2003; Filipas & Ullman, 2001; Pitts & Schwartz, 1993; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Fisher and colleagues (2003) found that 70% of victims disclosed to someone besides an authority figure, and of those who informally disclosed, 88% disclosed to a friend. While informal disclosure of sexual assault victimization has been studied, there has been little to no discussion on the informal disclosure of robbery generally, let alone whether such disclosure would preclude or encourage formal reporting. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the correlation between informal and formal reporting would be the same: positive responses to informal disclosure would lead to formal reporting. Robbery victims may see greater benefits of informal reporting due to decreased stigma towards robbery victims, such as less victim blaming or disbelief and increased support.

Formal Help-Seeking Behavior

Disclosure can also be thought of in terms of seeking help from formal sources other than police. Victim agencies can provide therapeutic responses to victimization without some of the potential negative consequences of police reporting (e.g., friends and family finding out about the victimization or retaliation by the offender). Victim agencies emerged in the 1970s when there were societal shifts towards acknowledging and helping victims that resulted from civil rights and feminist movements (Friedman, 1985). In the early days of victim agencies, restitution was often the goal of government-sponsored agencies and therapeutic, community-based support centers were often run by volunteers (Friedman, 1985). Over time, victim agencies have diversified and can be either private or government-sponsored. These services vary from program to program, and can include services such as victim compensation programs, victim–witness programs, counseling, shelters for domestic violence victims, rape crisis counseling, and job training programs (Sims, Yost, & Abbott, 2006).

There are benefits associated with using victim agencies such as fewer negative psychological symptoms and better psychological adjustment (Campbell et al., 1999); however, use of victim agencies may be fraught with different issues. Sexual assault victims have reported negative and/or unhelpful reactions from legal and medical personnel, sometimes indicating that personnel hold the victim responsible or doubt the victim's story (Campbell et al., 1999; Siegel et al., 1989; Filipas & Ullman, 2001; Madigan & Gamble, 1991; Martin & Powell, 1994; Williams, 1994). Furthermore, victims may be less inclined to speak out about their victimization again or find support systems valuable when they are doubted or poorly treated by formal support providers (Ahrens, 2006). These help-seeking experiences can influence the decision to report the victimization to police as well as affect the victim's mental health.

Victims are more likely to seek medical treatment than psychological treatment (Koss, Koss, & Woodruff, 1991; Stein et al., 1988), evidenced, in part, by Frazier, Rosenberger, and Moore's (2000) finding that less than ten percent of sexual assault victims seen in an emergency room followed up with counseling. While some service providers are trained to help crime victims, many are not and may not appropriately respond to or treat victims of sexual assault (Campbell, Raja, & Grining, 1999; Crowell & Burgess, 1996). Rape crises centers are anecdotally perceived as helpful (Ullman, 1996), likely because of specified training. Conversely, victims who participate in the criminal justice system often report receiving inadequate services (Freedy, Resnick, Kilpatrick, Dansky, & Tidwell, 1994); however, these processes have not been well-studied regarding robbery victims.

Correlates of Victim Help-Seeking

Estimates for the percentage of victims that use help agencies vary substantially, with research reporting that between 8% and 35% of crime victims use such agencies (e.g., El-Khoury et al., 2004; Kaukinen, 2004; Mahoney, 1999). Help-seeking behavior among women with anxiety and depression shows demographic trends: minorities, the less-educated, and those without consistent healthcare face barriers to receiving mental health services (Sherbourne, Dwight-Johnson, & Klap, 2001). Similarly, research has found that those women with more education, with greater social support, and who identify as White were more likely to seek mental health services (Ullman & Breklin, 2002).

Research specifically on correlates of help-seeking among victims has found similar patterns. White women have been found to be more likely to disclose to mental health services than non-White victims (Starzynski, Ullman, Townsend, Long, & Long, 2007). Black women have been found to prefer informal sources of support (e.g., family and friends) over formal

systems (Wyatt, 1992; Wyatt, Notgrass, & Newcomb, 1990) which may be reflective of victims' internalization of negative perceptions of minority victims (Wyatt, 1992). Older women are also more likely to disclose sexual assault to mental health services which could be related to having more resources that facilitate reporting (e.g., consistent healthcare and financial resources). Furthermore, married victims are less likely to use psychological services following crime victimization than single and divorced adults (Amstadter et al., 2008; New & Berliner, 2000).

Situational characteristics of the crime are also related to help-seeking behavior. Crime type has been found to affect whether a victim uses victim services (Langton, 2011). Property crime victims use victim agencies significantly less than violent crime victims, with sexual assault victims reporting the highest rates of agency usage (Langton, 2011). Sexual assault by a known perpetrator results in similar psychological distress as stranger-perpetrated sexual assault, but victims are less likely to label the victimization as sexual assault (Koss, 1985) and may not seek help as often as victims whose perpetrator is a stranger (Millar, Stermac, & Addison, 2002; Stewart, Hughes, Frank, Anderson, Kendall, & West, 1987). Crime severity has also been related to help seeking, with more severe crimes increasing mental health service utilization (Gavrilovic et al., 2005). Female victims are also more likely to seek medical care following rapes that resulted in an injury, used physical force, or were committed by a stranger (Resnick et al., 2000).

There are several barriers to using victim agencies or mental health services. One common emotional barrier to accessing formal help is fear related to the stigmatization of mental illness, which has been documented for both men and women experiencing different types of trauma (e.g., Bacchus, Mezey, & Bewley, 2003; Jaycox et al., 2004; Koenen, Goodwin, Struening, Hellman, & Guardino, 2003; Prospero & Vohra-Gupta, 2008; Rodriguez, Valentine,

Son, & Muhammad, 2009; Smith, Kilpatrick, Falsetti, & Best, 2002). Other barriers to using these services are considered instrumental (McCart, Smith, & Sawyer, 2013) and include being unaware what assistance is available (Logan et al., 2005; Norris et al., 1990; Smith et al., 2002), costs of mental health services (Davis, Ressler, Schwartz, Stephens, & Bradley, 2008; Jaycox et al., 2004; Koenen et al., 2003; Prospero & Vohra-Gupta, 2008; Rodriguez et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2002), and inconvenience (Jaycox et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2002).

Reporting to police and utilization of victim agencies have often been studied independently; however, there is overlap between the two types of disclosure. There are some victims who tell no one, those who tell only the police or only victim agencies, and those that disclose to both. Kaukinen (2002a) examined correlates of reporting to police, using non-legal help-seeking strategies, and non-reporting. In this study, Kaukinen (2002a) found that those who engaged in help-seeking behavior were significantly different than those who did not. Gender and the victim-offender relationship were correlated with the type of strategy employed after an assault. Female victims attacked by known offenders were more likely than any other gender/victim- offender relationship combinations to use alternative help as compared to not seeking help. Female victims whose perpetrators were known were also less likely to report to the police compared to using alternative help seeking (Kaukinen, 2002b).

More specifically, female victims attacked by known offenders were less likely to report to the police compared to using alternative help seeking. Women attacked by people they know and with whom they have continuing relationships were most likely to use a non-legal help-seeking strategy that includes family, friends, and social service agencies (Kaukinen, 2002a). Initial help-seeking decisions may influence the decision to obtain subsequent care. Ruback and Ivie (1988) found that among victims who utilized a crisis center, 67% had disclosed to someone

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prior to reporting the incident to police. Additionally, research has found that women who call the police are also likely to have previously, subsequently, or simultaneously sought help from informal support such as family and friends, as well as formal support such as mental health and social service providers (Gelles, 1987; Kaukinen, 2002b, 2002c).

Taken together, there is evidence that victim agency usage is an important element of the victimization experience and is in need of empirical evaluation as a strategy unique from police notification (Kaukinen, 2004). The following sections discuss reporting to the police for crime victims generally, and provide an in-depth look at correlates of police reporting for robbery and sexual assault victims.

Violent Crime and Robbery Reporting

Reporting robbery to police is important for the apprehension of offenders, fund and police allocation, and providing victims services they need for recovery. Robbery reporting is relatively low and the decision to report robbery is much less studied than the decision to report sexual assault. Existing research examining the decision to report robbery is often couched in general violent crime reporting literature. Existing research specifically pertaining to robbery has found that certain factors are associated with the decision to report. Offense seriousness, often determined by the value of lost property (Bowles, Garcia Reyes, & Garoupa, 2009; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011); the presence and degree of sustained injuries (Bachman & Coker, 1995; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011); or simply the victim's judgment of perceived seriousness (Goudriaan, Lynch, & Nieuwbeerta, 2004), are factors that predict reporting, with more serious crimes having a greater likelihood of reporting. Furthermore, the presence of weapons, either seen or used, leads to a higher likelihood of reporting (Felson, Messner, & Hoskin, 1999; Zavala, 2010; Zhang, Messner, & Liu, 2007). Multiple offenders can also affect perceptions of crime seriousness as research

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suggests that the number of offenders increases the likelihood of reporting; crimes with more than one offender are considered more serious (Goudriaan et al., 2004).

In addition to offense severity, the relationship between the offender and victim also affects the decision to report violent crime (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1988; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992). When the offender is known to the victim, the victim is simultaneously less likely to perceive the crime as a crime (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010) and more likely to use informal social controls that do not involve the police (Felson, Messner, Hoskin, & Deane, 2002; Goudriaan & Nieuwbeerta, 2007). Additionally, situational characteristics of the crime can affect the decision to report (Goudriaan & Nieuwbeerta, 2007). Research on robbery and assault suggests that when the victimization occurs at, or near, the victim's home, he or she is more likely to report (Baumer, 2002; Felson et al., 2002; Felson & Paré, 2005; Xie, Pogarsky, Lynch, & McDowall, 2006). In this situation, victims may feel more need for self-protection (considering the offender knows where they live) due to perceive a greater fear of reprisal by the perpetrator. This increased fear of reprisal leads to victims reporting for self-protection (Felson et al., 2002; Felson & Paré, 2005).

The relationship between offense severity and reporting can be attributed to the perceived benefits of reporting when the crime is seen as serious, such as increasing personal safety, reducing fear, more confidence in the criminal justice system properly handling the crime, and getting retribution (Reyns & Englebrecht, 2010; Skogan, 1976; Tolsma, Blaauw, & Grotenhuis, 2012). Research finding that victims are more likely to report to police when the assailant is known (e.g. Felson et al., 1999; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Wong & van de Schoot, 2012) could argue that when the offender is known there is a greater chance of reprisal and/or that the police are more likely to apprehend and punish the offender.

Finally, individual characteristics of victims may influence the decision to report (Wong & van de Schoot, 2012). Prior research has indicated that gender (Tolsma et al., 2012; Wong & van de Schoot, 2012), age (Bosick, Rennison, Gover, & Dodge, 2012; Skogan, 1984), marital status (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999; Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979), education (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2004), and socioeconomic status (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999; Zhang et al., 2007) influence the decision to report violent crime to the police. Gender norms lead to perceptions of women as more fragile and in need help, which can lead female victims to feel weak and less confident in using informal measures for protection (Zavala, 2010). Though the research on age and crime reporting is somewhat mixed (see Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Zavala, 2010 for conflicting findings), the majority of research on this relationship has indicated that older victims are more confident in the police and are more likely to report to law enforcement (Bosick et al., 2012; Hart & Rennison, 2003; Felson et al., 2002; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Tolsma et al., 2012). Similarly, married victims are seen as more integrated in society (Black, 1976) and are more likely to report victimization to law enforcement (Avakame et al., 1999; Felson et al., 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979).

Research on the relationships between education and reporting as well as socioeconomic status and reporting has resulted in mixed findings. Education is often measured differently, and differing operationalizations may account for inconsistent findings (Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Kury, Teske, & Würger, 1999; Schnebly, 2008; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tolsma et al., 2012). Because the results of research on education and reporting are inconclusive, it is difficult to explicitly discern whether those who are more educated are more or less likely to report crimes. Similarly, the effects of socioeconomic status on reporting are also unknown. There have been studies supporting three different relationships between

socioeconomic status and reporting: no relationship (Kochel, Parks, & Mastrofski, 2013; Zavala, 2010), a negative relationship between income and reporting wherein disadvantaged victims are more likely to report than more affluent victims (Avakame et al., 1999; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Berg, Slocum, & Loeber, 2013; Schaible & Hughes, 2012), and finally, a positive relationship between income and reporting wherein affluent victims were more likely to report— but only for robbery (Zhang et al., 2007). While these inconsistent results may be due to different operationalizations of income, another explanation could be competing theories of the relationship between reporting and socioeconomic status: less affluent victims may have fewer forms of informal social control and are therefore more likely to turn to formal social controls (Avakame et al., 1999; Estienne & Morabito, 2016), and, conversely, more affluent victims may have greater access to formal social controls and are therefore more likely to report (Black, 1976; Kuo, Cuvelier, Sheu, & Chang, 2012).

There are also several barriers to reporting robbery. One such barrier could be the victim's own involvement in criminal activity that could lead to legal trouble if victimization were reported (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990). For this reason, robbers report targeting known local criminals or drug dealers (Wright & Decker, 1997). Another barrier to reporting could be the potential stigma of being labeled a "snitch" for reporting to authorities (Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000). In some social groups, being a "snitch" can lead to negative consequences such as a loss of social status or physical attacks. Furthermore, some victims fear the offender will retaliate if the crime is reported, and this fear can be exacerbated if the offender and victim have a common acquaintance that can intimidate the victim (Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000). Similarly, Smith and Arian (2006) found that individuals who possessed valuable information about witnessed crimes did not report to the police due to fear of criminals' reaction toward

them, citing fear that criminals would retaliate against them. Finally, some victims may be unsure if the incident was serious enough to warrant reporting to police as the circumstances surrounding the incident can be ambiguous—especially if the offender was known to the victim.

Sexual Victimization Reporting

Given the nature of sexual assault reporting, research on the topic has provided quite a bit of information specifically on reporting sexual assault. To do so, research has historically focused on three main areas: the relationship between the victim and offender, victim and offender characteristics, and situational characteristics (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Concerning the victim and offender relationship, research has found that college-age victims are more likely to report sexual assault if the offender is a stranger (Fisher et al., 2003). As for offender and victim characteristics, educated victims (Lizotte, 1985), victims whose perpetrators are African American (Greenberg & Ruback, 1992), and victims whose offenders are not close in age or social class (Smith & Nelson, 1976) are more likely to report their victimization. Certain situational characteristics have also been found to affect reporting. Presence of a weapon (Bachman, 1998; Greenberg & Ruback, 1992), forced performance of degrading acts (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009), fear of retaliation by the victimizer, and physical injury (Bachman, 1993, 1998; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1983; LaFree, 1980; Lizotte, 1985) are positively related to reporting. Conversely, fear of retaliation by the perpetrator and dissatisfaction with the police, however, have also been negatively associated with reporting (James & Lee, 2015; Sable et al., 2006).

Among college sexual assault victims, Fisher and colleagues (2003) identified several barriers to reporting: no proof the incident occurred; fear of the perpetrator retaliating; fear of hostile treatment by authority; unsure whether the authorities would consider the assault serious

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enough; not knowing how to report; and desire to prevent friends, family, and others from hearing of the incident. Other studies have indicated that survivor sentiments such as "could not identify the offender," it was a private matter, took care of it informally," "police would be biased or cause the respondent trouble," "police would not think it was important or would be inefficient or ineffective," "not clear is was a crime," "did not want to get the offender in trouble," or "minor incident" influenced the decision not to report (Bachman, 1998 p. 21).

While there are many barriers to reporting sexual violence to authorities, one of the most salient psychological barriers may be fear: fear of retaliation, fear of shame, fear of disbelief. Many victims believe that if their victimization experience does not match classic rape scripts, they will not be believed. This fear of disbelief extends from friends and family to the police. Another fear related to reporting is the fear of retaliation: if a victim fears that the assailant or others will retaliate if an assault is reported, they are less likely to report. This extends to other psychological fears such as the fear of being shamed or blamed for the assault (Sable et al., 2006; Wiehe & Richards, 1995). Finally, victims who fear damage to their reputation or the police breaking confidentiality, are less likely to report (Bachman, 1998).

Though many of these studies were conducted on college victims, the findings likely extend to non-college victims. Overall, these barriers to reporting can be broken down into the following categories: rape myth acceptance (e.g., not sure it was a crime, drug/alcohol use), psychological factors (e.g., fear of reprisal or retaliation, guilt, shame), and perceptions of legitimacy (e.g., police would not take it seriously, police would be hostile or biased, get in trouble with university).

Effects of Stigma on Disclosure

Victim blaming and stigma associated with victimization has received quite a bit of scholarly attention in recent years; however, this body of research is rather limited regarding crime type (Bieneck & Krane, 2011; Mancini & Pickett, 2017). Because most research on stigma and victim blame has centered around intimate partner violence and sexual assault, little is known about the stigma associated with being the victim of other crimes. One study that examined victim blaming across crime types (rape and robbery) and contexts (e.g., during jogging or hitchhiking) found that blame was more likely to be attributed to female than to male victims depicted in the specific scenarios (Howard, 1984). Societal perceptions of stereotypical masculine and feminine traits influenced attributions of blame: greater blame was attributed to the character of the female victim (i.e., passive, gullible) than to that of the male victim and more blame was attributed to the behavior (i.e., did not try to fight back) of the male victim than to that of the female victim. While every crime victim may receive some level of blame for the crime, the level of blame attributed to the victim likely varies by crime type. Victim blame and stigma associated with victimization likely manifests in the decision to report.

This stigmatization of victimization is especially pervasive for victims of sexual assault. Perceptions of what a "real rape" looks like are directly related to rape myths, which are defined as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995, p. 134). Rape myths serve to diminish the culpability of the perpetrator while blaming the victim (Burt, 1980), and consist of ideas like the following: women want and like to be raped, the way women dress causes rape, women can stop rape if they really want to, and women lie about being raped when they regret sex (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Given the prevalence of and support for rape myth acceptance it is important to consider how these perceptions impact a victim's decision to report sexual assault. The classic rape approach contends that stereotypes about "real rape" influence the likelihood of reporting (Estrich, 1987). In other words, when a person is a victim of a crime that meets stereotypical definitions of crime, he or she feels more confident in reporting (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). The classic rape model thus relies on how a victim perceives their victimization experience, and whether their perceptions of the experience mirror the stereotypes of real rape. The relationship between the victim and offender, victim and offender characteristics, and situational characteristics are all crucial elements couched within the classic rape model. Each of these categories of characteristics impacts perceptions and acknowledgement of a rape as such. Rapes committed by a stranger are easily perceived as "real" rape; however, the lines blur as the relationship between the victim and offender becomes more intimate. A victim is less likely to perceive a rape as such if the assailant is known and especially if the assailant is a spouse, boyfriend/girlfriend, or close friend (LeMaire, Oswald, & Russell, 2016).

Acknowledging an experience as rape is important in the decision to report, as those who are 'unacknowledged' victims are less likely to report (Bondurant, 2001). Furthermore, those victims who do not fit the classic rape stereotype in either situational or personal context are not granted real victim status (DuMont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003). For example, sex trade workers, low-income women, individuals considered sexually promiscuous, those who frequent nightclubs, those who have been drinking, or male victims are often denied real victim status in the context of sexual assault (Chandler & Torney, 1981; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Hinch, 1988; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978; LaFree, 1989; Lees, 1993; Martin & Powell, 1994; McCahill, Meyer, & Fischman, 1979; Nightingale, 1991; Russell, 1980; Sheehy, 2000;

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Stewart et al., 1996; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). These findings are likely applicable to acknowledgement of robbery as well as the victim status of these marginalized groups. In other words, unacknowledged robbery victims would be less likely to report as they do not recognize the event as a crime. Similarly, these marginalized populations, such as those listed above, drug dealers, or even the homeless (Gaetz, 2004), may not be granted real victim status.

Summary

Sexual assault and robbery are two distinctly different crimes with distinctly different patterns of disclosure. Sexual assault carries different societal perceptions stemming from the "classic rape scenario," perhaps resulting in low rates of reporting to police. Conversely, of all crime victims, sexual assault victims are most likely to use victim agencies while robbery victims are among the least likely to use such resources. While crime reporting has garnered increased attention in recent years, especially for sexual assault, examinations of help-seeking and reporting behavior by crime type has been somewhat limited. When crime type has been examined, it has been either very general (e.g., all violent crimes or all types of assault) or very specific (e.g., only sexual assault or only fraud). There have been very few studies that separate and compare specific crimes. Furthermore, whether there are differences between those who exclusively use a victim agency and those who report to police remains unclear. The existing research examining help-seeking strategies, such as police notification and use of non-legal remedies, has found support for the notion that the different responses to victimization need to be studied rather than focusing only on police notification (Kaukinen, 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; Kaukinen, 2004).

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When looking at victim decision-making, the decision to disclose is one that is influenced by myriad factors. While the rape myths and expectations of "real" victims likely have a substantial impact on victims' decision making, there are other correlates of disclosure. Victim, offender, and situational characteristics impact this decision. These characteristics include socioeconomic and demographic characteristic, such as age, race, gender, and income, as well as offense severity and the victim-offender relationship. This study aims to explore how social structure affects formal disclosure (both to police and to victim agencies) and the extent to which these factors affecting disclosure vary by crime type. The following chapter provides the theoretical framework that informs this study's research questions.

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CHAPTER THREE:
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

There have been several studies examining the correlates of rape and robbery reporting; however, many of these studies are either atheoretical or, as discussed in Chapter 2, focused on the role of individual or psychological factors for reporting. As a result, these studies have neglected the role of social structure in shaping reporting behavior. Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law rests solely on social structure—a stark contrast to the existing body of literature on reporting behavior—and dismisses psychological factors as irrelevant for reporting. Though Black's theory has been tested in varying capacities, it has rarely been applied to sexual violence or robbery disclosure (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). The existing body of research on victim help-seeking behaviors could benefit from a renewed theoretical examination of different types of reporting behavior. Because Black's theory is one of the few theories constructed to test how law is mobilized in various settings, it is arguably the most appropriate theory to examine the decision to report crime to the police. Furthermore, this framework can be applied to the use of other help-seeking behaviors. Black (1979, 1998) briefly argued that social structure predicts alternative strategies to conflict, but this notion has not been explored in depth within the context of Black's theory.

This chapter will discuss Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law by first examining its foundation: pure sociology. Then, the tenets of Black's theory and how they are applied to contemporary society will be discussed. A discussion will then be provided for the examination

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of informal social control and how Black's theory can predict the use of victim agencies. This chapter will conclude by discussing prior tests of Black's theory and their implications for the present study.

Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law

  Pure Sociology

  Pure sociology diverges from traditional sociological perspectives as it rejects elements of psychology wherein purpose and people are units of analyses (Cooney, 2009). However, this framework synthesizes earlier sociological theories by developing a multidimensional way to examine social behavior (Black, 1995). Moreover, pure sociology contends that all aspects of social life and behavior can be explained by variations in social structure. This framework thus defines social structure as social behavior within a multifaceted society (Black, 1995). In other words, social behavior varies due to individuals' location within hierarchal society, and this hierarchy in society affects behavior—not the individuals.

  Within social structure, the concept of conflict is of foremost importance. Black (1998) defines conflict as the disjunction between right and wrong and includes interpersonal violence, legal disagreements, and other interpersonal conflict. Social structure predicts both how conflict is managed and the outcome associated with the conflict. There are varying responses to conflict: ignoring the conflict, responding to the conflict with crime, informally responding to the conflict, and formally responding to the conflict (Griefe, 2014). In cases of interpersonal violence, conflict management varies substantially. Some victims do nothing and tell no one, while others tell only family or friends. An even smaller portion of these victims elects to respond formally to such conflict. This application of pure sociology will attempt to explain conflict management for both sexual violence and robbery. The following sections explain the concepts of pure sociology.

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More specifically, the following sections describe how pure sociology removes psychology and teleology, and is non-anthropocentric and how the dimensions of social structure predict law mobilization. These elements are crucial to understanding the theoretical argument that social structure predicts law, not people.

Sociology without Psychology

Pure sociology is an attempt to get back to the original purpose of sociology: the study of social life. Black set out to create a novel way of understanding law and society after watching and evaluating police decision-making (Reiss, 1972). As a pioneer of the study of police behavior in the realm of sociology, Black unified these two areas via the conception of law as a quantitative variable. Black argues that law is measurable, and increases or decreases depending on social factors (Black, 1976). Law had not been conceived as a value that could be quantified, prior to this elaboration, and this unique approach set the stage for a new theoretical paradigm: pure sociology (Black, 2010).

In this new theoretical paradigm, some aspects of sociology must be discarded. Pure sociology is thus non-psychological (without human feelings, thoughts, or emotions), non-teleological (without goals or intentions), and non-anthropocentric (without central focus on human nature) (Black, 1998). By removing these subjective elements from the theory, pure sociology becomes simple and testable (Cooney, 2009). The propositions within this theory predict social behavior without considering individuals' motives, purposes, goals, or human nature. Doing so leaves only observable and quantifiable measures when testing the direction, quantity, and mobilization of law (Cooney, 2009). Historically, when examining the management of conflict, research has focused on difficult-to-measure, unobservable, and/or unquantifiable psychological measures such as emotions and intentions (Griefe, 2014).

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In this vein, psychological measures are problematic due to their inherent reliance on measuring subjective aspects of humanity (Cooney, 2009). When examining methods of conflict management, using measures of mental state or emotions before, during, or after a victimization experience is fraught with issues. Mental state is fluid and ever changing, and emotional responses to conflict may change over time. In other words, a victim's reason for choosing a specific conflict management strategy may be different from day to day, or year to year. Removing this variability allows pure sociology to explain conflict management by social structure alone (Griefe, 2014).

Similarly, the non-teleological nature of pure sociology allows the theory to again explain mobilization of law using only social structure. Teleology tries to understand behavior as utilitarian, or, as a means to an end (Griefe, 2014). This school of thought argues that human behavior is explained as resulting from the pursuit of goals (Black, 1995). Again, these goals explain how a person behaves; however, of substantial concern, is how researchers accurately determine one's goals for the mobilization of law. Pure sociology eliminates this unquantifiable variable, relying on only social structure to explain mobilization of law (Griefe, 2014).

Finally, to again remove everything from sociology but the social structure, pure sociology is non-anthropocentric in that the unit of analysis is social life, particularly behavior in social life (Black, 1995). This is because *social life* behaves, not *people* (Black, 1976). Social structure is greater than individuals, and therefore social life cannot be understood as the behavior of people (Black, 1998). Pure sociology thus examines solely how the law behaves.

Social Geometry of Society

Pure sociology offers a new way of conceptualizing social life (Cooney, 2009) by examining the social world geometrically. When predicting outcomes of conflict, this theoretical

framework examines the social structure surrounding social behavior (Black, 1998). Simply put, social geometry refers to society and the variation of social behavior that occurs within society (Black, 1998). The structure of social behavior is determined by the following five dimensions that comprise society, or social space: 1) the vertical dimension, 2) the horizontal dimension, 3) the cultural dimension, 4) the normative dimension, and 5) the organizational dimension. These dimensions, as well as the concept of legal conflict, will be described in the following section, both generally and in their application to contemporary society.

Conflict Management

Conflict is social behavior. As such, conflict has a location in social structure as determined by the five dimensions of social space. How conflict is managed can be predicted by a conflict's social structure in that some conflicts will result in the mobilization of law, while other conflicts will not. Among conflict management techniques are mobilizing law (i.e. reporting), self-help, avoidance, negotiation, settlement, and toleration. Self-help refers to aggression (Black, 1983) ranging from physical violence to simple glares and includes vengeance and discipline (Black, 1998). Avoidance is a conflict management strategy that entails curtailing interaction either temporarily or permanently. Negotiation requires an agreed upon resolution for the conflict between the two parties. Similarly, settlement reaches a resolution, but involves a nonpartisan third party for mediation or arbitration (Black, 1998). Finally, toleration is "inaction when a grievance might otherwise be handled" and is "the most common response of aggrieved people everywhere" (Black, 1998, p. 88). The variations in conflict management, or how a victim deals with crime, result from the social geometry of each individual case (Black, 1995).

The Behavior of Law

The Behavior of Law (Black, 1976) argues that law is a quantifiable variable visible within social space. Because law is observable, Black (1976) argues that one can predict the quantity and style of law that occurs in response to conflict. Quantity of law refers to the notion that law is a quantitative variable that, depending on its location and movement in social space, increases or decreases (Black, 1976). Treating law as a quantifiable variable requires one to acknowledge that reporting a crime involves more law than not reporting or that getting arrested involves more law than not getting arrested. Furthermore, law can be quantified as a continuum, wherein longer prison sentences are more law than shorter prison sentences or higher fines are more law than lower fines.

Similarly, the style of law mobilized varies across time and space (Black, 1976). Black (1976) offers four styles of law as follows: penal, compensatory, therapeutic, and conciliatory. In standard form, penal law refers to the prohibition of certain actions and enforces noncompliance with punishment, compensatory law refers to a financial obligation (i.e. debt), therapeutic law refers to the need for help by a deviant, and conciliatory law refers to conflict between people and the need for harmony (Black, 1976). While these are the most pure, standard forms of the styles of law, in reality, most cases simultaneously utilize multiple styles of law.

Conceptualization of Law and Formal, Non-Legal Remedies

Black's original theory conceptualizes law and its mobilization as different steps in the legal process: calling the police, arrest, adjudication, sentencing, and so on. It is unknown how Black would conceptualize formal, non-legal remedies such as victim agencies. In Black's (1998, p.5) book *The Social Structure of Right and Wrong,* he discusses how there are many forms of social control and these forms of social control are "a mechanism by which a person or

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group expresses a grievance." Similarly, there are also the four styles of law mentioned above. When dissecting the styles of law, victim agencies do not seem to fit. Victim agencies do not punish, require financial compensation, provide therapy or help for the offender, or attempt to mediate between the victim and offender. While these agencies do not fit with the styles of law, they do serve to allow a victim to express a grievance thus meeting the definition of a form of social control.

Moreover, victim agencies do not seem to qualify as an alternative conflict management strategy. Black offers several alternatives to mobilization of law, however, using formal remedies goes beyond toleration and self-help, yet also do not involve the offending party like mediation and settlement do. Victim agencies thus cleanly fit in with these other alternative strategies (Black, 1979). Furthermore, these types of agencies and their usage were not a popular option at the time the Behavior of Law was conceptualized (Friedman, 1985), and, to the author's knowledge, have not been addressed by Black. Use of victim agencies is not legal, nor should it be conceptualized as law mobilization; however, using these agencies is a *formal* response to conflict that transcends the strategies offered by Black.

Finally, when considering empirical studies of agency usage, the correlates of formal disclosure are similar to those of reporting to police (e.g., Starzynski, Ullman, Townsend, Long, & Long, 2007). Such findings are contradictory to the notion that agency usage conceptualized as informal social control would be inverse to law mobilization. Taken together, it is appropriate to conceptualize victim agency usage as a non-legal, formal remedy akin to, though not equal to, police notification. Those who use this remedy are likely to be higher in social structure than those who do not use any formal remedies, but perhaps not as high in social structure as those who report to police. Therefore, in this dissertation victim agency usage, or non-legal, formal

disclosure, will be conceptualized as a conflict management strategy that resembles the social geometry of police notification. For brevity and simplicity, the remainder of this chapter will use Black's original terminology that refers to the mobilization of *law* when discussing the tenets of the theory.

Location and Direction of Law

As mentioned above, the style and quantity of law both depend upon social structure (Black, 1976). Social geometry determines the variance in the style and quantity of law and social geometry is determined by the five dimensions of social space.

Social space within this paradigm is defined by the five dimensions proffered in Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law (1976). Law violations do not guarantee attention from law enforcement. Rather, some actor must bring an unlawful act to the legal system. While this actor may be a victim, witness, or even a perpetrator, the focus of this dissertation will be the victim's decision to report. Black's theory of law intends to determine "how the law is set in motion" (Black, 1976, p.127). Within this framework, Black contends that law is a dependent variable whose "quantity" depends on social stratification, morphology, culture, organization, and social control (Black, 1976, p.1-3). These dimensions are summarized further in Table 1 below.

Vertical dimension. Stratification refers to the vertical social difference between individuals through measurements of social rank or wealth. People who rank higher in these domains (e.g., the rich and powerful) have "more law" in that they have more access to and protection from the law and are subsequently more likely to use or mobilize the law

Table 1. Dimensions of Social Space According to the Theory of the Behavior of Law

Dimension	Stratification	Morphology	Culture	Organization	Social Control
Aspect	Vertical	Horizontal	Symbolic	Corporate	Normative
Definition	Uneven distribution of social capital.	The level of intimacy of people in relation to one another. How integrated people are in society.	A person's values, ideals, ideology, education, and science.	Capacity for collective action by individuals or any organization.	Social determination of which groups or persons satisfy needs in response to victimization.
General Proposition	Downward law varies directly with vertical distance.	Law is greater in a direction toward more relational distance and less integration.	Law is greater in a direction toward less culture than more culture.	Law is greater in a direction toward less organization than more organization.	Law is greater in a direction toward less informal control utilization than toward more informal control utilization.

(Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999). Furthermore, higher-ranking individuals are more likely to experience success in resolving grievances when law is mobilized. Black's theory thus suggests that wealthy, White, and older individuals are more likely to mobilize law and experience their desired outcome (e.g. arrest of assailant) (Black, 1976).

Horizontal dimension. Morphology refers to the horizontal difference between people in society (Black, 1976). Horizontal difference basically indicates how intimate the relationship is between people—such as friends, family members, acquaintances, or strangers. Black (1976) suggests that law is rarely mobilized between those who are intimately related. However, the relationship is curvilinear in that when individuals are so far removed they do not even share the same culture, law is also rarely mobilized (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999). Black (1976) contends that law is greatest among strangers, but not *complete* strangers or those from completely different societies. Contemporary society has made complete strangers somewhat nonexistent. Technological advances and increased contact and communication have decreased the social distance between societies. Therefore, conflict, in this case violence, rarely occurs between complete strangers. Furthermore, horizontal differentiation affects the mobilization of law. Differentiation addresses how different people's lives are and when people's lives are very different, law is more often mobilized. However, this relationship is also curvilinear—when the parties are so different they are disengaged, mobilization declines (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999).

Another aspect of morphology is integration, or radial distance. Integration affects mobilization of law as those who are integrated more fully into society will be more likely to use law rather than those not fully integrated into society (Copes et al., 2001). Moreover, integration

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is reflective of one's participation in social life, with those more greatly involved in social life having more law (Black, 1976).

Symbolic dimension. Culture, according to Black, refers to the values, ideals, ideology, education, and science in a person's life. Black (1976) argues that those with more culture are more aware of their social position as well as their rights and options. As a result, these individuals are more likely to mobilize law. Culture can be measured by education level, urbanicity (urban or rural), political ideology, and religiosity. Black (1976) argues that literacy and education are indicative of more culture; therefore, if an individual is more educated, it is likely he or she has more culture. Similarly, Black (1976, p.64) argues that certain regions have more culture than others. For example, coastal areas have more culture than interior areas and urban areas have more culture than rural areas.

Organizational dimension. Social organization affects mobilization of law in that collective action, or the presence of groups and organizations, will more likely lead to utilization of the law and groups will be more successful in doing so (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999). Also, those who are involved in groups and participate in more group activities are more likely to mobilize the law (Copes et al., 2001). Conversely, if the victim is "against" an organization, he or she will be less likely to report their victimization. Those involved in these organizations may have more collective action than those who are not. Another aspect of this organizational dimension is the organization of offenders and victims. If there is more than one offender involved, the victim is less likely to mobilize law, and, conversely, if there are multiple victims, there is greater likelihood for the mobilization of law to occur (Black, 1976).

Normative dimension. Finally, the normative dimension refers to the norms of social life that differentiate right from wrong. Black argues that when social controls are weak, law will be

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mobilized (Black, 1976). When people can turn to informal social controls, they are more likely to do so than if there are no informal controls to rely on to relieve grievances. In other words, "law varies inversely with other social control" (Black, 1979, p. 78).In this vein, Black asserts that informal social control is stronger in certain situations, such as private settings, making formal law less prevalent. Crime that occurs in a private setting, such as a home, should be less likely to be reported than if the same crime occurred in public. Black also states that formal social control increases at nighttime because people are unable to exert social control during that time. Other forms of social control are active during the day, making crimes that occur during daylight hours less likely to be reported.

In sum, pure sociology uses social structure to explain behavior. More specifically, "Pure sociology explains behavior with its location and direction in a multidimensional social space" (Cooney, 2006 p. 52). The five dimensions of social space are thus examined regarding the social structure found within society. Furthermore, this framework is non-psychological, non-teleological, and non-anthropogenic. By taking away individual motivations, desires, and emotions toward reporting victimization, this theoretical framework can directly measure quantifiable social aspects that predict likelihood of reporting to the police and, potentially, the likelihood of using help-seeking agencies.

Prior Tests of Black's Behavior of Law

Since Black developed his Theory of the Behavior of Law in the 1970s, tests of the theory have resulted in mixed support. There have been few studies of the theory that directly test reporting behavior, and even fewer that test the reporting of sexual violence and robbery specifically. Furthermore, there are few studies that simultaneously test all five dimensions of the theory. One of the first full tests of Black's theory was conducted by Gottfredson and Hindelang

(1979). This inaugural study of Black's theory examined victimization reporting broadly using data from the National Crime Survey (1974-1976). The findings of their study indicated very little support for Black's theory, which they argued resulted from the theory ignoring crime seriousness (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979). Although an examination of the complete theory, it is limited by its use of bivariate analyses which do not take into account confounding variables (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999).

Another full test of Black's propositions was conducted by Copes and colleagues (2001) on fraud reporting. Results of this study found that Black's theory was only partially explanatory. Using telephone survey data, this study found that morphology—the relationship between the offender and victim—and culture (measured by education) were significant predictors of reporting. Of the stratification variables, only age was predictive of reporting, with older victims more likely to report. The other dimensions of the theory were not significant. Furthermore, as with Gottfredson and Hindelang's (1979) study, crime seriousness was a significant control variable (Copes, Kerley, Mason, & Van Wyk, 2001).

Among the partial tests of Black's theory, Mooney (1986) used a sample of undergraduate students to tests Black's theory regarding mobilizing law on campus. In this study, the mobilization of law was measured in two ways: law use and law application. Law use was measured by examining frequencies of law initiation or invocations, such as official complaints, legal remedies sought, appeals procedures, official positions held, and contacts with law enforcement. Law application was measured by examining social controls implemented by university officials. Measures of law application included warnings, legal directives, sanctions, referrals to social control agencies, denied appeals, and legal repudiations of a remedy sought. This study examined the mobilization of law regarding three of Black's dimensions:

stratification, organization, and culture. Several results of this study were inconsistent with Black's propositions: women, non-Whites, and respondents with low grade point averages (GPAs) and monthly incomes used more law than their counterparts. Despite these inconsistencies, there was some support found for Black's propositions. All of the significant organization measures as well as "father's occupation" were supportive of Black's theory (Mooney, 1986). Though the study found some theoretical support, it is noteworthy that some of the measurements used were operationalized in ways that are inconsistent with Black's theory (e.g., using financial assistance as a measure of legal remedy). This is problematic when attempting to determine the validity of the theory via empirical tests.

Xie and Lauritsen (2011) tested Black's theory regarding stratification. Using data from victim survey data across 40 metropolitan areas, as well as data from other sources, these authors found support for Black's stratification hypothesis, that crime reporting was more strongly associated with victim and offender race in metropolitan areas where Black and White residents were residentially segregated, and the gap in economic status between the groups was greater (Xie & Lauritsen, 2011). Their findings were consistent with Black's stratification hypothesis generally, but their finding that Black on Black crime resulted in higher reporting raised concerns for the true explanatory power of stratification. Another study examining the stratification hypothesis did not find support regarding neighborhood wealth and robbery reporting (Baumer, 2002). Rather, Baumer concluded that those victims from disadvantaged neighborhoods do not report at rates different from those from less disadvantaged neighborhoods. However, though not directly tested, Baumer did find results supportive of other aspects of stratification and the integration aspect or morphology: young persons, unmarried persons, and Hispanic persons were all less likely to report robbery to the police. Conversely,

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these results also found that crime seriousness was a significant factor in the decision to report (Baumer, 2002).

Kuo and colleagues (2012) sought to examine how well Black's theory predicted robbery, larceny, and assault reporting in Taiwan using all but the organization dimension. The results of this study also provided partial support, with findings supporting Black's theoretical prediction for marital status, income, and time of occurrence for assault; education for robbery; and age, education, place and time of occurrence for larceny (Kuo, Cuvelier, Sheu, & Chang, 2012). Furthermore, lower income and unmarried victims were less likely to contact the police regarding assault than higher income and married victims. Less educated robbery and larceny victims were less likely to report the offense to the police than the victims with higher educational attainment, and younger larceny victims did not mobilize law as much as their older counterparts. Reporting was also more likely for crimes that occurred at night than during the day. Finally, larceny that occurred in a public place was more likely to be reported than larceny that occurred in private (Kuo et al., 2012).

The little research done on the application of Black's theory to reporting behavior of sexual assault victimization has also provided mixed support for the theory. Avakame, Fyfe, and McCoy (1999) sought to determine the empirical validity of Black's propositions regarding reporting behavior of violent crimes including rape, attempted rape, other sexual assault, and aggravated assault. Using data from the NCVS from 1992-1994, results of this study indicated that, pertaining to stratification, minority, poor, and male victims were more likely to call the police, but White, female, and higher income victims were more likely to have their perpetrators arrested (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1996). Morphology, though examined, did not include any victimization that involved a stranger assailant. Therefore, all the assailants in this study were

known to the victim, and dichotomized as "sexually intimate" and "nonintimate." Despite the limitations of this operationalization, the authors found support for the postulate that the greater the relational distance between the victim and offender, the greater the likelihood of calls to the police and arrest. Additionally, this study found mixed support for integration: married victims were more likely to both call the police and see their assailants arrested, but unemployed victims were more likely than employed victims to call the police and have their assailant arrested. As with the aforementioned variables, support for the mobilization of law and social control was also mixed. Victimization occurring in private, outdoors, and in urban areas was more likely to result in calling the police; however, victimization occurring indoors and in rural areas was more likely to result in arrest (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006). Regarding culture, highly educated victims were less likely to call the police, but more likely to have offenders arrested. Avakame, Fyfe, and McCoy (2006) also measured interaction effects of victim and offender race and gender, finding that minority-on-minority violence was more likely to be reported than any other racial dyad, and that male-on-male violence was more likely to be reported than any other gender dyad. This result was also found for likelihood of arrest. Overall, this study found mixed support for Black's theory; however, it is important to note that aggravated assault was not separated from rape, attempted rape, and other sexual assault.

Finally, the only study to date applying Black's theory specifically to rape reporting found limited overall support with no clear support between the five dimensions and reporting (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Clay-Warner and McMahon-Howard (2009) compared reporting behavior predicted by Black's theory to the "classic-rape scenario." In doing so, the authors employed data from the NCVS from 1992-2004. Measures of the classic rape model included the following: location of the attack (home/public), presence of a weapon, victim

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physically resisted, victim suffered injuries, and relationship to offender (intimate, other known person, and stranger). Black's five dimensions were measured in the following ways: morphology was measured by relational distance between the offender and victim and marital and education status of victim; stratification was measured using age and race variables for both the victim and offender, income for just the victim, the age difference between the offender and victim (i.e. older offender or younger offender), and the racial dyad of the offender and victim (i.e. White offender-Black victim, Black offender-White victim, and so on); culture was measured using college education; organization was measured by whether there were multiple offenders; and social control was measured by time and location of offense (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009).

The results of this study indicated that the classic-rape variables were more predictive of reporting than Black's dimensions; however, this study did find certain aspects of the dimensions to be predictors of reporting: relational distance and racial stratification were both predictors of reporting. This finding was supported by results that White offenders were less likely to be reported and third parties were less likely to report when the assailant was intimately related to the victim. Incongruent with Black's theory, however, the relational distance indicator was not significant for victim reporting (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). As with prior tests of Black's theory (e.g., Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979), crime seriousness measures were predictive of reporting. In this case, injury and use of weapon were significant predictors of reporting (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). The authors of this study also noted that rape stereotypes were pervasive in reporting decisions, and need to be examined further.

Though not direct tests of Black's theory, prior research on campus sexual assault has examined constructs similar to Black's morphology, stratification, and culture dimensions.

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Fisher and colleagues (2003) found that the victim-offender relationship affected reporting in that victims were more likely to report when the assailant was a stranger. This study also found, in congruence with Black's theory, that younger and lower-class victims were less likely to report to police (Fisher et al., 2003). However, not all of this research had findings supportive of Black's theory—Fisher and colleagues (2003) found that Black victims were more likely to report to police than White victims.

When examining prior research on the relationship between location in social structure and non-legal help seeking, there are few studies that have directly tested Black's theory. However, the findings from this body of research have found partial support for a relationship between the dimensions of social space and help-seeking behavior. Victims higher in stratification may be more likely to use help-seeking strategies as a result of greater resources (e.g., money and insurance) (Sherbourne, Dwight-Johnson, & Klap, 2001). In line with Black's theory, research has found that those women with more education, who identify as White, who are employed, and who are older were more likely to seek mental health services (Jaycox et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2005; Starzynski, Ullman, Townsend, Long, & Long, 2007; Ullman & Breklin, 2002; Wong et al., 2009; but see Kaukinen, 2002).

Overall, there is a dearth of literature applying Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law to crime reporting. The lack of empirical research testing the theory is even more substantial for applications to interpersonal violence. The existing research acknowledges the inability for the theory to fully explain crime reporting, though many studies find partial support for the theory (e.g. Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009; Copes et al., 2001). One of the greatest laments of prior research is Black's exclusion of important covariates or outside influences such as crime seriousness (Baumer, 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979)

or cultural influences on reporting such as rape myth acceptance (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Despite Black's insistence that pure sociology, social geometry, and the behavior of law are non-psychological, non-anthropogenic, and non-teleological, it appears that there is little merit to that argument. Before dismissing Black's theory due to the lack of empirical support it has garnered, it may be beneficial to reassess the theory by examining other forms of formal disclosure whether certain forms of victimization more closely align with the theory.

Summary

This chapter presented one theoretical framework to study disclosure decisions of robbery and sexual assault victims. Black's (1976) Theory of the Behavior of Law proposes that social structure is the only thing that matters in the mobilization, or use, of law. Black contends that law, which is an observable and measurable variable, depends solely on one's place in society. He thus argues that his theory does not need to account for psychological factors, motivations or goals, or human nature (Black, 1998). As such, the mobilization of law is dependent upon the five dimensions of social structure: morphology, stratification, culture, organization, and social control. The mobilization of law is postulated to depend upon the relationship between the victim and offender (morphology), social capital (stratification), ideas, education, and beliefs (culture), collective action (organization), and the use of informal action (social control). Black has briefly discussed the use of alternative strategies of conflict management, and how social structure may be related to those strategies (Black, 1979); however, it is unclear how the dimensions of social structure relate to victims' use of formal, non-legal resources.

Despite Black's staunch position regarding the behavior of law, prior research has produced, at best, mixed results for the theory. Though a large portion of the reporting literature relies on this theoretical framework, existing research on reporting behavior using Black's theory has not yielded much support; however, many of these studies cite missing elements, such as offense severity, as the greatest detriment to the theory. In order to test Black's theory in a more in-depth manner, this study will examine how the dimensions of social structure predict not only the mobilization of law, but also the use of non-legal resources. Furthermore, this study will examine whether the dimensions are more salient by crime type drawing from the feminist approach of examining female sexual assault victimizations while additionally examining female robbery victimizations. Taken together, this study draws from feminist considerations and the Behavior of Law simultaneously. The following chapter will discuss how the current study will test this unique approach to the mobilization of law.

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CHAPTER FOUR:
CURRENT STUDY

Black's theory of the Behavior of Law and subsequently the mobilization of law have typically been tested by looking solely at formal reporting to police by victims of various crimes. This dissertation will examine how the dimensions of social structure highlighted by Black's theory influence both reporting to police and disclosure to victim agencies for sexual assault and robbery victims. While Black argues that law varies inversely with informal social control, there is an argument to be made that certain conflict management strategies, such as using victim agencies, are a different type of formal response to victimization. When Black first developed his theory of law, formal, non-legal remedies such as victim agencies were in their infancy (Friedman, 1985) and likely were not considered in the theoretical framework. These agencies could be conceptualized as informal social control, which would be hypothesized to vary inversely with law mobilization. However, research on victim agency usage has found that many of the predictors of agency usage are the same predictors of reporting to police (e.g., Starzynski, Ullman, Townsend, Long, & Long, 2007; Ullman & Breklin, 2002). It is thus reasonable to argue that those who formally report and those who formally disclose to a victim agency will be similarly placed in social structure.

Whether these dimensions differentially predict types of formal disclosure is somewhat unknown in the context of Black's theory. Based on the limited prior research on informal disclosure that has found similar correlates of agency usage as police reporting (e.g., Starzynski et al., 2007) it is hypothesized that the dimensions of social structure of those who use formal

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resources or report to police would be the same as those who use victim agencies. This dissertation will attempt to disentangle the decision to formally disclose by examining whether Black's dimensions of social structure predict the help-seeking strategy employed by victims. To further test this, this project will compare the predictive ability of the theory's dimensions for two different crimes. Sexual assault and robbery were chosen for this study for several reasons. First, robbery victims report to police nearly twice as much as sexual assault victims (61.9% v. 32.5%) while sexual assault victims use victim agencies more than twice as much as robbery victims (19.8% v. 8.5%) (BJS, 2017). Second, these crimes are both interpersonal violent crimes with lasting impacts on victims; however, sexual assault is arguably much more stigmatized, with case characteristics impacting the credibility and blame attributed to victims. Finally, prior research has examined help-seeking strategies among different crime types, finding differences between victims of sexual assault and robbery compared to victims of assault (Kaukinen, 2002a). Given the disparities in the disclosure strategies between the two crimes and the perceptual differences between them, a juxtaposition of robbery disclosure against sexual assault disclosure will provide a more in-depth investigation of the effects of social structure on disclosure while simultaneously evaluating the effect of crime type—a factor Black would argue is unimportant in the mobilization of law. Furthermore, this study excludes other crimes, such as assault, to maintain a distinct comparison of two explicitly defined, Part 1 offenses (UCR, 2015).

Limiting the study to female victims can also provide better insight into reporting because of the gendered nature of both robbery and sexual assault. Beyond the myriad reasons studying violence against women is of substantial importance (see Ruiz-Pérez, Plazaola-Castaño, & Vives-Cases, 2007 for a discussion on the worldwide need for research on violence against women), women are *more* likely to be victims of sexual assault, but *less* likely to be victims of

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robbery (e.g., Felson, Baumer, & Messner, 2000; Koss, Gidycz, &Wisniewski, 1987). This gender difference can provide insight into victimization, social structure, and disclosure by examining how disclosure is a function of crime type, especially when one crime's victimization is typically female and one is not.

In sum, the purpose of this dissertation is to enhance our understanding of the decision to formally disclose experience with criminal victimization. By examining formal disclosure within Black's theory and by crime type, this model may illuminate how social structure and crime type are interrelated and associated with the victim decision making. This test will provide a specific comparison of sexual assault and robbery in the context of formal disclosure.

Hypotheses

Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law asserts that the dimensions of social structure (i.e., stratification, morphology, culture, organization, and social control) are directly related to the decision to mobilize law.

More specifically, those higher ranked in social order are more likely to use law; therefore, those higher in stratification should disclose at a rate higher than their counterparts. Stratification has been well studied regarding formal reporting behavior. Black's theory asserts that those higher in stratification, or social rank, are individuals who are older, White, male, and those with higher incomes (Black, 1976). Stratification is thus tied to demographic characteristics, and prior tests of the theory have used demographic characteristics as proxies for social standing. Although this body of research has resulted in mixed findings, there has been support for several of these demographic predictors of reporting. For example, age has been found to relate to reporting in that older victims are more likely to report than younger victims (Langton, Berzofsky, Krebs, & Smiley-McDonald, 2012). Older victims are also more likely to

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use victim agencies than their younger counterparts (e.g., Jaycox et al., 2004; Wong et al., 2009). Also, socioeconomic status and income have been related to reporting (Avakame et al., 1999; Bennett & Wiegand, 1994; Berg, Slocum, & Loeber, 2013; Kochel, Parks, & Mastrofski, 2013; Schaible & Hughes, 2012; Zavala, 2010), though the results of these studies found varying relationships between SES and reporting. Research on race and reporting has found mixed results regarding reporting to police, but research has shown that White victims are more likely to use formal, non-legal resources than non-White victims (Ullman & Breklin, 2002; Wyatt, 1992). Furthermore, regarding relative stratification, Bachman and Coker (1995) found that Black victims were more likely to report the incident to the police if the offender was also Black. Taken together, these findings support the hypothesis that those who are higher in stratification will be more likely to disclose.

Regarding morphology, formal disclosure will be more likely when the parties are acquaintances or strangers, and reporting will be least likely if the relationship is intimate. Radial distance, or social integration, leads to increased mobilization of law; therefore, those more integrated in society will be more likely to formally disclose. Research on the relational distance and reporting has found support for the postulate that the greater the relational distance between the victim and offender, the greater the likelihood of calls to the police and arrest (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006). Given Black's assertion that greater relational distance will lead to more law[1], alongside prior research, it is predicted that the likelihood of formal reporting is highest for acquaintances and strangers compared to intimates and family members. Furthermore, regarding radial distance, victims who are married (generally, not regarding the victim-offender

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[1] Black posits a curvilinear relationship between relational distance and reporting; however, the type of strangers Black refers to as receiving the least amount of law are difficult to come by in modern society. Those strangers are individuals who share no culture—something rarely experienced in contemporary society.

relationship) or employed are seen as more integrated in society, and therefore more likely to report to police (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006; Copes et al., 2000; Felson et al., 2002; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979).

Those with more culture use more law, therefore, respondents who have more culture will be more likely to formally disclose. Research has found that indicators of Blackian culture, such as education and urbanicity, affect the decision to disclose. Several studies have found that more educated victims are more likely to report to police (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Goudriaan et al., 2004; Lizotte, 1985) and are more likely to utilize mental health services (Sherbourne, Dwight-Johnson, & Klap, 2001; Ullman & Breklin, 2002). Furthermore, Black argues that urban areas have more culture than rural areas. Weisheit and colleagues (2006) support this argument, stating that violent crimes are reported to police at lower rates in rural areas relative to non-rural areas because of "rural ideology."

Black (1976) also asserts that those with greater access to collective action will have more law; therefore, when a victim has more collective action, she will be more likely to disclose. Social organization, or presence of groups and organizations for either the victim or the offender, will affect the decision to report (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006). Those who are involved in groups are more likely to mobilize the law (Copes et al., 2001) while if the victim is "against" an organization, he or she will be less likely to report. Those involved in these organizations may have more collective action than those who are not. Another aspect of the organizational dimension is the organization of offenders and victims. If there are more than one offenders involved, the victim is less likely to mobilize law, and, conversely, if there are multiple victims, there is greater likelihood for the mobilization of law (Black, 1976). To date, no research was found in support of, or to the discredit of the postulation that organization affects

the decision to disclose to non-legal, formal resources; therefore, it is expected that similar patterns will be found for formal reporting and disclosure to victim agencies.

Regarding informal social control, law is stronger when other social controls are weaker; therefore, when social controls are weaker, victims will be more likely to formally disclose. Black (1976) defines informal social control as the use of non-legal action. According to Black's theory, where and when the crime occurs will be reflective of situational informal social control, for example, outdoors and day time crimes would have higher informal social control than indoor and night time crimes. Prior research on the use of informal social control has found that reporting was more likely for crimes that occurred at night than during the day. Similarly, research on crime location has produced mixed results: larceny occurring in a public place was more likely to be reported than larceny that occurred in private (Kuo et al., 2012), but sexual assault that occurred outdoors and in private were more likely to be reported (Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 2006). To date, no research was found in support of, or to the discredit of, the postulate that situational informal social control affects the decision to disclose to formal resources. Therefore, it is expected that similar patterns will be found for formal reporting and disclosure to victim agencies. Black also discusses self-help as an alternative strategy to law mobilization. This refers to a direct response to conflict by the victim to the offender and can include physical aggression (Black, 1979). Physical resistance during an attack can be conceptualized as informal social control and is anticipated to decrease formal disclosure. **H$_1$. Black's dimensions of social structure will predict the decision to formally disclose.**

Black's theory was originally designed to explain the mobilization of law by focusing on social-structural characteristics that are indicative of an individual's location in social space (Black, 1976). These characteristics predict how much law is used, on whom and by whom.

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Though Black does not consider formal, non-legal resources within his theory, it is hypothesized that the dimensions of social space will be more salient predictors of formal reporting than using non-legal remedies. It is clear that certain social characteristics are related to victim agency utilization, but the inherent power differential between police and citizens creates its own barrier to reporting—a barrier that does not exist for victim agencies. As such, perceptions of police are reflective of this power differential among individuals lower in social status. For example, minorities are more likely to hold negative perceptions and attitudes toward the police compared to whites, which leads to non-reporting (Peck, 2015; Sigler & Johnson, 2002). Victims who are, or feel they are, less powerful or credible will be less confident in the decision to make a formal complaint. While these victims may not feel confident to formally report, they may have the resources (financial or otherwise) to turn to formal, non-legal remedies. In other words, only those best placed in social geometry will be confident in reporting to police. This leads to the hypothesis that Black's dimensions will be more powerful for predicting reporting to police than for predicting other non-legal, formal resources. Therefore, it is anticipated that Black's dimensions will be more salient for reporting to police than using victim agencies. **H2: The dimensions of social structure will be more salient for reporting to police than for disclosing to victim agencies.**

Crime reporting statistics consistently show that robbery victims report to police at higher rates than sexual assault victims (BJS, 2015). Robbery victims may feel more confident in the decision to report because there is less ambiguity and social stigma related to the crime. Therefore, consistent with prior research and statistics, robbery victims should report to police at a higher rate. Because Black proposed the Behavior of Law as *pure sociology*, no factors other than social geometry should influence the mobilization of law (Cooney, 2009). In other words,

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victims with identical locations in social structure will report robbery and sexual assault at different rates. Therefore, crime type should have no effect on the decision to disclose when holding all measures of social structure constant. **H₃: Holding all dimensions of social structure constant, there will be no difference in crime type for decision to formally disclose.**

Black's theory contends that crime type does not matter in the decision to report, as social structure is the predictor of reporting (Black, 1998); however, sexual assault victims are subjected to societal stigma that can affect the decision to report. When a person is a victim of a crime that meets stereotypical definitions of crime, he or she feels more confident in reporting (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Because robbery victims are more easily perceived as "ideal victims" (i.e., real victims), robbery victims are less likely to be affected by stigmatization in the decision to disclose. In other words, perhaps social status matters less for robbery victims as they are granted victim status regardless of case or offender characteristics. On the other hand, sexual assault victims need to be higher status to report. Because sexual assault is affected by extralegal factors like rape myths, perhaps only those highest in social structure will be confident enough to disclose. Therefore, social structure may matter more for sexual assault victims, whose position in social space may result in more confidence in reporting. **H₄: The dimensions of social structure will be more salient for sexual assault victims than robbery victims for formal disclosure.**

Summary

This chapter presented the hypotheses that will be tested in this dissertation. Black's Theory of the Behavior of Law (1976) provides a theoretical framework to test the mobilization of law using dimensions of social structure. This theory provides a non-psychological, non-anthropogenic, and non-teleological framework to test formal disclosure, including both victim

agency utilization and police notification, as an observable variable. Furthermore, this dissertation examines whether social structure differentially affects disclosure for robbery and sexual assault victims. The following chapter discusses the methodological plan for examining the aforementioned hypotheses.

CHAPTER FIVE:
METHODOLOGY

Data

This project will utilize the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) concatenated files from 1996-2015. Formally known as the National Crime Survey (NCS), this survey began in 1972 to measure offending using victimization data, instead of using only official police records (see Lynch & Addington, 2007 for a more detailed history of the NCVS). Initially, the NCS was comprised of four surveys, only one of which, the Crime Panel, survived after 1976. The Crime Panel, which became synonymous with the NCS, was a national household survey that underwent multiple minor changes until 1992, when the NCS was substantially redesigned. With this redesign, the crime-screening portion of the survey was reworked to increase reporting of both sensitive crimes, such as rape, as well as minor crimes like petty theft. These crimes were historically underreported in the NCS, and this redesign aimed to improve this issue. Furthermore, interviews were conducted more slowly, and prompts were reworded to help respondents recall victimizations. Intimate crimes, such as domestic violence, were also addressed more directly. Changes were also made to the method of survey implementation; computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) was phased in for 30% of interviews because it was believed to reduce interviewer error. The automated system also forced interviewers to read each question while automating the skip logic patterns that could be complex. The sum of these

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changes was so great that the redesigned survey was named the NCVS and emphasized the poor comparability between the NCS and NCVS (Lynch & Addington, 2007).

In its current state, the Census Bureau collects NCVS data and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) sponsors this collection. NCVS data are then made available to the public through the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD). The NCVS is conducted using personal interviews collected by sampling group quarters (living quarters in which residents share facilities or authorized care but are often not related), and housing units (a single room or a group of rooms occupied as either separate living quarters or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters) throughout the United States (BJS, 2008). To ensure a representative sample of persons 12 or older in the United States, a stratified, multi-stage cluster design is used (Hubble, 1995; Rennison & Rand, 2007). Housing units in the United States and District of Columbia are sampled, and all persons 12 years and older are interviewed every six months for three consecutive years. This method excludes the homeless, those institutionalized, and those in military barracks; however, those individuals residing in dormitories or religious dwellings are included in the sampling frame (BJS, 2008).

As mentioned above, the NCVS utilizes a stratified, multi-stage cluster design. First, the United States is divided into primary sampling units (PSUs) that consist of large metropolitan areas, counties, or groups of counties. Self-representing PSUs (i.e., the largest PSUs) are automatically included, each forming its own strata. Non-self-representing PSUs are the remaining PSUs and are divided into strata based on population density, region, and population growth rate. From the non-self-representing PSUs, one PSU is selected from each stratum.

In the next stage, selected PSUs are divided into four non-overlapping frames from which clusters of approximately four housing units are selected. Housing units are based on Census

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data as well as new building permits to capture homes erected since the most recent census. The selected addresses are then provided to interviewers to contact respondents (BJS, 2008). All members of the household are then directly interviewed about victimization experiences that occurred within the previous six months with the following exceptions: those under age 12, those who are 12 or 13 years old whose parents or guardians object to a direct interview, those who are incapacitated, or those who are away for the duration of the entire field interview period. In such cases, a proxy interview is conducted, and a knowledgeable person is interviewed on behalf of the absent person. Due to budget restraints, the first interview is typically conducted in person, while subsequent interviews are conducted via telephone (Lynch & Addington, 2007; Petraglia, 2015).

A sample housing unit remains in the sample for seven interviews that occur every six months for three years. It is important to note that the housing unit is sampled, not the household. This means that the housing unit will be interviewed regardless of who is living there (i.e. if the household moves out during the three-year period, whomever moves in will then be interviewed). Furthermore, the household can change due to several possible changes such as marriage, divorce, or adult children moving out/in. The interviewer would note these changes, but the housing unit would continue to be interviewed (Lynch & Addington, 2007).

Regarding interview times, the NCVS used a rotating panel design that staggers interviews. The sample is divided into six groups, and each group is divided into six panels. Panels within the rotation groups are interviewed in a different month, and rotation groups are staggered so that in each month one-sixth of the sample is the first interview, one-sixth of the sample is the second interview, and so on (Petraglia, 2015).

The NCVS survey instrument is comprised of two main parts: the crime screener and the incident report. First, the crime screener helps respondents recall victimizations experienced in the six months prior to the interview. If the respondent mentions anything that may qualify as crime victimization, the interviewer completes the incident report. The incident report contains information on when and where the crime happened, the details of the crime, who committed the crime, and whether the crime was reported to the police. Because the NCVS is focused on victimization, interviewers and BJS staff do not attempt to verify incident details provided by respondents; however, BJS staff do determine and categorize when a crime did occur (Lynch & Addington, 2007). Furthermore, the NCVS breaks crimes down into either household or personal crimes. Household crimes include most property crimes that are difficult to determine which individual in the household was affected, such as burglary. Conversely, each member of the household is interviewed about personal victimizations, including violent crimes, assault, or personal-contact theft like pickpocketing (Petraglia, 2015).

Due to the complexity of the NCVS survey, and the rotating panel design, the NCVS data files must be weighted; therefore, the NCVS data files contain three different weights: personal/household, incident, and victimization weights. For each record reporting a victimization, non-zero victimization weights are included, and victimization weight is added to the person-level record for personal crimes and the household-level record for household crimes (Petraglia, 2015). Victimization weights are typically calculated as the numerator of victimization rates while household and person weights are used to calculate the denominators of crimes rates, respectively (BJS, 2013). Because respondents typically report more incidents during their first interview, victimization and incident weights, as of 2007, have a bounding weight added for the first interview. Also, personal incident weights include adjustments for

incidents involving multiple victims. If more than one respondent reports the same incident, the incident weight is divided amongst victims to reflect only one incident occurring (Petraglia, 2015).

Furthermore, weights are composed of six components: base weight, weighting control factor, household non-interview factor, within-household non-interview adjustment, first-stage ratio, and second-stage ratio. Base weights are set to be self-weighting based on the non-institutionalized United States population aged 12 and older. The weighting control factor accounts for housing units that must be sub-sampled (e.g., apartment buildings) (Petraglia, 2015). The household non-interview adjustment adjusts for non-response occurring at the household level by inflating the weight assigned to the interviewed households to represent themselves as well as non-interviewed households. Similarly, the within-household non-interview adjustment inflates the weight assigned to interviewed persons to adjust for nonresponse at the person level. This allows interviewed persons to represent themselves as well as the missed interviews. The first-stage ratio adjustment is conducted at the PSU level wherein all the non-self-representing PSUs are combined within a state. During this process, weights are adjusted for the distribution of Black/non-Black respondents to reflect census estimates of the racial makeup of each state. Finally, the second-stage ratio adjustment is used to match weights to monthly Census Bureau projections at the national level for race/sex/age and ethnicity/sex/age cells (BJS, 2014).

The cluster design results in variances that are smaller than they would be using a simple random sample design. To account for this, the NCVS data include two variables to adjust for the complex sample design and resulting issues: a pseudo-strata variable and a pseudo-primary sampling unit (PSU) variable. Stata, the statistical software to be used here, also includes a

survey command to adjust for complex sample designs and survey weights. This survey command will also allow for survey weights to adjust the sample of victimizations in each year to appropriately correspond to the population from which they were drawn (Kaylen & Pridemore, 2015). Finally, the Census Bureau generated a person weight to account for non-response and under coverage of certain groups (Rennison & Rand, 2007). These weights will be used to correct for the rotating panel design of the NCVS.

Sample

Because this study focuses solely on sexual assault and robbery victimizations, a sample of victimizations including threatened, attempted, or completed robbery and sexual assault are drawn from the 1996-2015 concatenated incident-level NCVS dataset. Though data are available from 1992-2015, the 1992-1995 data are excluded due to missing data on some variables of interest. Female respondents who indicated being a victim of one or more of the following are included in the sample: attempted/threatened sexual assault, attempted/threatened sexual contact with force, attempted/threatened sexual contact without force, attempted/threatened rape, completed rape, sexual attack with serious assault, sexual attack with minor assault, sexual assault without injury, unwanted sexual contact without force, completed robbery with injury from serious assault, completed robbery with injury from minor assault, completed robbery without injury from minor assault, attempted robbery with injury from serious assault, attempted robbery with injury from minor assault, or attempted robbery without injury. Victimizations are then separated as robbery (n = 1,622) or sexual assault victims (n = 1,473) accordingly.

Measures

Dependent Variables

The variables of interest here are the disclosure strategies employed by female victims of sexual assault and robbery. The NCVS asks respondents to indicate whether the victim reported the incident or whether the incident was reported by a third party. Because this study is focused on victim reporting behavior, those incidents reported by a third party are excluded from analyses. Sensitivity analyses were also conducted to determine if including third party reporting as nonreporting had an impact on the overall results. Including third party reporting did not have a substantial impact, thus analyses proceeded without those cases.

The dependent variables, a list of which can be found in Appendix A, include formal disclosure, police reporting, and exclusive agency usage. Formal disclosure is first conceptualized as victims reporting to police or using victim agencies ($n = 1,430$, 46%). In other words, formal disclosure is any combination of police reporting and/or victim agency usage. Then, police reporting ($n = 1,162$, 38%) is conceptualized as either reported to police exclusively/reported to police and used a victim agency. This variable is distinct from the formal disclosure variable because it excludes those who exclusively used a victim agency. Police reporting is conceptualized in this way because police reporting is the most formal method of disclosure and those with the highest social status should, in line with Black's (1976) theory, use this method regardless of victim agency usage[2]. Disclosure to a victim agency, on the other hand, is conceptualized as an exclusive strategy wherein the victim disclosed to a victim agency, but did not report to police ($n = 268$, 9%).

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[2] A sensitivity analysis examining exclusive police reporting indicated no substantive differences between exclusive police reporting and police reporting/agency usage. Results of this analysis can be found in Appendix B.

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Independent Variables

Black's Dimensions of Social Structure

Stratification. Stratification is measured in multiple ways including victim and offender stratification separately as well as the victim and offender's relative stratification. Victim stratification is measured using age, job status, and victim race. Age is measured using the victim's age as a continuous variable (M=32.7). Job status is dichotomized as prestigious (medical profession, mental health profession, or teacher) or not prestigious (unemployed, retail, transportation, security, other)[3]. Those with occupations respected in the community arguably have more social status, thus predicting greater use of law. Only 12% of the full sample indicated having a prestigious job. Previous research has often examined race as only White or non-White (e.g., Avakame et al., 1999; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). While Black (1976) asserted that all minorities are lower in stratification, to further test Black's theory, race is examined more in-depth to assess potential cultural differences. Race/ethnicity is therefore coded as a series of dummy variables that include White (76%), Black (18%), other race (6%), and Hispanic ethnicity regardless of race (13%).

Offender stratification is measured with the following dummy-coded variables, offender age 20 and younger (reference category) (20%), 21-29 years (28%), and 30 and older (36%). For gender and racial stratification, offender(s) was or were mostly male is coded as male (85%), and offender(s) was or were non-White is coded as non-White offender (44%) (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009).

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[3] The security category in the NCVS contains law enforcement officers; however, none of the victims in the sample identified as law enforcement officers.

Relative stratification is measured with the following dummy-coded variables, offender older than victim (18%), offender younger than victim (18%), offender same age as victim (reference category for stratification by age) (49%), victim and offender were either both White or both non-White (reference category for racial stratification) (62%), non-White victim-White offender (3%), and non-White offender–White victim (26%) (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009).

It is important to note that a large portion of missing data results from these offender and relative stratification variables. A "don't know" option is available for those who do not recall or know the answers to these questions. Coding for those who did not know offender characteristics is discussed below.

Morphology. Morphology is measured in two ways: relational distance and integration. To determine relational distance, the relationship between the offender and victim was examined using the response to the question "What was the offender's relation to the respondent?" Responses include the following: spouse, ex-spouse, parent, other relative, friend/ ex-friend, neighbor, schoolmate, stranger, other non-relative, roommate/boarder, customer/client, patient, supervisor, employee, co-worker, child/ step-child, sibling, or teacher/school staff. Relational distance is measured using a series of dummy-coded variables, with acquaintance/friend serving as the reference category. These variables include: intimate (spouse, ex-spouse, ex- or current boyfriend or girlfriend) (21%); family (parent, child/ step-child, or sibling other relative) (7%); acquaintance/friend (friend/ ex-friend, neighbor, schoolmate, co-worker, or roommate/boarder, other non-relative, patient, employee, supervisor, teacher/school staff) (37%); and stranger (35%). For multiple offenders, respondents who indicated the offenders were all strangers are coded as stranger. Because it is difficult to ascertain the relationship between the victim and each

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offender and because the number of incidents involving intimate relationships and multiple offenders is very small ($n = 18$), victims who knew any of the offenders in any way are coded as acquaintance/friend. To examine the impact of not knowing offender characteristics, evidence of greater relational distance, a variable was created to capture victims who did not know the age, race, or gender of their offender. If the victim did not know any of these characteristics, they are coded as don't know ($n = 284$). Integration is measured using marital status and employment status (Avakame et al., 1999; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Those who were married comprised 18% of the sample while those who were employed comprised 59% of the sample.

Culture. Victim's residence is measured using determinants provided by the NCVS about the urbancity of the victim's residence as either urban or rural. Weisheit and colleagues (2006) argue that violent crimes are reported to police at lower rates in rural relative to non-rural areas because rural ideology leads to greater distrust of government or an unwillingness to upset social cohesion in small communities in which most people know each other (see also Barclay et al., 2004; Donnermeyer & Barclay, 2005). Alternative strategies of measuring urbanicity, such as population density, are also explored. Regarding urbanicity, most respondents resided in urban areas (87%). Education is another indicator of culture, and, consistent with prior research (e.g., Avakame et al., 1999; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009), is dichotomized as some college (43%) or no college education.

Organization. Organization is measured by three dichotomized variables: multiple offenders (18%) (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009), whether the incident occurred at

the victim's place of work (6%), and finally, the offender's perceived gang membership[4] (5%). Measuring organization with these variables explores different aspects of collective action. When a victim is *against* an organization, she is less likely to mobilize law. It is arguable that a victim would be less likely to mobilize law when there are more than one offenders, or if the offender belonged to a powerful organization such as a gang. Conversely, if the incident happened at work (i.e., a gas station robbery), the victim may have more support from her employer to report or feel an obligation to report.

Informal social control. Situational informal social control is measured by the time of day and the location the incident occurred. The time of the incident is dichotomized as daytime (6am-6pm) or nighttime (6pm-6am), and place was measured as private or public (Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009). Respondents indicate where the incident occurred, with the following responses coded as private: victim's home/property; victim's hotel or motel room; home or property of the victim's relative, neighbor, or friend; or anywhere else on the property of a victim or victim's relative, neighbor, or friend (e.g., yard, driveway, apartment hall, porch, etc.). Any other location (e.g., commercial place, school, street, public transportation, etc.) is coded as a public location (41%). Furthermore, self-help is one of the alternative strategies to law that Black (1998) postulates decreases use of law. Self-help is measured as physical resistance, referring to the use of any kind of physical resistance before, during, or after the attack. Those who used physical resistance during the incident comprised 69% of the sample.

Control variables. Certain situational characteristics are also included. Though Black's theory contends that social structure is the only determinant of law mobilization, empirical

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[4] Those who indicated they did not know whether the offender was a gang member is coded as 0. Sensitivity analyses indicated that there were no differences between coding those who did not know as 0 compared to excluding those respondents.

research has indicated that offense severity is an important factor that should not be excluded (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979). To measure offense severity, dichotomized measures for presence of a weapon (22%) and physical injury (30%) are included. Physical injury measures whether the victim experienced knife or stab wounds, gunshot or bullet wounds, broken bones or teeth knocked out, internal injuries, bruises, black eye, or cuts/scratches, swelling, chipped teeth, or if she was knocked unconscious.

Consistent with prior research using the NCVS, two survey controls are included in all analyses: whether the interview was conducted in person and the decade in which the interview occurred. While prior research has typically included whether the interview was bounded as a control, because bounding interviews only began in 2007, including the bounding variable with the decade variables omits the variable from analyses.

Analytic Strategy

Analyses occur in a series of steps. First, univariate statistics are used to determine sample statistics for demographics. The second stage obtains Pearson's R correlations for the indicators used for each of Black's dimensions.

To test hypotheses H_1, there are series of analyses. Logistic regression is used to evaluate the dichotomized formal disclosure variables *formal disclosure* (victim agency and/or police report), *police report or agency usage*, and *victim agency only*). Each model includes the dichotomized crime type variable, constructs for the five dimensions and all control variables as a more modern test that addresses some of the criticisms of prior research (e.g., Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979).

Hypothesis H_2 examines whether Black's dimensions were more predictive of police reporting than victim agency utilization. Logistic regression models are used to test the

dimensions on the decision to disclose to police or agencies only. To examine the influence of Black's dimensions across these two dependent variables, tests of equality of coefficients are employed to assess all statistically significant variables for the separate models. Assessing equality of coefficients allows the identification of the interactive effects of crime type and the independent variables (see Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 1998) while also highlighting which variables are most salient for disclosure.

Hypothesis H_3 examines whether, holding all dimensions of social structure constant, there will be a difference in crime type for the decision to formally disclose. To test this, the models examined in Hypothesis H_1 and Hypothesis H_2 will contain the crime type variable and all measures of social structure.

Finally, to determine whether Black's dimensions are more salient for sexual assault or robbery, Hypothesis H_4, the next stage of analyses uses separate models for robbery and sexual assault for each dependent variable. Then tests of equality of coefficients are employed. Doing so allows for comparison of which variables, by crime type, relate to the decision to disclose.

Statistical Weighting and Missing Data

Because the NCVS utilizes a stratified, multi-stage cluster sample rather than a simple random sample, the standard errors should be adjusted to account for the complex design and resulting homogeneity of responses, especially when comparing estimates (see Lohr, 2010). Failing to account for these design effects results in underestimation of the actual standard errors and increases Type I errors (Stevens & Morash, 2014). To accomplish this adjustment, Taylor Series Linearization (TSL) is used to calculate variance estimates and standard errors. The TSL method is a well-established technique used when analyzing the NCVS (e.g., Addington, 2005). The TSL method generates unbiased standard errors and uses statistical software, such as Stata,

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to calculate the variance of an estimate directly from the full dataset (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999; Lohr, 1999).

Another analytic consideration is weighting the data due to the design of the NCVS. The NCVS is designed to be approximately self-weighted (U.S. Department of Justice, 1997), but it is unclear as to whether weights should be used when performing regression-based analyses (Guerette & Santana, 2010). While there are concerns that coefficients and standard errors may be biased, several studies have found little difference in the results when using weighted versus unweighted data (e.g., Baumer, 2002; Dugan, 1999; Lohr & Liu, 1994). Considering these findings, the following analyses are conducted using unweighted data.

Missing data is often an issue for social science research, and can negatively impact the amount and depth of information obtained from collected data (Enders, 2010; McKnight et al., 2007; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Because the NCVS relies on victims' responses, some indicators will have a substantial amount of missing data. However, the variables selected for analysis, as well as the inclusion of a variable that captures respondents who did not know offender characteristics, diminish issues of missing data. The highest percent of missing data for a single variable is eight percent, and the majority of variables present less than five percent missingness. Therefore, strategies such as multiple imputation are not be used, and listwise deletion is employed for analyses.

This chapter overviews the results of this study in accordance with the previously described hypotheses. First, descriptive statistics are discussed. Then, results are discussed for each hypothesis.

Descriptive and Model Statistics

Because all analyses conducted in this dissertation utilize the svyset[5] function of Stata, typical model diagnostics that require meeting certain assumptions (e.g., those necessary for ordinary least squares regressions) are not necessary. However, certain tests were conducted to ensure the quality of the data. To assess multicollinearity, VIF statistics were obtained. Because none of the VIF values are above 5 and none of the tolerance values are below 0.1, there is no evidence of multicollinearity (Schreiber-Gregory & Jackson, 2017). The correlation matrix of all theoretical variables (available in Appendix C) is also indicative of no issues of multicollinearity.

Descriptive statistics, which can be found in Table 2, are broken down by crime type for each dimension of social structure. Chi square statistics indicate significant differences between sexual assault and robbery victimizations on nearly all measures. There are several comparisons that are of interest. For example, when comparing the two crimes across the Morphology dimension, there are substantial differences in relational distance (see Figure 1). Sexual assault

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[5] The svyset function of Stata allows users to declare a survey design for a dataset. This function is thus used to specify important design characteristics, such as the sampling method and the method for variance estimation.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics

	Variable (% missing sexual assault/robbery)	Sexual Assault		Robbery		%	χ^2
		%/M	n	%/M	n	Difference	
Crime Type		47.6%	1,473	52.4%	1,622		
Disclosure Type	Formal Disclosure (0.2%/0.1%)	39.7%	585	52.1%	845	12.4%	47.2***
	Police and Agency Disclosure (0.2%/0.1)	27.2%	400	50.4%	762	13.5%	128.8***
	Agency Usage Only (0.2%/0.4%)	12.6%	185	5.1%	83	7.5%	54.0***
	Did Not Disclose (0.2%/0.1%)	60.1%	885	47.7%	776	12.4%	47.2***
Morphology	Intimate (3.5% / 3.9%)	22.8%	336	18.7%	303	4.1%	7.7*
	Family (3.3%/ 5.6%)	4.3%	64	8.7%	141	4.4%	36.5***
	Friend/Acquaintance (3.3% / 5.0%) (Reference Category)	50.4%	742	24.1%	391	26.3%	219.8***
	Stranger (2.9% / 3.3%)	22.0%	324	46.7%	758	24.7%	213.9***
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics (0%)	6.4%	94	11.7%	190	5.3%	26.3***
	Employed (0%)	59.2%	872	58.8%	954	0.4%	0.00
	Married (0.6% / 0.6%)	13.8%	203	22.6%	366	8.8%	39.8***
Stratification	Age (0%)	29.19	1,473	35.79	1,622		
	White (0%) (Reference Category)	79.6%	1,172	72.3%	1,172	7.3%	17.4***
	Black (0%)	14.9%	219	21.0%	340	6.1%	19.4***
	Other Race (0%)	5.6%	82	5.9%	95	0.3%	0.1
	Hispanic (0.6% / 0.8%)	10.5%	154	14.8%	240	4.3%	12.9***
	Occupational Prestige (2.3%/2.1)	12.8%	189	11.8%	191	1.0%	0.8
Offender Stratification	Offender >20 years old (5.9% / 8.0%) (Reference Category)	18.6%	274	21.6%	351	3.0%	5.9*
	Offender(s) 21 to 29 (5.9% / 8.0%)	26.9%	396	28.3%	459	1.4%	1.6
	Offender(s) 30+ (5.9%/ 8.0%)	42.2%	622	30.4%	493	11.8%	42.6***
	Male Offender(s) (2.1% / 3.5%)	94.8%	1,397	75.8%	1,230	19.0%	189.4***
	Non-White Offender (3.8%/3.2%)	34.8%	512	53.0%	859	18.2%	102.4***
Relative Stratification	Offender younger (5.9% / 8.0%)	8.1%	120	26.1%	424	18.0%	182.8***
	Offender older (5.9% 8.0%)	23.2%	342	12.5%	202	10.7%	58.3***
	Offender same age (5.9% / 8.0%) (Reference Category)	56.3%	830	41.7%	677	14.6%	60.9***
	Non-White Victim/White Offender (3.8%/ 3.2%)	3.3%	48	2.9%	47	0.4%	0.4
	White victim/Non-white Offender (6.0%/5.9%)	20.4%	300	31.6%	513	10.8%	51.2***
	Same Race (3.8%/3.2%) (Reference Category)	68.6%	1,010	56.8%	922	11.8%	51.4***
Culture	College Educated (1.0% / 1.5%)	43.7%	644	43.2%	700	0.5%	0.0
	Urban (0%)	85.3%	1,256	88.1%	1,429	2.8%	5.4*
Organization	Gang (4.9% / 4.3%)	3.7%	55	5.8%	94	2.1%	6.9**
	Occurred at Work (0%)	7.9%	116	3.9%	64	4.0%	21.8***
	Multiple Offenders (1.6% / 2.1%)	7.5%	111	27.9%	453	20.4%	218.7***
Informal Social Control	Resistance (0%)	73.6%	1084	64.2%	1042	7.4%	31.4***
	Public (0%)	34.4%	507	47.2%	765	12.8%	51.8***
	Daytime (2.4% / 2.6%)	35.2%	518	48.8%	792	13.6%	60.9***
Offense Severity	Weapon (0%)	7.7%	114	34.8%	564	27.1%	327.4***
	Injuries (0%)	24.7%	364	35.7%	579	11.0%	43.9***

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

victims knew their assailant as an acquaintance/friend much more frequently than robbery victims (50% compared to 24%). Conversely, robbery victims more frequently identified their assailant as a stranger (47% compared to 22%).
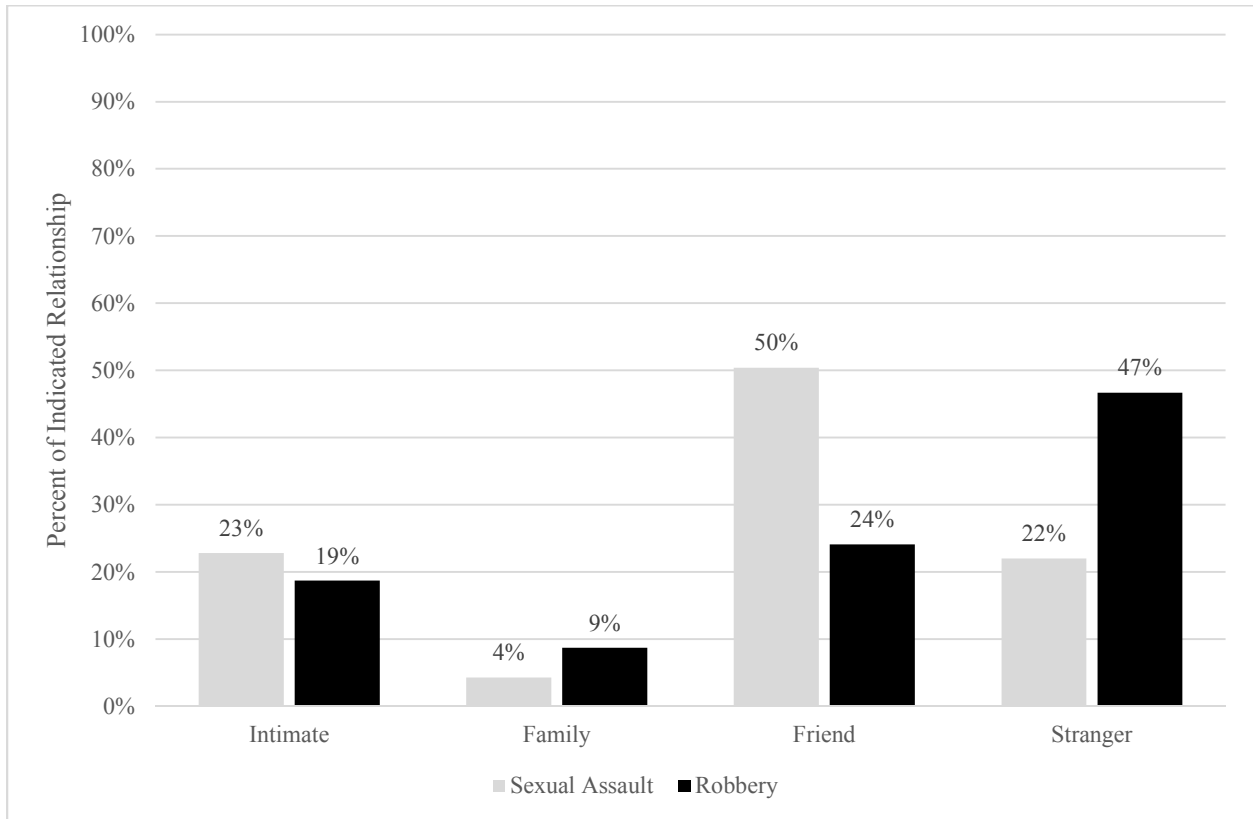
Figure 1. Relational distance by crime type

Several notable differences appear in the stratification dimension. Nearly all sexual assault victims identified their assailant as male (95%) compared to three-quarters of robbery victims (76%). Regarding offender race, more robbery victims identified their assailant as non-White compared to sexual assault victims (53% and 35% respectively). A substantially higher percent of robbery victims indicated their offender was younger than them (26%) than sexual

assault victims (8%). Sexual assault victims indicated higher frequency of victimization by someone their own age (56% compared to 42%).

Regarding organization, there is a substantial difference in those indicating having multiple assailants. The percent of robbery victims indicating multiple offenders was 20% higher than sexual assault victims. For informal social control, there are differences in the time and location of the incident for the two crimes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, robberies occurred more frequently during the day (49%) and in public (47%) than sexual assaults (35% and 34% respectively). Finally, there are notable differences in the frequency of injuries and weapon presence. Robbery victims more frequently reported both. More specifically, robbery victims indicated presence of a weapon 27% more frequently and sustained injuries 11% more frequently than sexual assault victims.

Finally, there were interesting differences in disclosure between the two crimes. As can be seen in Figure 2, among sexual assault victims ($n = 1,472$), 39.7% formally disclosed, 27% reported to police and/or used a victim agency (henceforth referred to as reported to police), and 13% used a victim agency. Robbery victims, on the other hand, formally disclosed more frequently (52%) and reported to police more frequently (50%), but only 5% used a victim agency.
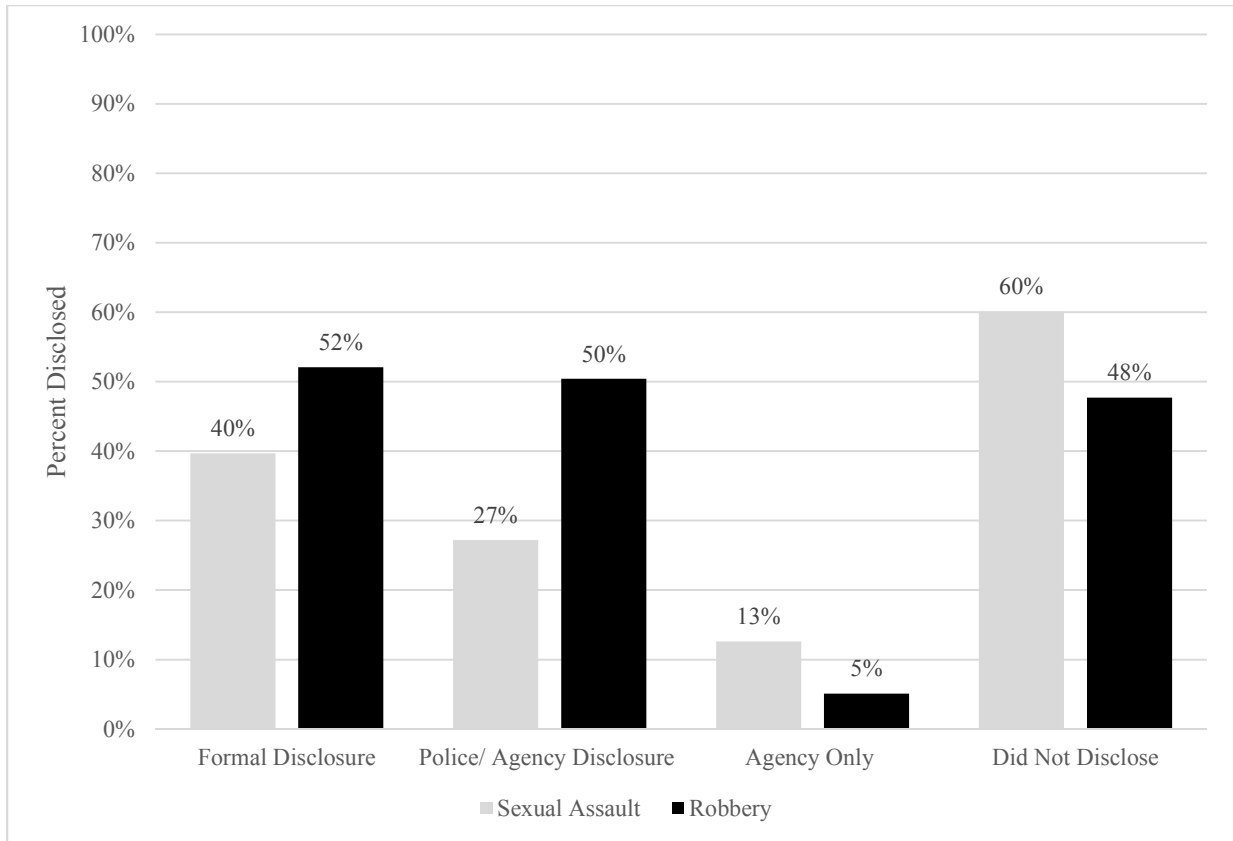
Figure 2. Distribution of Disclosure by Crime Type

In sum, descriptive statistics indicate that there are several differences across the two crimes. The next section will examine the dimensions of social structure in regard to the decision to disclose and the impact of crime type. Because of the large sample size and potential for significant results that are attributed to sample size, findings will be discussed in terms of magnitude while acknowledging statistical significance.

H_1: The dimensions of social structure will predict the decision to formally disclose.

To assess this hypothesis, logistic regression is used to examine formal disclosure. Overall, the results of this model, found in Table 3, indicate limited support for the hypothesis

Table 3. Formal Disclosure of Both Sexual Assault and Robbery Victimizations ($n = 2,502$)

		b (Linearized SE)	OR
Crime Type	Sexual Assault	-0.41(0.10)	0.67***
Morphology	Intimate	0.27(0.16)	1.50**
	Family	0.41(0.14)	1.30
	Stranger	0.06(0.17)	1.06
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics	0.56(0.46)	1.75*
	Employed	-0.06(0.13)	0.95
	Married	-0.01(0.16)	0.99
Victim Stratification	Age (continuous)	-0.01(0.01)	0.99
	Black	0.27(0.32)	1.31
	Hispanic	-0.25(0.20)	0.78
	Other Race	-0.27(0.26)	0.77
	Prestigious Job	-0.19(0.17)	0.83
Offender Stratification	Offender Age 21 to 29	0.37(0.23)	1.45*
	Offender Age 30+	0.58(0.37)	1.78**
	Male Offender	0.60(0.28)	1.82***
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.14(0.31)	0.87
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.46(0.30)	1.59*
	Older Offender	-0.29(0.18)	0.75
	White Victim Non-White Offender	0.07(0.33)	1.08
	Non- White Victim White Offender	-0.59(0.30)	0.56
Culture	College Education	0.14(0.13)	1.15
	Urban	-0.03(0.17)	0.97
Organization	Multiple Offenders	-0.06(0.23)	0.94
	Offender in Gang	-0.37(0.29)	0.69
	Incident at Work	0.54(0.42)	1.72*
Social Control	Daytime	0.35(0.14)	1.42***
	Public	-0.72(0.06)	0.49***
	Resistance	-0.11(0.13)	0.89
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.50(0.19)	1.65***
	Weapon	0.81(0.30)	2.25***
Survey Controls	2000s	0.35(0.16)	1.42**
	2010s	0.61(0.26)	1.83***
	Phone Interview	-0.02(0.13)	0.98

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

that the dimensions of social structure predict the decision to formally disclose compared to not reporting to police or using a victim agency. Results for each dimension are discussed below.

Black states that those higher ranked in social order are more likely to use law; therefore, those higher in stratification will disclose at a rate higher than their counterparts. The analyses here break stratification down into three types: victim, offender, and relative stratification. First, victim stratification does not have a statistically significantly association with the decision to formally disclose for any measure. Regarding offender stratification, three measures are significantly related to disclosure: offender age 21-29, offender older than 30, and male offender. Victims who indicated their offenders were 21- 29 have odds 45% greater for disclosure (p = .021) and those whose offenders were older than 30 have odds of disclosing 78% higher compared to victims who indicated their offenders were younger than 20 (p = .005). Though Black (1976) argues that men are higher in stratification and therefore should receive less law, odds of disclosing are 82% higher when the offender(s) was male compared to female (p < .001). Regarding relative stratification, in line with Black's postulates, victims are more likely to disclose when they perceived their offender as younger compared to same-age offenders (OR = 1.59, p = .015).

Black's theory contends law mobilization will be more likely when the parties are acquaintances or strangers, and reporting will be least likely if the relationship is intimate. Compared to friends, acquaintances, or other known persons (henceforth friends), odds of reporting are higher for intimate partners (OR = 1.50, p = .005). Interestingly, those victims who did not know offender characteristics, evidence of increased relational distance, also have increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.75, p = .034). Radial distance, or social integration, leads to increased mobilization of law; therefore, those more integrated in society will be more likely to

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formally disclose. Neither measure of radial distance, marriage nor employment, are statistically significant.

The third dimension of social structure is culture. Black argues that those with more culture use more law, and respondents who have more culture should be more likely to formally disclose. Neither measure of culture, urbanicity nor education, significantly predicted the decision to formally disclose. Sensitivity analyses were conducted to explore alternative strategies of population density including an ordinal metropolitan statistical area (MSA) variable and an ordinal population variable; however, there are no substantial differences using these strategies.

For the fourth dimension of social structure, organization, Black states that those with greater access to collective action will have more law; therefore, when a victim has more collective action, she will be more likely to disclose. While Black's theory contends that victims who are against an organization would be less likely to mobilize law, the results of this model do not find support for victims disclosing when their offender is perceived to be in a gang or when there are multiple offenders. However, consistent with the theory, victims whose incident occurred at work, where she would have the collective action of the employer, are at increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.72, p = .027).

Finally, Black asserts that for the normative dimension, law is stronger when other social controls are weaker; therefore, when social controls are weaker, victims were hypothesized to be more likely to formally disclose. In regard to informal social control, time of day and location are both statistically related to the decision to disclose. While a robbery or sexual assault occurring during the day increases the odds of disclosing (OR = 1.42, p < .001), an incident occurring in public decreases the odds of reporting by 51% (p < .001).

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While few measures of the dimensions of social structure are statistically related to formal disclosure, four of the five control measures and crime type are significantly associated with disclosing. Sexual assault victims have 33% lower odds of formal disclosure compared to robbery victims ($p < .001$). Regarding severity, sustaining injuries during the incident increased the odds of disclosing by 65% (OR = 1.65, $p < .001$). Similarly, the presence of a weapon more than doubled the odds of disclosing (OR = 2.25, $p < .001$). Furthermore, compared to the 1990s, victims whose incidents occurred in the 2000s and 2010s had increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.42, $p = .003$; OR = 1.83, $p < .001$).

H2: The dimensions of social structure will be more salient for reporting to police than for disclosing to victim agencies.

To test this hypothesis, separate analyses are conducted for police reporting (Model 2), and exclusive agency usage (Model 3), where the comparison group comprises those who used no method of disclosure. Results of the Models 2 and 3, which can be found in Table 4, indicate limited support for the dimensions of social structure. While crime type is significantly related to reporting to police (OR = 0.45, $p < .001$), victim stratification and culture are not significantly related to reporting for any measure. Regarding morphology, victims who indicated not knowing offender characteristics are at increased odds of reporting to police (OR = 2.12, $p = .002$). Offender stratification is significantly related to reporting for offender age and gender. More specifically, compared to offenders who were 20 years old or younger, offenders age 21-29 increase odds of reporting to police by 89% ($p < .001$) while offenders age 30 or older are more than twice as likely to be reported to police (OR = 2.23, $p < .001$). Male offenders are also associated with increased odds of reporting to police (OR = 1.71, $p = .002$). In regard to relative stratification, and in line with Black's postulates, the odds of a victim reporting to police are

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Table 4. Disclosure to Police or Exclusive Victim Agency Usage for Robbery and Sexual Assault Victimizations

Dimension	Variable	Police/ Agency (n = 2,259) b (Linearized SE)		OR	Agency Only (n = 2,257) b (Linearized SE)		OR	Equality of Coefficients z
Crime Type	Sexual Assault	-0.80(0.10)		0.45***	0.99(0.21)		2.71***	-7.70*
Morphology	Intimate	0.08(0.14)		1.09	0.60(0.22)		2.10**	-1.99*
	Family	0.06(0.23)		1.06	0.59(0.35)		1.80	
	Stranger	0.17(0.15)		1.19	-0.66(0.32)		0.57	
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics	0.75(0.23)		2.12**	-0.40(0.59)		0.67	1.81
	Employed	0.10(0.13)		1.11	-0.35(0.16)		0.70	
	Married	-0.07(0.13)		0.93	0.29(1.12)		1.33	
Victim Stratification	Age (continuous)	-0.01(0.01)		0.99	0.01(1.00)		1.01	
	Black	0.43(0.38)		1.54	0.50(0.96)		1.64	
	Hispanic	-0.17(0.16)		0.84	-0.26(0.69)		0.77	
	Other Race	-0.30(0.44)		0.74	1.33(0.64)		3.77*	-2.10*
	Prestigious Job	-0.12(0.16)		0.89	-0.16(0.48)		0.86	
Offender Stratification	Offender Age 21 to 29	0.64(0.15)		1.89***	-0.74(0.26)		0.48**	4.60*
	Offender Age 30+	0.80(0.20)		2.23***	-0.53(0.31)		0.59	3.61*
	Male Offender	0.54(0.17)		1.71**	0.26(0.57)		1.30	0.47
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.29(0.40)		0.75	-0.89(1.89)		0.41	
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.45(0.17)		1.57*	0.01(0.02)		1.01	2.57*
	Older Offender	-0.30(0.17)		0.74	0.52(0.24)		1.68*	-2.79*
	White Victim Nonwhite Offender	0.24(0.41)		1.27	0.85(1.51)		2.34	
	Non- White Victim White Offender	-0.78(0.48)		0.46	-0.20(0.73)		0.82	
Culture	College Education	0.07(0.12)		1.08	0.14(0.72)		1.15	
	Urban	0.01(0.17)		1.01	0.08(0.34)		1.08	
Organization	Multiple Offenders	0.00(0.17)		1.00	-0.02(0.03)		0.98	
	Offender in Gang	-0.13(0.22)		0.87	-0.15(0.25)		0.86	
	Incident at Work	0.60(0.24)		1.81*	-0.19(0.36)		0.82	1.83
Social Control	Daytime	0.39(0.10)		1.47***	-0.05(0.23)		0.95	1.75
	Public	-0.66(0.13)		0.52***	-0.42(0.63)		0.66	-0.37
	Resistance	0.00(0.12)		1.00	-0.50(0.19)		0.61*	2.23*
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.25(0.11)		1.29*	0.74(0.17)		2.09**	-2.42*
	Weapon	0.61(0.13)		1.84***	0.51(0.23)		1.66*	0.38
Survey Controls	2000s	0.34(0.12)		1.41**	0.09(0.45)		1.11	0.54
	2010s	0.62(0.13)		1.86***	-0.04(0.13)		0.96	3.59*
	Phone Interview	0.04(0.11)		1.04	-0.01(0.02)		0.99	

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

higher for younger offenders (OR = 1.57, *p* = .01). Regarding organization, victims whose incident occurred at work are more likely to report to police (OR = 1.81, *p* = .014).

Two measures of informal social control are significantly related to reporting to police: time of day and location. Incidents occurring during the day are at increased odds of reporting compared to nighttime (OR = 1.47, *p* < .001) while incidents occurring in public are at decreased odds of reporting compared to those incidents occurring in private (OR = 0.52, *p* < .001). Finally, both measures of offense severity are positively related to reporting to police. Sustaining injuries increased the odds of reporting by 29% (*p* = .025) and the presence of a weapon increased the odds of reporting by 84% (*p* < .001). Finally, victimizations that occurred in the 2000s and 2010s have increased odds of reporting compared to those occurring in the 1990s (OR = 1.41, *p* = .005; OR = 1.86, *p* < .001).

Model 3 examines whether the dimensions of social structure would predict disclosing exclusively to a victim agency (*n* = 2,506). No measures of culture or organization are significant. Regarding morphology, those victims whose offender was an intimate partner have twice the odds of using a victim agency compared to those whose offender was another known person (OR = 2.10, *p* = .002).

The only measure of victim stratification that significantly predicts agency usage is "other race." Those victims who identified as other race have more than three times the odds of using an agency compared White victims (OR = 3.77, *p* = .04). Regarding offender stratification, compared to offenders age 20 or younger, offenders age 21- 29 are associated with decreased the odds of the victim disclosing to a victim agency (OR = 0.48, *p* = .006). For relative stratification, older offenders increase the odds of victim agency usage by 68% (*p* = .03). Regarding social control, resistance decreases the odds of victim agency usage by 39% (*p* = .011). For offense

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severity, both injuries and presence of a weapon increase the odds of using a victim agency (OR = 2.09, $p < .001$; OR = 1.66, $p = .028$).

A secondary Firth logistic regression was conducted to determine if the rarity of disclosing exclusively to victim agencies was such that penalized estimation was necessary (King & Zeng, 2001). The results of the Firth logistic regression do not vary substantially, though the svyset command does not work with the Firth command, and therefore standard errors were not adjusted. Overall, the results of the Firth regression are in line with the logistic regression using Tayler Series Linearization, thus resulting in the remainder of analyses of victim agency using the latter. Results of the Firth logistic regression can be found in Appendix D.

After obtaining results of Models 2 and 3, tests of equality of coefficients are performed[6] to assess differences by disclosure type. First, by simply looking at significant measures of social structure, seven measures are significant for reporting to police while only four are significant predictors of using a victim agency. Secondly, significant measures are compared across disclosure types (see Table 4). Results of this analysis found significant differences for crime type as well as several measures of the dimensions of social structure. Sexual assault victims have increased odds of using a victim agency, but have decreased odds of reporting to police ($z = -7.70$).

Regarding relational distance, intimate partners increase odds of disclosing to either agencies or police, but the effect is stronger for agency usage ($z = -1.99$). Conversely, not knowing offender characteristics has an opposite effect for victim agencies and police reporting, but the difference is not significant. Victims who identified as other race also have significant

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[6] Equality of coefficient computations were conducted according to Paternoster and colleagues' (1998) method using the formula: $Z = (\beta_1 - \beta_1)/ \sqrt{(se_1^2) + (se_2^2)}$ (see also, Clogg, Petkova, Shihadeh, 1992).

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opposite effects for disclosure: these victims are more likely to use a victim agency and less likely to report to police than White victims (z = -2.10).

Victims whose offender was aged 21-29 are significantly different across disclosure types as these victims were at increased odds of agency usage but decreased odds of police reporting (z = 4.60). A similar effect is seen for offenders age 30 or older: victims are significantly different in that they were at increased odds of police reporting but decreased odds of agency usage (z = 3.61). While younger offenders have no significant effect on agency usage, younger offenders increase the odds of reporting to police (z = 2.57). Older offenders are significantly different across disclosure types with increased victim agency usage and decreased police reporting (z = -2.79). Figure 3 illustrates this difference further using the predicted probabilities of disclosing by both crime type and disclosure type for same age versus older offenders. This graph shows that the probability of reporting an older offender to police is lower than the probability of reporting a same-age offender for both sexual assault (.25 compared to .30) and robbery (.39 compared to .45). Conversely, the probability of disclosing to an agency is higher for older offenders for sexual assaults (.17 compared to .11) and robberies (.08 compared to .05).

There is also a significant difference between disclosure types for resistance as victims who indicate resisting have decreased odds of agency usage while resistance did not affect police reporting (z = 2.23). There is also a significant difference in disclosure type for sustaining injuries. Though injuries increase odds of reporting to police and agency usage, the effect is significantly stronger for agency usage (z = -2.42). Finally, while incidents in the 2010s are associated with increased odds of reporting to police, the timeframe is associated with decreased odds of using a victim agency (z = 3.59).

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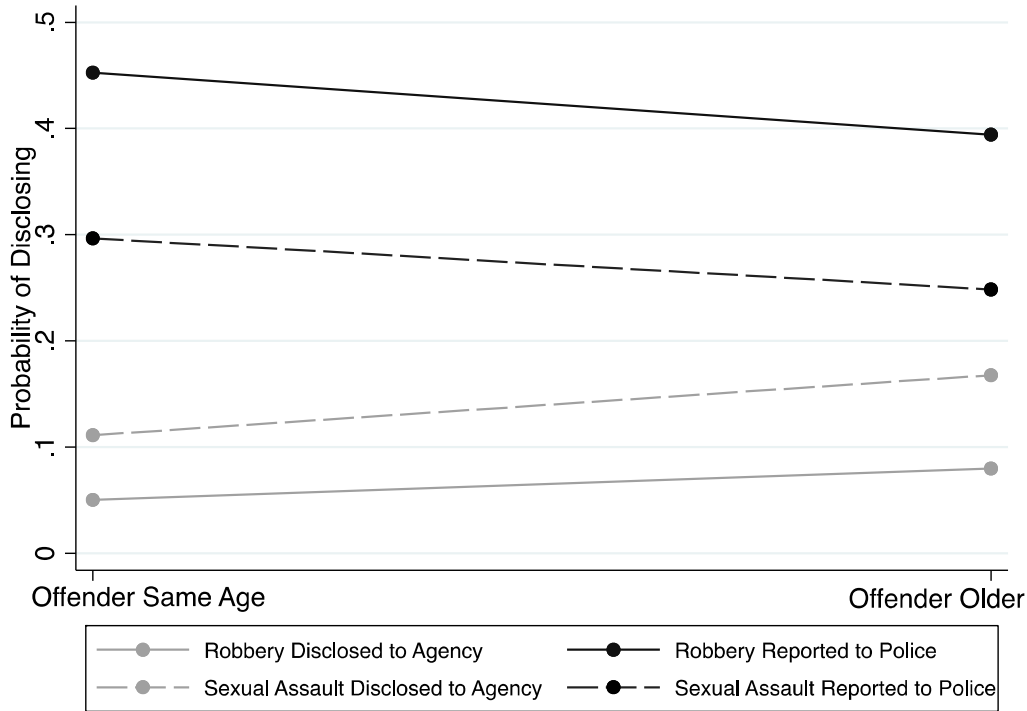
Figure 3. Predictive Margins of Relative Offender Age

H₃: Holding all dimensions of social structure constant, there will be no difference in crime type for decision to formally disclose.

Controlling for all dimensions of social structure and offense severity, crime type is significantly related to the decision to formally disclose for all three dependent variables. Odds of victims of sexual assault formally disclosing are 33% lower than robbery victims (p < .001). Similarly, odds of reporting sexual assault to police are 55% lower than reporting robbery (*p* < .001). Finally, the odds of using a victim agency are nearly three times higher for sexual assault victims than robbery victims (OR = 2.71, *p* < .001). Taken together, there is evidence that crime type has an effect on disclosure, even when considering all dimensions of social structure.

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H₄: The dimensions of social structure will be more salient for sexual assault than robbery for the decision to formally disclose.

To test H₄, separate logistic regressions are conducted for formal disclosure for each crime type using the subpop command[7]. The first model examined (see Table 5) sexual assault victims. Results indicate little support for the dimensions of social structure. No measures of victim or relative stratification or organization were statistically significant. Regarding morphology, employment was the only significant measure of integration and results were in the direction opposite of what was hypothesized (OR = 0.64, p = .009). For relational distance, an intimate partner increased odds of disclosure by 54% (p = .032).

Regarding offender stratification, sexual assault victims whose offenders were age 30 or older have odds two times higher of disclosing (OR = 2.11, p =.021) compared to those victims whose offender was age 20 or younger. Male offenders are associated with more than three times the odds of disclosure (OR = 3.59, p = .019). Furthermore, victims who did not know their offenders' characteristics have increased odds of disclosing (OR = 2.59, p = .022). Incidents occurring at work increased odds of reporting by 88% (p =.038). All three measures of informal social control are related to disclosing. Sexual assaults occurring during the day have increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.58, p = .004), while sexual assaults occurring in public are at decreased odds of reporting (OR = 0.62, p = .023). Victims who resisted their attack are 33% less likely to disclose (p = .026).

Nearly all control variables are significantly related to disclosing. Sustained injuries increase odds of disclosure nearly three-fold (OR = 2.36, p < .001), and presence of a weapon

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[7] The subpop command specifies that estimates be computed for the single subpopulation identified using the svyset function.

increases the odds of disclosure by 148% ($p = .001$). The decade in which the assault occurred is also related to the decision to disclose. Assaults occurring in the 2000s and 2010s have increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.88, $p = .001$; OR = 2.29, $p < .001$).

In regard to robbery victimization, no measures of victim or relative stratification, culture, or organization are significantly related to disclosure. Employment is the only measure of morphology that is significant (OR = 1.49, $p = .01$). Male offender is the only measure of offender stratification that is significant (OR = 1.74, $p = .004$). Robberies occurring in public are at decreased odds of reporting (OR = 0.40, $p < .001$). Presence of a weapon doubled the odds of disclosure (OR = 2.01, $p < .001$). Finally, robberies occurring in the 2010s are at increased odds of disclosure (OR = 1.53, $p = .038$).

To examine whether the dimensions were more salient for disclosure of sexual assault compared to robbery, equality of coefficients were calculated. There were significant differences between robbery and sexual assault victims for several variables. While employed sexual assault victims are less likely to disclose, employed robbery victims are more likely to disclose ($z = -3.69$). Similarly, sexual assault victim who did not know offender characteristics are more likely to disclose (b=.96) while robbery victims are less likely to disclose ($z = 2.16$). The strength of the relationship between offenders 30 and older and disclosing is significantly higher for sexual assault victims compared to robbery victims ($z = 2.45$). Sustaining injuries is more strongly related to disclosing among sexual assault victims compared to robbery victims ($z = 2.86$). Finally, there is a significant difference among the two crimes occurring in the 2000s ($z = 2.42$).

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Table 5. Formal Disclosure by Crime Type

Dimension	Variable	Sexual Assault (n =1,093)		Robbery (n = 1,166)		Equality of Coefficients
		b (Linearized SE)	OR	b (Linearized SE)	OR	z
Morphology	Intimate	.433(0.20)	1.54*	0.33(0.24)	1.40	0.32
	Family	0.71(0.37)	2.04	-0.06(0.28)	0.94	
	Stranger	0.12(0.26)	1.13	-0.08(0.24)	0.92	
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics	0.96(0.41)	2.60*	-0.35(0.44)	0.71	2.16*
	Employed	-0.45(0.17)	0.64**	0.40(0.15)	1.49*	-3.69*
	Married	-0.23(0.23)	0.79	0.17(0.18)	1.18	
Victim Stratification	Age (continuous)	-0.01(0.01)	0.99	0.01(0.01)	1.01	
	Black	0.05(0.56)	1.05	0.45(0.40)	1.57	
	Hispanic	-0.41(0.33)	0.66	-0.10(0.23)	0.91	
	Other Race	-0.22(0.37)	0.80	-0.33(0.38)	0.72	
	Prestigious Job	-0.15(0.28)	0.86	-0.23(0.23)	0.80	
Offender Stratification	Offender Age 21 to 29	0.44(0.27)	1.55	-0.06(0.21)	0.94	
	Offender Age 30+	0.75(0.32)	2.11*	0.08(0.29)	1.08	2.45*
	Male Offender	1.28(0.54)	3.59*	0.55(0.19)	1.74*	1.27
	Non-White Offender	-0.56(0.49)	0.57	0.25(0.39)	1.28	
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.93(0.31)	2.54	-0.02(0.26)	0.98	
	Older Offender	-0.16(0.22)	0.85	-0.09(0.23)	0.92	
	White Victim Non-White Offender	0.36(0.51)	1.44	-0.13(0.42)	0.88	
	Non-White Victim White Offender	-0.13(0.77)	0.88	-0.77(0.73)	0.46	
Culture	College Education	0.11(0.20)	1.11	0.12(0.17)	1.13	
	Urban	-0.03(0.26)	0.98	0.05(0.22)	1.05	
Organization	Multiple Offenders	0.27(0.49)	1.31	-0.11(0.25)	0.90	
	Offender in Gang	-0.98(0.60)	0.38	0.02(0.32)	1.02	
	Incident at Work	0.63(0.30)	1.88*	0.15(0.39)	1.16	0.99
Social Control	Daytime	0.46(0.16)	1.58**	0.23(0.14)	1.26	1.07
	Public	-0.48(0.21)	0.62*	-0.92(0.16)	0.40**	1.69
	Resistance	-0.41(0.18)	0.67*	0.06(0.19)	1.06	-1.81
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.86(0.17)	2.36**	0.23(0.14)	1.26	2.86*
	Weapon	0.91(0.28)	2.48**	0.70(0.15)	2.01**	0.65
Survey Controls	2000s	0.63(0.18)	1.88**	0.03(0.17)	1.03	2.42*
	2010s	0.83(0.21)	2.29**	0.42(0.20)	1.53*	1.41
	Phone Interview	-0.07(0.18)	0.93	-0.06(0.16)	0.94	

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

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In the second stage, separate logistic regressions are conducted for each crime type for reporting to police using the subpop command. Then equality of coefficients for significant variables are analyzed.

Results of the first model, which can be found in Table 6, indicate limited support for the dimensions of social structure and reporting to police among sexual assault victims. No measures of victim stratification, culture, or organization are significant. For morphology, the only measure that significantly predicted police reporting is not knowing offender characteristics, which more than tripled the odds of reporting (OR = 3.10, p =.002). Among measures of offender stratification, offender age and gender are predictive of reporting. Offenders age 21-29 and 30 or older both increase odds of reporting more than two-fold (OR = 2.31, $p < .001$; OR = 2.87, p = .002). Male offenders are associated with three times the odds of reporting to police (OR = 3.12, p = .042). For relative stratification, the only measure significantly related to reporting is younger offenders, which, in line with Black's theory, increase odds of reporting (OR = 2.39, p =.008). Regarding informal social control, time of the incident is the only significant predictor of reporting, though in the direction opposite of what Black (1976) would predict (OR = 1.61, p = .007).

While few measures of the social dimensions are significantly related to reporting, nearly all control measures are. Both offense severity measures increase odds of reporting (OR = 1.56, p = .019; OR = 1.86, p =.017). Interestingly, sexual assaults occurring in the 2000s and 2010s are associated with increased odds of reporting (OR = 1.92, $p < .001$; OR = 2.26, $p < .001$)

The second model used to test this hypothesis examines reporting to police among robbery victims. Among robbery victims, there are no significant measures of victim

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Table 6. Reporting to Police/Agency by Crime Type

		Sexual Assault (*n* =1,093)		Robbery (*n* = 1,166)		Equality of Coefficients
		b (Linearized SE)	OR	b (Linearized SE)	OR	z
Morphology	Intimate	0.20(0.21)	1.22	-0.11(0.22)	0.89	
	Family	0.44(0.39)	1.56	-0.30(0.29)	0.74	
	Stranger	0.32(0.21)	1.38	-0.13(0.20)	0.88	
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics	1.13(0.36)	3.10**	0.48(0.32)	1.62	1.35
	Employed	-0.21(0.20)	0.81	0.38(0.15)	1.46*	-2.36*
	Married	-0.06(0.20)	0.94	-0.07(0.17)	0.93	
Victim Stratification	Age (continuous)	-0.01(0.01)	0.99	0.00(0.01)	1.00	
	Black	-0.08(0.49)	0.93	0.65(0.57)	1.92	
	Hispanic	-0.19(0.26)	0.83	-0.12(0.18)	0.89	
	Other Race	-1.15(0.68)	0.32	-0.02(0.64)	0.98	
	Prestigious Job	-0.02(0.23)	0.98	-0.21(0.24)	0.81	
Offender Stratification	Offender Age 21 to 29	0.84(0.25)	2.31***	0.46(0.20)	1.59*	1.19
	Offender Age 30+	1.05(0.34)	2.87**	0.52(0.27)	1.68	1.22
	Male Offender	1.14(0.55)	3.12*	0.58(0.21)	1.79**	0.95
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.34(0.48)	0.71	-0.08(0.58)	0.93	
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.87(0.32)	2.39**	0.22(0.24)	1.24	1.63
	Older Offender	-0.26(0.24)	0.77	-0.33(0.21)	0.72	
	White Victim Nonwhite Offender	0.29(0.47)	1.34	0.11(0.61)	1.12	
	Non- White Victim White Offender	0.13(0.74)	1.14	-1.07(0.75)	0.34	
Culture	College Education	0.22(0.19)	1.25	-0.03(0.15)	0.97	
	Urban	-0.14(0.26)	0.87	0.13(0.18)	1.14	
Organization	Multiple Offenders	-0.14(0.32)	0.87	0.01(0.19)	1.01	
	Offender in Gang	0.00(0.43)	1.00	-0.15(0.24)	0.86	
	Incident at Work	0.53(0.31)	1.70	0.42(0.36)	1.52	
Social Control	Daytime	0.48(0.17)	1.61**	0.30(0.13)	1.35*	0.84
	Public	-0.35(0.22)	0.71	-0.90(0.16)	0.41**	2.02*
	Resistance	0.01(0.19)	1.01	-0.06(0.16)	0.95	
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.44(0.19)	1.56*	0.12(0.14)	1.13	1.36
	Weapon	0.62(0.26)	1.86*	0.56(0.15)	1.76**	0.20
Survey Controls	2000s	0.65(0.18)	1.92**	0.13(0.15)	1.14	2.22*
	2010s	0.82(0.22)	2.26**	0.47(0.19)	1.59*	1.20
	Phone Interview	0.12(0.16)	1.13	-0.06(0.14)	0.95	

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

stratification, relative stratification, culture, or organization. Regarding morphology, employment is associated with a 46% increase in odds of reporting (p = .016). For offender stratification, offenders age 21-29 are associated with a 59% increased odds of reporting (p = .019). Male offenders are also associated with nearly twice the odds of reporting compared to female offenders (OR = 1.79, p = .005). Regarding informal social control, both time of day and location of the robbery are associated with reporting. Robberies occurring during the day increase odds of reporting 35% (p = .028) while robberies occurring in public decrease odds of reporting by 59% (p < .001). For offense severity, presence of weapon increases odds of reporting by 76% (p < .001). Finally, robberies occurring in the 2010s are associated with increased odds of reporting (OR = 1.59, p = .018).

Tests of equality of coefficients indicate that there are significant differences between the two crime types for police reporting for several variables. There are significant differences for victim employment (z = -2.36), public location (z = 2.02), and 2000s (z = 2.22). Both public location and 2000s operate in the same direction for both crimes. Employment, however, increases odds of reporting robbery, but decreases the odds of reporting sexual assault.

Separate logistic regressions are conducted for each crime type for disclosing exclusively to an agency using the subpop command. Then equality of coefficients for significant variables are analyzed. The first model used to test this hypothesis examines agency disclosure for sexual assault victims. Results of this analysis, which can be found in Table 7, indicate limited support for Black's theory. No measures of offender or relative stratification, culture, or organization are significant. For morphology, only employment is significant, but is in the direction opposite what Black's theory would hypothesize (OR = 0.56, p = .012). For victim stratification, only other race is significant, though in the opposite of the hypothesized direction (OR = 5.51, p = .033

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Table 7. Disclosure to Victim Agencies by Crime Type

		Sexual Assault (*n* =1,093)		Robbery (*n* = 1,166)		Equality of Coefficients
		b (Linearized SE)	OR	b (Linearized SE)	OR	z
Morphology	Intimate	0.46(0.27)	1.56	2.29(0.64)	9.91***	-2.63*
	Family	0.52(0.51)	1.69	1.74(0.65)	5.67**	-1.47
	Stranger	-0.45(0.35)	0.64	-0.57(0.60)	0.56	
	Don't Know Offender Characteristics	0.14(0.63)	1.15	-	-	
	Employed	-0.58(0.23)	0.56*	0.08(0.33)	1.08	-1.66
	Married	0.10(0.31)	1.11	0.54(0.39)	1.71	
Victim Stratification	Age (continuous)	-0.01(0.01)	0.99	0.03(0.01)	1.03*	-0.05
	Black	0.90(0.69)	2.46	1.26(0.69)	3.53	
	Hispanic	-0.42(0.48)	0.66	0.34(0.47)	1.41	
	Other Race	1.71(0.79)	5.51*	1.20(0.70)	3.32	0.48
	Prestigious Job	-0.49(0.44)	0.61	0.28(0.41)	1.33	
Offender Stratification	Offender Age 21 to 29	-0.54(0.36)	0.58	-1.27(0.42)	0.28**	1.32
	Offender Age 30+	-0.20(0.42)	0.82	-1.57(0.53)	0.21**	2.01*
	Male Offender	0.87(0.94)	2.38	-0.18(0.55)	0.84	
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.93(0.62)	0.39	-0.97(0.61)	0.38	
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.43(0.43)	1.53	0.11(0.45)	1.11	
	Older Offender	0.20(0.30)	1.22	1.06(0.38)	2.90**	-1.78
	White Victim Nonwhite Offender	0.82(0.61)	2.27	1.28(0.74)	3.60	
	Non- White Victim White Offender	-0.46(0.97)	0.63	0.85(0.84)	2.34	
Culture	College Education	-0.11(0.24)	0.89	0.34(0.34)	1.40	
	Urban	0.20(0.26)	1.22	-0.28(0.51)	0.76	
Organization	Multiple Offenders	-0.57(0.49)	0.57	-0.24(0.67)	0.79	
	Offender in Gang	-0.75(0.73)	0.47	0.80(0.62)	2.22	
	Incident at Work	0.36(0.50)	1.44	-0.89(1.10)	0.41	
Social Control	Daytime	0.04(0.25)	1.04	-0.55(0.28)	0.58	
	Public	-0.44(0.29)	0.65	-0.25(0.43)	0.78	
	Resistance	-0.83(0.23)	0.44**	0.17(0.41)	1.18	-2.11*
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.94(0.22)	2.55**	0.67(0.35)	1.96	0.65
	Weapon	0.61(0.34)	1.84	0.41(0.35)	1.51	
Survey Controls	2000s	0.17(0.23)	1.19	-0.32(0.20)	0.73	
	2010s	0.27(0.28)	1.31	-0.21(0.50)	0.81	
	Phone Interview	0.09(0.20)	1.10	-0.07(0.32)	0.93	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Of the measures of informal social control, only resistance is significant: victim resistance decreases odds of victim agency usage (OR = 0.44, p < .001). For offense severity, presence of a weapon is positively related to victim agency usage among sexual assault victims (OR = 2.55, p < .001).

In the second model, robbery victims' agency usage is examined. The social dimensions are even less predictive of robbery victims' agency usage. For morphology, intimate and family offenders were very strongly related to increased agency usage (OR = 9.91, p < .001; OR = 5.67, p = .009). Older robbery victims were at increased odds of agency usage (OR = 1.03, p = .002). Regarding offender stratification, offender age 21-29 (OR = 0.28, p = .003) and offender age 30 or older (OR = 0.21, p = .004) decrease the odds of agency usage. Finally, robbery victims are at increased odds of using a victim agency when the offender is older (OR = 2.90, p = .006).
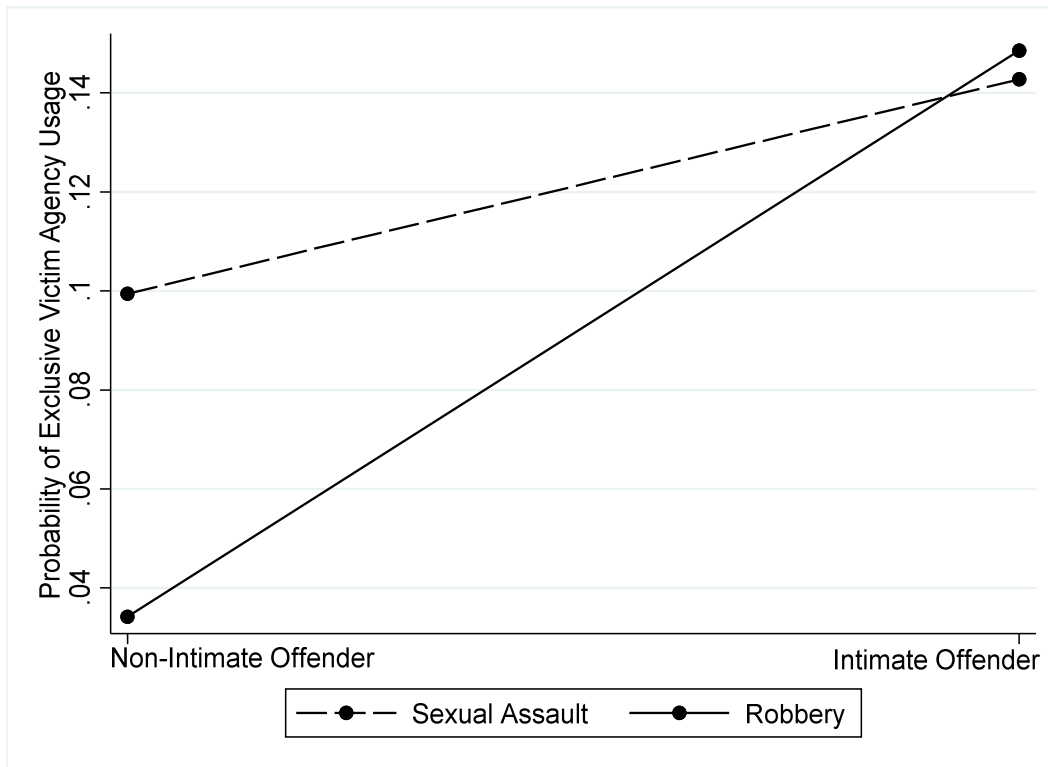
Figure 4. Predictive Margins of Intimate Offender for Exclusive Victim Agency Usage

Equality of coefficients indicated there are significant differences between sexual assault and robbery victims' agency usage for intimate ($z = -2.63$), offender age 30 or older ($z = 2.01$), and resistance ($z = -2.11$). Intimate offenders increased odds of agency usage for both robbery and sexual assault victims, but the magnitude was much greater for robbery victims. To further explore this result, predicted probabilities of disclosing exclusively to victim agencies are calculated and displayed in Figure 4. This graph shows that the incidents involving an intimate offender increases the probability of agency usage for both crime types. Specifically, when the offender is an intimate partner, the probability of a robbery victim using a victim agency is .11 higher (.03 compared to .15) and the probability of a sexual assault victim using a victim agency is .04 higher (.10 compared to .14) than when the offender is not an intimate partner. Similarly, offenders age 30 or older decrease odds of agency usage for both crimes, but with a stronger effect for robbery victims. Finally, resistance increased agency usage for robbery, but decreased agency usage for sexual assault.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to test Black's theory of the Behavior of Law by examining the decision to disclose robbery and sexual assault victimization. Black's (1976) theory asserts that dimensions of social structure (morphology, stratification, culture, organization, and informal social control) predict the mobilization of law, in this case disclosure. This study expands on the Behavior of Law by employing the NCVS to compare the decision to disclose to police and/or to a victim agency using a sample of victimizations against women. This study first examined the decision to formally disclose within Black's theoretical framework. Then, this study disaggregated disclosure to explore whether there are any differences between a traditional conceptualization of law (reporting to police) and other forms formal disclosure (using a victim agency). Finally, analyses were then conducted to compare sexual assault and robbery disclosure to determine if the dimensions of Black's theory differed in predicting disclosure between the two crimes.

The results discussed in Chapter 7 show underwhelming support for the Theory of the Behavior of Law. Overall, the dimensions of social structure and formal disclosure are not highly correlated. When examining each dimension of social structure in regards to the three dependent variables (i.e., formal disclosure, reporting to police, and disclosing to a victim agency), it appears that stratification is the social dimension most closely related to disclosure. Furthermore, the two measures of culture, urbanicity and education, are not significant in any model. Notably, the measures of offense severity, which are beyond the scope of Black's theory but are

acknowledged (e.g., Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979) as being integral to disclosure, are significant in several models. Most interesting, perhaps, are the differences between sexual assault and robbery. For all models wherein robbery and sexual assault are included as an independent variable, there are significant and strong differences in the odds of disclosure. These findings are in contrast to the idea that the only factors that matter in the mobilization of law are social structure. In fact, the results found here assert more confidence in crime type and severity as predictors of disclosure. This chapter serves as an overview of the findings for each of the previously outlined hypotheses, as well as theoretical and policy implications, limitations, and suggestions for future researchers.

Behavior of Law

Taken together, the results indicate limited support for the hypotheses that the dimensions of social structure predict the decision to disclose. These findings are in line with prior research that has found limited or partial empirical support for the theory (e.g., Avakame, Fyfe, & McCoy, 1999; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009; Copes et al., 2001; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Kuo et al., 2012). Most notably, the measures of culture are not significant for any of the disclosure types and the only significant measure of organization for any model is the incident occurring at work.

Though Black asserts that having more culture should increase the mobilization of law, evidence of that postulate is not found here. In his original work, Black discusses culture as an individual's ideals, knowledge, and beliefs, and prior research (e.g., Avakame et al., 1999; Clay-Warner & McMahon-Howard, 2009; Copes et al., 2001) has typically measured culture using education. This study attempted to improve on prior research by including urbanicity, though this measure was not predictive of disclosure either. The continued lack of support for culture may be

a product of operationalization and neglecting the conventionality aspect of culture. Black (1976) discusses how conventionality in the form of religion, clothing, hairstyles, etc. is another indication of cultural location. Perhaps using only education and, in this study, urbanicity, as measures of culture does not appropriately tap into the heart of the construct of culture in a contemporary society. In other words, maybe changes in society since the 1970s, such as technological advances (like access to the Internet), decrease the differentiation between urban and rural areas and between educational stratifications. The proliferation of the Internet no longer allows for stark differences in the availability of materials and resources by area or education level. Research has shown that education does not seem to have an influence on help-seeking attitudes among women (Mackenzie, Gekoski, & Knox, 2006), further evidence that education may not differentiate victims' decision to disclose.

Future research should therefore establish more contemporary measurements of culture in line with Black's theory. For example, religious cultural differences, level of religiosity, adherence to values of different countercultures, political viewpoints, or cultural assimilation may provide more accurate and nuanced measures of culture in society. Relatedly, no known study has been able to measure relative culture, which may provide a better understanding of the effect of culture on the mobilization of law. Perhaps, a contemporary measure of culture may be one related to perceptions of legitimacy (Tyler, 2006). Perceptions of legitimacy refer to the values and ideals one holds of authority in that legitimacy is contingent on whether one believes that authorities are just and appropriate (Tyler, 2006). Research has related perceptions of legitimacy to support for police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) and to law mobilization in the form of police reporting (Long et al., 2013). Given that the idea of legitimacy refers to how an individual

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values an authority's position, this concept may therefore tap in to what Black was alluding to in terms of conventionality, values, and ideals as *culture* (Black, 1976).

Regarding organization, neither measure of offender organization (multiple offenders and gang affiliation) is significant for any method of disclosure. The number of incidents involving gang-affiliated offenders is small, perhaps limiting the variability of this measure. Furthermore, without knowing the offender, it may be difficult to identify an offender as a gang member. On the other hand, 28% of robberies involved multiple offenders yet there were no significant results for any model. This finding, or lack thereof, is interesting as multiple offenders is considered a measure of offense severity (Goudriaan et al., 2004), and the other measures offense severity were predictive of disclosure. Future research should further explore variations in multiple offenders and the effects that multiple offenders have on the victimization experience, its consequences and implications for disclosure.

Despite the offender organization measures having no significant effect on disclosure, the incident occurring at work had a positive effect on formal disclosure and reporting to police, but not victim agency usage. Perhaps an incident occurring at work provides the victim with the confidence of collective action. Moreover, an incident occurring at work may result in more witnesses, security footage, or other sources of evidence that would make their victimization experience more credible. Increased credibility may then result in greater confidence to report to police. Similarly, there may be more confidence in collective action if the incident occurred at work and the offender was a coworker. Victims may feel that employers will take such an incident more seriously or that the business would be vicariously liable for the crime. Conversely, those who disclose exclusively to a victim agency may not be impacted by the confidence of collective action.

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Black (1976) asserts that morphology, or relational and radial distance, will predict the mobilization of law. As such, those victimizations involving offenders who are further away in relational distance (i.e., strangers) should be associated with an increase mobilization of law compared to those closer in relational distance. The two significant findings, intimate offender and not knowing offender characteristics, are somewhat in conflict with each other. These findings indicate that those victimization including an intimate partner are at increased odds of disclosure rather than decreased odds. Though opposite of what Black asserts, this finding is in line with prior research indicating that those with intimate offenders are more likely to seek help (Kaukinen, 2004). On the other hand, those who do not know their offender characteristics, evidence of greater relational distance, are also at increased odds of disclosure. This finding is quite interesting because the stranger measure is not significant. Perhaps some respondents are hesitant to label their offender as a stranger, but do not know much about the person. Not knowing these characteristics may lead to a diminished effect of social status, allowing other crime characteristics to influence the decision to disclose. While this study did not examine motivations or outcomes of disclosure (i.e., arrest, prosecution, etc.), it would be interesting to explore how and why not knowing the offender's characteristics increased reporting and whether not knowing these characteristics influenced outcomes.

Regarding radial distance, or integration, marital status does not have a significant effect for any type of disclosure. Perhaps, as with culture, marital status is not an adequate contemporary indicator of integration. Non-marital cohabitation in on the rise, and is more common than marital cohabitation among adults aged 25-34 (Bloomberg, 2018). As fewer people are marrying than before (or marrying later in life), marriage may not indicate integration or social participation. Or, perhaps those who are married are more likely to use informal

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networks, such as family and friends, rather than formal resources (Mackenzie, Gekoski, & Knox, 2006; Youstin & Siddique, 2019). Married victims may feel more confident they will receive a positive response from friends and family than unmarried victims who informally disclose. While research has found that positive disclosure to family and friends is associated with increased confidence to formally disclose (Feldman-Summers & Ashworth, 1981), married women may feel satisfied with the help they received by informally disclosing to friends and family and feel no need to seek out formal remedies. Future research further should explore how informal networks influence utilizing formal resources for other violent crimes, like robbery. Contemporary measures of integration should explore friend networks, strengths of ties to and participation in the community, community service, and other measures of active participation in society.

While marital status does not predict disclosure, employment does have an effect on formal disclosure, though in opposite directions for sexual assault and robbery. Black predicts that employment should increase law mobilization; however, employment decreases formal disclosure and agency usage for sexual assault victims. It is unknown why employment would decrease disclosure specifically for sexual assault victims. Perhaps these victims were afraid of stigmatization at work, did not want to have to take time off to report and provide a reason for doing so, or were afraid of losing their job. This finding is especially interesting regarding agency usage. Prior research has established that employment is associated with increased usage of mental health agencies, and employed victims should have more resources and access to these agencies (see Jaycox et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2005; Starzynski et al., 2007; Ullman & Breklin, 2002; Wong et al., 2009). Employed robbery victims, on the other hand, are more likely to disclose. Perhaps this finding is indicative of using insurance to cover financial losses. In other

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words, employed robbery victims would be more likely to have insurance and use that insurance to file a claim that required a police report. Sexual assault victims, on the other hand, would not be able to or necessarily need to file a police report to cover damages of their victimization. Future research should work to further explore this relationship.

Overall, victim stratification is not predictive of disclosure. Specifically, victim stratification does not predict formal disclosure or police reporting. However, victims who identified as other race are more likely than White victims to utilize a victim agency. This finding is especially salient for sexual assault victims. This finding is surprising given that prior research has found that White victims are more likely to use increasing levels of help-seeking behaviors (Kaukinen, 2004), and Latino, Asian American, and Native American youth are less likely to receive mental health treatment (Bui & Takeuchi, 1992). Furthermore, minority victims often face more barriers for seeking help than their White counterparts, such as long wait lines, inflexible hours, transportation issues, and centers located a greater distance from the home (Goldsmith et al., 1988; Leaf et al., 1986; Trupin et al., 1991). Considering the operationalization of other race includes several different racial combinations, it is difficult to identify what aspects of victim race can be attributed to this relationship. It is possible, though, that higher number of respondents who identify as Asian are skewing the results. Asian Americans are perceived as being higher status than other minorities (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2018), and sometimes higher status than Whites. For example, compared to Whites, Asians are more likely to enroll in college and to pursue high-earning majors (Xie & Goyette, 2003), and are perceived as highly competent, hard-working, and high earning (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2018). Though Black (1976) would argue that non-White victims are lower in stratification than White victims, this may not be true for Asian victims. This explanation, however, is speculative because the other

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race category includes a variety of different racial identities, including multiracial respondents, and future research is needed to explore the nuances in cultural differences regarding use of formal resources beyond the police.

While no measures of victim stratification are significant, nearly all measures of offender stratification are predictive of formal disclosure and police reporting. Black (1976) would suggest that the younger age category and female offenders would be more prone to law mobilization. Instead, male offenders and offenders older than 20 increased odds of formal disclosure and reporting to police. These findings are therefore opposite the predictions of Black's (1976) theory. Female offenders are typically less likely to be reported, especially for sexual violence (Denov, 2003). Because society asserts that women are incapable of committing violent crime (Denov, 2003), victims whose offenders are women may not feel their experience will be believed or may not define their experience as victimization.

Consistent with Black's (1976) theory, younger offenders are associated with increased reporting to police and formal disclosure. Black asserts that when the victim is older than the offender, they are higher in social structure and will therefore use more law. Conversely, offenders who were older increased agency usage. Perhaps victimizations involving older offenders are more likely to be recognized as a crime and leading to seeking help, yet these victims are more fearful of retaliation, due to the age difference, and do not want to go to police. Taken together, these victims may be more likely to seek a non-legal, formal remedy.

Overall, these findings may be indicative of the idea that characteristics about the crime are more important than are characteristics of the victim in terms of disclosure. Victim status does not seem to influence the decision to disclose while offender stratification has an effect.

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This idea is further evidenced by the significant findings regarding the time, location, and severity of the offense.

Black (1976) asserts that law will be greater when informal social controls are not present. The time of day and location of the offense had a significant impact on the decision for both formal disclosure and police reporting. Offenses occurring during the day and in private are at increased odds of disclosure—partially opposite of what Black would hypothesize. Informal social controls should be higher during the day and in public leading to less law mobilization. In line with Black's theory, private victimizations have fewer informal social controls to rely on, leading to increased use of formal social controls. Offenses occurring during the day increased disclosure when informal social controls should be higher. Perhaps nighttime offenses are serving as a proxy for other situational characteristics that the NCVS does not measure such as alcohol and drug use, partying, or other "risky" behaviors. In other words, victims may be less likely to report nighttime offenses because they may feel they are responsible for engaging in such behaviors. This explanation, however, is speculative as the NCVS does not include these variables.

While the dimensions of social structure offer limited predictive ability for the three types of disclosure, offense severity has more success. Both measures of offense severity increase odds of formal disclosure and police reporting. This finding is consistent with prior research indicating the importance of severity in victim decision-making (Bachman & Coker, 1995; Bowleset al., 2009; Gavrilovic et al., 2005; Goudriaan, Lynch, & Nieuwbeerta, 2004; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2011; Resnick et al., 2000). Though Black originally argued that offense severity should not matter, perhaps there is an argument to be made the severity is a function of morphology. Black (1980) argues that perceived severity is contingent on relational distance. In other words, an act

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committed by a stranger is inherently more severe than an act committed by an intimate. However, this argument works against the theory in these findings. In all models, while controlling for relational distance, offense severity increases disclosure (even when not statistically significant). The salience of offense severity in the decision to report goes against the theory, but is relevant for practical implications. Victims whose experience does not incur injuries or involve a weapon may feel their experience is not sufficient for reporting—a myth that should be dispelled. Furthermore, future research should work to explore within severity crime variation in the decision to disclose. Given that offense severity mattered for both robbery and sexual assault, perhaps exploring how severity within crime types influences disclosure would allow for a more nuanced exploration of how offense severity influences the decision to disclose across crimes

Finally, offenses occurring in the 1990s are less likely to be formally disclosed or reported to police. Perhaps in the 2000s and 2010s there were more available resources, more information, and more opportunities to disclose. Furthermore, organizations have been pushing to dispel myths about sexual violence and increase disclosure. Taken together, these results show promise that victims are becoming increasingly more likely to utilize formal disclosure.

Disclosure Type

When comparing types of disclosure, there are significant differences between police reporting and exclusive agency usage. Interestingly, there were several measures of the dimensions that operated in opposite directions for agency usage and police reporting. Though not all of the findings for either form of disclosure are in the hypothesized direction, there is some evidence that these two types of disclosure are not inverse to one another. In other words, victim agency usage does not operate as an informal social control inverse to police reporting.

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Many of the dimensions operate in the same direction, but with differing magnitude. For example, while intimate offenders are more likely to be reported to police and lead to victim agency usage, the finding is much stronger for agency utilization. This result is in line with Kaukinen's (2002a) finding that victimization by intimate partners increase help-seeking behaviors. While victims may not be as inclined to report an intimate partner to police, they may be encouraged to reach out to another formal resource. More research is needed to determine how informal networks may influence agency usage compared to police reporting.

On the other hand, there were several instances in which measures of the social dimensions operated in opposite directions. For example, offender age (both alone and as relative stratification) operated in opposite directions, with the dimensions predicting agency usage as Black would hypothesize. Conversely, older offenders are associated with increased victim agency usage while, in line with Black's postulates, older offenders are associated with decreased police reporting.

Overall, as predicted, the dimensions of social structure were more salient for reporting to police compared to using a victim agency. While Black (1976) postulated that the dimensions of social structure would predict a variety of responses to conflict, he did not offer a specific remedy of victim agency usage. This response is unique to other non-legal remedies (such as self-help or toleration), but is not the same as reporting to police. While the dimensions were not especially predictive of police reporting, it seems that many of the dimensions related to the classic rape scenario, such as intimacy, offender characteristics, and situational characteristics, did differentiate between the two types of disclosure. Therefore, it seems that there are barriers to reporting to police that do not exist for agency usage, yet social status does somewhat influence victim agency usage. The theoretical conceptualization of victim agency as akin to police

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reporting is supported by these findings, but would benefit from further research and exploration. For example, we cannot surmise from this study whether those who did not formally disclose engaged in toleration or another informal social control. Exploring the nuances of nondisclosure could render a deeper understanding of the decision to disclose. Specifically, future research should explore how social status influences other non-legal remedies, such as self-help or fighting back. Furthermore, using case files to supplement victim survey data could provide a better understanding of victim decision making. Though perception is deemed as reality, adding more objective measures to the study could provide more theoretical support. Overall, it is important to explore the myriad ways victims can respond to crime and these responses extend much further than the police station. Understanding the variations in responses can contextualize the understanding of who chooses to mobilize the law.

Crime Type

Crime type is very strongly related to disclosure—robbery victims are much more likely to disclose formally even when controlling for all measures of social structure. The pure sociological standpoint argues that nothing beyond social structure will influence the mobilization of law (Cooney, 2009). The persistent finding that crime type did affect disclosure is in conflict with this assertion. Perhaps, there is still an argument to be made for the pure sociological standpoint regarding these two crimes specifically: robbery and sexual assault are both interpersonal crimes; however, due to the nature of sexual assault, sexual assault is inherently more personal and intimate compared to robbery—even when perpetrated by a stranger. Black may then argue that, in this instance, crime type is another measure of intimacy. As such, it would make sense for sexual assault victims to report less frequently than robbery victims. Though this argument has potential merit, more theoretical exploration is necessary.

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Similarly, it is important to note that these results may be at odds with other types of violence against women. For example, domestic violence is an inherently intimate crime and the decision to disclose domestic violence may look quite different in relation to social structure. Conversely, general assaults that are not domestic violence may produce a different set of results regarding social structure and the decision to disclose. Though this study sought to compare two distinct crimes, more research is certainly need to explore variations in the effects of crime type on victimization disclosure.

Conversely, an argument can be made against the theoretical proposition that crime type does not matter. There are substantial differences in the decision to report based on the type of victimization, and this difference persists even when the victims are similarly placed in social structure and experience similar offense severity. Though this study did not include attitudinal or psychological measures, the differences in disclosure by crime type may be attributed to these individual characteristics. For example, rape myths are rather pervasive in society (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010), and likely manifest in the decision to report. Other stigmatizations related to the classic rape scenario may also lead victims whose experiences do not exactly match the classic rape scenario to doubt whether their victimization was in fact a crime. Without labeling the incident as a crime, the victim would not be motivated to report to police. She may also not feel the need to seek the help of agencies, as those are perceived as reserved for only "real" victims.

While the measures of the social dimensions were not particularly explanatory of disclosure, perhaps there is a relationship between social structure and attitudes about victimization. Research has indicated that rape myth acceptance is fluid, and depends on the status of the victim and offender (Chapleau, & Oswald, 2013). Furthermore, men (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), those with authoritarian personality traits (Altemeyer, 1998; Lerner & Miller,

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1978; Mirels & Garrett, 1971; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and those who uphold traditional gender roles (Burt, 1980; Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007) typically ascribe to rape myth acceptance more so than their counterparts do. Similarly, indicators of social status, such as gender, age, race, wealth, and authority position, can affect perceptions of blame and guilt in cases of rape (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; George & Martinez, 2002; Yamawaki et al., 2007). Taken together, prior research shows that one's social status, as well as the social status of the victim and offender, affects the amount of blame attributed to victims and offenders. How these attitudes and attributions of blame vary based on social status and whether they operate through the dimensions of social structure should be explored.

Policy Implications

This research has social implications as well as implications for the criminal justice system. The overarching takeaway from this research is that the majority of victims do not use avenues of formal disclosure and that there are differences in disclosure for sexual assault and robberies, even when controlling for myriad social-structural characteristics and crime severity. The persistent and consistent issue of nondisclosure and especially low rates of reporting among sexual assault victims is problematic.

There are steps that can be taken to ameliorate these issues. First, early education on sexual abuse and violence to inform young people about the various forms of victimization could allow earlier detection and prevention practices. By teaching children and young adults how to identify sexual violence, victims may be more likely to identify and label their experience. Doing so could lead to these victims seeking and receiving help from formal resources. Similarly, practitioners should develop general training on responding to informal disclosure to help family members and friends respond positively when receiving a disclosure. Working to reduce victim

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blaming and increase these positive responses would help victims in myriad ways and may increase use of formal remedies.

The second important step that should be taken to improve formal disclosure is to improve access to and use of non-legal formal remedies. Many crime victims may be unaware there are non-legal formal remedies from which they can seek help. This is likely especially true for robbery victims. Sexual assault victims may be more inclined to use victim agencies because there are agencies specifically targeted to them. For example, there are rape crises centers that attend exclusively to sexual assault victims. Robbery victims may know of these types of agencies, but not broader victim help centers. More visibility of these centers is needed. Moreover, minority and poor victims often cite issues of accessibility to victim agencies (Goldsmith et al., 1988; Leaf et al., 1986; Trupin et al., 1991). By creating services, such as transportation to and from the agency and flexible scheduling, more victims could have access to these agencies. Furthermore, while there are government-sponsored or non-profit agencies that have free or low cost services, private agencies should work to be more affordable or accept other insurance options, such as Medicaid. College campuses are required to have victim advocacy centers, but students may not know how or when they can access these centers. Universities should work to inform all students of these options on campus. Access to victim help agencies can help ameliorate many of the negative consequences of crime victimization.

The third step in improving disclosure is improving criminal justice responses to victimization. It should be alarming to law enforcement agencies that many victims do not disclose to police. This is not only an issue of public safety, but also an indication of a problem of police-community relations. Sexual assault victims have a sordid history of negative experiences associated with reporting, though rape reform laws in recent decades have worked to

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improve these experiences (Bachman & Paternoster, 1993). Generally speaking, however, issues of police legitimacy are still rampant, and negative treatment by police is reported both empirically and anecdotally. Vicarious negative treatment by police likely effects victims who know someone who was responded to poorly upon reporting. If victims cannot trust the police, they will not report. While issues of police perceptions have been widely discussed concerning sexual assault, robbery victims may also experience negative treatment. Research is needed into why a third of robbery victims do not report to police. While there is no "classic robbery model," there are still issues of stigmatization of crime victims that may lead victims to refrain from reporting to police.

Data Implications

While the NCVS is a particularly useful tool in exploring and understanding victimization, there are several measures needed to better understand victim decision making with respect to help seeking and disclosure. Among these measures are attitudinal measures, such as rape myth acceptance, victim blaming, and religiosity, which all likely influence decision making beyond what is provided by the NCVS. Similarly, perhaps psychological factors and personality characteristics are the main drivers of victim decision making. To date, no research could be found directly examining personality traits and victim decision-making; however, it is quite plausible that such relationships exist and have effects on disclosing victimization. Data on psychological factors and personality traits should be collected and examined in regard to victim decision making.

Furthermore, data collection on the role of police in the decision to report or disclose is needed. While the NCVS does explore some perceptions of police in regard to reasons for non-reporting, the NCVS does not provide a deeper look into how police organization may influence

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victim decision making. In this vein, data are needed to explore the role of characteristics of law enforcement agencies and departments. Organizational culture, department priorities, community relations, department size, resources and programming, and departmental culture may be more important in victim decision making than previously acknowledged. Perhaps there is a theoretical argument to be made that a victim's social structure in relation to the social structure of law enforcement impacts the mobilization of law. Future research should aim to explore whether aspects of social structure of police agency (e.g., police stratification, integration, culture, and organization) influence the mobilization of law in the form of disclosure of victimization and whether these aspects are directly tied to police legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006) or whether they are discrete indicators of social structure.

Limitations

While the results of this study provide insight into victims' decisions to disclose, the current study is not without limitations. First, there are potential issues with missing data especially regarding offender characteristics. Including victimizations in which offender characteristics were unknown helped to address this issue, but to fully address relative stratification and culture, more data on offender characteristics are needed. Because secondary data are employed, the measures used to examine the dimensions of social structure were not intended as such, and required using measures that may have been less than ideal for the dimensions of social structure. Perhaps primary data collection intended for testing the Behavior of Law would find greater support for the theory. More specifically, the mobilization of law is proposed to be contingent on both the offender and victim's position is social space. While this study was able to measure some aspects of offenders' social status (e.g., offender stratification and organization), there were no measures for offender integration or culture and certain aspects

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of offender stratification. A more complete test of the theory would be able to measure all aspects of the offender's location in social structure.

Furthermore, due to the low number of victims who used a victim agency, the type of agency was not separated by private and public victim agencies. These agencies may have different methods of outreach or provide different services, which may influence who is using what type of agency. Future research should further explore differences between public or government-funded agencies compared to private agencies. In the same vein, there was no way to assess the availability of or access to agency usage. Whether an area has only a public or private agency may influence service utilization. Similarly, those who are unaware of victim agencies cannot use them. Research into the availability and knowledge of victim agencies is needed.

The inability to determine temporal order is perhaps another data limitation of this study. Most notably, this study did not examine the influence of informal disclosure. Disclosing to family and friends likely shape later decision-making. Positive responses from informal sources affects whether a victim then decides to utilize other agencies. Future research should explore the processual effects of informal disclosure on formal disclosure. Furthermore, whether a victim reported to police and then were referred to an agency or vice versa is unknown. This is an important deficit to note. Prior research has found that women who receive advocacy services are more likely to seek and follow through with legal services (Weisz, 1999; Weisz, Tolman, & Bennett, 1998). However, it is less known whether women who use a legal remedy first are referred to and receive mental health treatment or other victim agency services. Research into the resources provided by law enforcement and whether law enforcement refers victims to any help agencies would augment the understanding of victim help-seeking behaviors.

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Another theoretical limitation is that this study was not a full test of Black's theory because it did not utilize male victims and therefore did not fully test victim stratification. Though female victimization is in need of study, and there were many reasons for only studying female victims, future research should extend the scope of this study to include male victimization to address this limitation. Perhaps social structure has a stronger effect on law mobilization for male victims.

Conclusion

This dissertation sought to examine whether the dimensions of Black's (1976) Theory of the Behavior of Law would predict sexual assault and robbery disclosure. In other words, of interest was whether different measurements of social status predict the decision to formally disclose. Overall, there was limited support that social status predicts disclosure to either police or victim agencies. While there was limited evidence that social status predicts disclosure, this study did find that social status seems to matter more for reporting to police than exclusive agency usage. This study has articulated that there are differences between legal and non-legal formal remedies. Most interesting, however, is that crime type has the most salient influence on the decision to disclose. Black's (1976) theory argues that social structure is the only thing that matters for reporting to police; however, that argument is not supported by these findings. Sexual assault victimizations are clearly different from robbery victimizations and this difference is manifested in the decision to disclose.

In sum, the results of this study showed little support for the constructs of the Black's theory. Given the results, more consideration is needed concerning the effects of crime type and offense severity. Moreover, the theory may benefit from a renewed and more contemporary framework that incorporates attitudes and motivations. In other words, perhaps the pure

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sociological nature of the theory is its greatest empirical hindrance. A renewed elaboration and examination of social structure that includes psychological and attitudinal measures may improve the theory's contribution to understanding victim decision making. Alternatively, contextualizing victim decision making through a pure sociological framework may be inappropriate and there is another, unknown explanation for understanding correlates of disclosure. Overall, the Behavior of Law is discussed as a great sociological contribution (e.g., Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979), but the limited support for the theory questions its validity and application to the formal disclosure of victimization.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Description of Dependent Variables

Table A1. Description of Dependent Variables

Variable	Types of Disclosure Included
Formal Disclosure	Exclusive Police Reporting Police Reporting and Agency Usage Exclusive Agency Usage
Police Reporting	Exclusive Police Reporting Police Reporting and Agency Usage
Agency Usage Only	Exclusive Disclosure to Victim Agency

Appendix B. Exclusive Police Reporting

Table B1. Exclusive Police Reporting (n=2,506)

		β (Linearized SE)	OR
Crime Type	Sexual Assault	-0.86(0.12)	0.43***
Morphology	Intimate	0.12(0.17)	1.12
	Family	0.03(0.23)	1.04
	Stranger	0.28(0.18)	1.32
	Employed	0.19(0.14)	1.22
	Married	-0.06(0.17)	0.94
Victim Stratification	Age continuous	-0.01(0.01)	0.99
	Black	-0.06(0.33)	0.94
	Hispanic	-0.05(0.19)	0.95
	Other Race	-0.66(0.29)	0.52
	Prestigious Job	-0.13(0.18)	0.88
Offender Stratification	Don't Know	0.87(0.24)	2.38**
	Offender Age 21 to 29	0.75(0.15)	2.12**
	Offender Age 30+	0.92(0.20)	2.51**
	Male Offender	0.50(0.17)	1.65**
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.30(0.39)	0.74
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.57(0.17)	1.77
	Older Offender	-0.32(0.17)	0.73
	White Victim Nonwhite Offender	-0.38(0.37)	0.69
	Nonwhite Victim White Offender	-1.02(0.49)	0.36*
Culture	College Education	0.07(0.14)	1.08
	Urban	-0.07(0.17)	0.93
Organization	Multiple Offenders	0.04(0.22)	1.04
	Offender in Gang	-0.25(0.28)	0.78
	Incident at Work	0.50(0.25)	1.64*
Social Control	Daytime	0.34(0.10)	1.40*
	Public	-0.62(0.13)	0.54**
	Resistance	0.04(0.12)	1.04
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.25(0.12)	1.28*
	Weapon	0.54(0.13)	1.72**
Survey Controls	2000s	0.28(0.12)	1.32*
	2010s	0.30(0.17)	1.35
	Phone Interview	0.02(0.13)	1.02

*** p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix C. Correlation Matrix

Table C1. Correlation Matrix of Measures of Dimensions of Social Structure

	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	Intimate															
2	Stranger	-0.35														
3	Family	-0.17	-0.24													
4	Friend	-0.36	-0.53	-0.25												
5	Employed	0.04	0.09	-0.07	-0.09											
6	Married	-0.16	0.14	0.05	-0.06	0.08										
7	Age	-0.09	0.11	0.07	-0.11	-0.06	0.20									
8	White	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.05								
9	Black	0.01	-0.01	0.02	0.01	-0.02	-0.15	-0.04	-0.85							
10	Hispanic	-0.01	0.06	-0.02	-0.04	-0.01	0.03	-0.10	0.12	-0.12						
11	Other Race	0.00	0.02	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.02	-0.45	-0.09	-0.02					
12	Prestigious Job	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.00	0.33	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.00	-0.04	-0.01				
13	Don't Know Offender Chars.	-0.15	0.24	-0.07	-0.12	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	-0.01			
14	Offender 20	-0.20	-0.09	0.04	0.23	-0.13	-0.06	-0.28	0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.02	0.00	-0.22		
15	Offender 21to29	0.07	0.05	-0.02	-0.09	0.07	-0.02	-0.06	-0.04	0.04	0.01	0.01	-0.02	-0.19	-0.36	
16	Offender 30	0.22	-0.12	0.02	-0.07	0.05	0.04	0.26	0.04	-0.04	-0.03	0.00	0.02	-0.26	-0.49	-0.42
17	Male Offender	0.29	0.12	-0.10	-0.29	0.11	0.04	0.08	0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.07	-0.14	0.05
18	Nonwhite Offender	-0.09	0.17	-0.10	-0.04	0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.41	0.43	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.04
19	Offender Younger	-0.22	0.10	0.12	0.00	0.09	0.22	0.29	0.01	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	0.12	-0.20	0.37	0.25
20	Offender Older	0.03	-0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.02	-0.10	-0.31	-0.02	0.02	0.04	0.01	-0.04	-0.13	-0.24	0.06
21	Offender Same Age	0.26	-0.23	-0.09	0.09	-0.10	-0.16	-0.10	0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.08	-0.36	-0.02	-0.14
22	Same Race	0.19	-0.29	0.15	0.07	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	0.11	-0.12	-0.12	-0.03	-0.47	0.07	0.05
23	White Victim-Non-White Offender	-0.16	0.25	-0.15	-0.07	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.28	-0.24	0.15	-0.13	0.04	0.23	-0.01	-0.01
24	Non-White Victim White Offender	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.39	0.14	-0.03	0.50	0.01	-0.07	0.00	0.02
25	College	-0.01	0.10	-0.05	-0.09	0.24	0.12	0.16	0.03	-0.05	-0.12	0.04	0.25	-0.01	-0.16	0.03
26	Urban	-0.01	0.09	-0.05	-0.05	0.04	-0.08	-0.04	-0.11	0.12	0.11	0.02	0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.03
27	Multiple Offenders	-0.16	0.27	-0.11	0.05	-0.03	0.04	0.00	-0.01	0.01	0.05	0.01	-0.04	0.14	0.11	0.00
28	Gang	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	0.05	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06	-0.02	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.09	0.03
29	Incident at Work	-0.16	0.01	-0.09	0.14	0.33	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.16	-0.01	0.01	-0.03
30	Daytime	-0.16	-0.02	-0.01	0.14	-0.08	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.14	-0.12
31	Public	-0.27	0.30	-0.23	0.02	0.05	-0.03	-0.18	0.03	-0.04	-0.01	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.13	-0.05
32	Resistance	0.12	0.00	-0.03	-0.05	0.07	-0.04	-0.11	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.04	-0.04	-0.03	0.03

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	Correlation Matrix Continued															
	Variable	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
17	Male Offender	0.05															
18	Nonwhite Offender	-0.12	0.02														
19	Offender Younger	-0.44	0.04	0.05													
20	Offender Older	0.26	0.04	-0.01	-0.22												
21	Offender Same Age	0.37	-0.10	-0.11	-0.60	-0.40											
22	Same Race	0.20	-0.04	-0.50	0.01	0.06	0.25										
23	White Victim-Non-White Offender	-0.14	0.04	0.66	0.05	-0.04	-0.16	-0.82									
24	Non-White Victim White Offender	0.03	-0.01	-0.16	0.01	0.03	0.02	-0.27	-0.12								
25	College	0.11	0.10	0.00	0.14	-0.06	-0.09	-0.07	0.06	0.03							
26	Urban	-0.03	0.02	0.17	0.00	0.02	-0.04	-0.10	0.09	0.02	0.07						
27	Multiple Offenders	-0.20	-0.01	0.15	0.07	-0.05	-0.13	-0.14	0.11	-0.02	-0.03	0.02					
28	Gang	-0.10	0.03	0.10	0.05	-0.01	-0.02	-0.07	0.09	0.01	-0.03	0.02	0.12				
29	Incident at Work	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.14	-0.01	-0.11	-0.08	0.10	0.01	0.10	-0.02	-0.06	0.01			
30	Daytime	-0.01	-0.14	0.01	0.06	-0.08	0.02	-0.03	0.03	0.02	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01	0.25		
31	Public	-0.12	-0.10	0.11	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.17	0.18	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.07	0.02	0.16	0.22	
32	Resistance	0.08	0.08	0.00	-0.05	0.08	0.06	0.06	-0.04	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.03	0.06	-0.06	-0.01

Appendix D. Firth Logistic Regression

Table D1. Firth Logistic Regression for Victim Agency Usage for Robbery and Sexual Assault Victimizations (*n* = 2,506)

		β	OR
Crime Type	Sexual Assault	0.89(0.18)	2.43**
Morphology	Intimate	0.75(0.20)	2.12**
	Family	0.59(0.29)	1.81*
	Stranger	-0.35(0.25)	0.71
	Employed	-0.27(0.16)	0.76
	Married	0.27(0.21)	1.31
Victim Stratification	Age continuous	0.00(0.01)	1.00
	Black	0.67(0.59)	1.96
	Hispanic	-0.64(0.29)	0.53
	Other Race	1.33(0.62)	3.78*
	Prestigious Job	0.01(0.24)	1.01
Offender Stratification	Don't Know	-0.77(0.46)	0.46
	Offender Age 21 to 29	-0.82(0.24)	0.44**
	Offender Age 30+	-0.51(0.29)	0.60
	Male Offender	0.39(0.33)	1.48
	Nonwhite Offender	-0.72(0.56)	0.49
Relative Stratification	Younger Offender	0.16(0.29)	1.17
	Older Offender	0.52(0.23)	1.67*
	White Victim Nonwhite Offender	0.77(0.58)	2.16
	Non- White Victim White Offender	-0.59(0.68)	0.56
Culture	College Education	-0.08(0.17)	0.93
	Urban	0.13(0.22)	1.14
Organization	Multiple Offenders	-0.52(0.33)	0.60
	Offender in Gang	-0.05(0.38)	0.95
	Incident at Work	0.13(0.39)	1.14
Social Control	Daytime	-0.01(0.16)	0.99
	Public	-0.32(0.20)	0.72
	Resistance	-0.42(0.16)	0.66**
Offense Severity	Injuries	0.63(0.15)	1.87**
	Weapon	0.52(0.20)	1.69**
Survey Controls	2000s	0.04(0.17)	1.04
	2010s	0.09(0.21)	1.10
	Phone Interview	0.03(0.15)	1.04

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