

SEXUAL ASSAULT DETECTIVES' JUSTIFICATIONS FOR AGGRESSIVE VICTIM
INTERVIEWING METHODS: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Sexual Assault Detectives' Justifications for Aggressive Victim Interviewing Methods: A Qualitative Study

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The crime of sexual assault is substantially underreported; yet, when victims do report, often times they are met with skepticism and blaming attitudes by law enforcement. Literature shows that sexual assault victims report being further traumatized by the harsh methods used by police and investigators. The effects of rape are aggravated when victims have a negative experience upon reporting, making this a serious concern. Efforts have been made to improve victim treatment but with little success. With reform efforts dating back to the 1970s, the question that must be asked is why is this still a problem? Most articles on this topic focus on the victims and their experiences; yet, there is a major gap in the literature when studying the detectives themselves and their experiences. The purpose of this study is to understand why some detectives are resistant to using a sensitive interviewing style with victims. In depth interviews of 20 sexual assault detectives and sergeants from a large metropolitan police department were conducted. Five main reasons for resisting sensitive interviewing styles were found. Theoretical and practical applications of the findings are also discussed including advice to prevent sexual assault and recommendations to improve victim treatment from law enforcement.

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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW

Since the 1970s there has been a push for law enforcement to abandon their aggressive investigating methods and to treat sexual assault victims more sensitively. With all the efforts to improve victim experience (e.g., advocates, research, news articles, court cases, training programs), there has been little change in how law enforcement responds to sexual assault victims. Research shows that their aggressive interviewing methods can cause further trauma to victims, and yet, many detectives are still resistant to changing their interviewing style. The detectives' viewpoints on this issue have been underrepresented in the literature. For this reason, the purpose of this study is to understand the detectives' experiences and why they may be resistant to being sensitive towards victims. The findings from this study will identify the challenges and barriers for improvement which can lead to more effective policy outcomes with the intent of improving victim experience.

The first research question asks what types of investigating methods do sexual assault detectives use when interviewing victims. The second research question asks why detectives use aggressive methods and why they are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. It is important to understand why they are resistant because it is for these reasons that reform efforts have been unsuccessful. Research thus far has focused on the victims and their experiences but there is scarce research pertaining to the detectives' experiences with victims. This dissertation seeks to give detectives a voice and to portray the challenges detectives face that the public is generally unaware of. Twenty sexual assault detectives and sergeants agreed to participate in the study. Intensive interviews were conducted with each participant to assess their beliefs about

sexual assault, the challenges they face, methods they use, and recommendations they had to prevent sexual assault.

This dissertation is outlined as follows: Chapter Two presents a review of the literature on this issue encompassing the problem (i.e., aggressive treatment of sexual assault victims by law enforcement), the effects of harsh victim treatment, causes for aggressive behavior towards victims, and reform efforts that have been made to rectify the problem. A review of police literature on this issue will also be included, although the literature is scarce as it pertains to this issue. Chapter Three provides details of the methods of this study which are qualitative based. Chapter Four outlines the findings from this study which includes the reasons sexual assault detectives use aggressive interviewing methods with victims, as well as advice to prevent sexual assault. Lastly, Chapter Five provides a discussion of the findings and its applicability to theory and practice. Recommendations to improve victim experience upon reporting are given and limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed, followed by the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Problem

Rape victims should be encouraged to report the crime they suffered and should be treated by investigators with respect and dignity when they do so. This unfortunately is not the case for many rape victims all across the world (Jordan, 2001). A rape victim, in her own words, explains her experience when reporting, “They were raking me over the coals, making me feel like a slug, making me feel guilty for doing all the actions I did that day, treating me like I was the one who raped, the offender, not the victim” (Campbell, 1999, p. 847). Another victim shares her story, “As if the rape weren’t bad enough, I had to go through everything that I did with the police and doctors. It’s just more rape. The rape just keeps on and on, like you just can’t escape it” (Campbell, 1999, p. 855). It is apparent from the feelings expressed by rape victims that many feel overwhelmed, hurt and angered by the way they were treated when reporting the incident. When an officer investigating a rape crime adds further trauma to the victim through their insensitive attitudes and methods of investigating, this is called revictimization, secondary victimization, the second rape, or retraumatization (Campbell et al., 1999; Koss, 1993; Maier, 2008). Efforts as far back as the 1970s have been made to correct this problem but with little success (Jordan, 2001).

Findings suggest that, “the type of help offered to some rape victims by the legal system may not be perceived as ‘help’ but instead as stressful and traumatic” (Campbell, 1999, p. 848). A study by Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, and Barnes (2001) found that more than half of the victims who reported an incident viewed their experience with the legal system as hurtful. Maier (2008) found that most victims experienced distress after

contact with the police. Furthermore, victims whose cases were prosecuted were less well-off psychologically than those victims whose cases were not prosecuted (Maier, 2008). Campbell et al. (1999) interviewed 102 rape survivors and found that victims of non-stranger rape that reported the crime and experienced victim-blaming attitudes showed significantly higher levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms than those that did not report the crime or those that reported but did not experience victim-blaming attitudes. Many times it is not only the police that are causing further harm but the medical staff as well. In a study by Campbell and Raja (2005), it was reported that 58% of victims felt distressed after their interaction with the doctors and nurses whom they felt treated them poorly. Advocates did show a positive impact on victims' experiences with the legal and medical system. Those victims that had an advocate present were more likely to have a report taken by police and were less likely to be treated negatively (Campbell, 2006).

The distress felt by the victims can be caused by police officer's harsh methods when conducting the interviews. The interview becomes more like an interrogation in which the victim is treated like the suspect. A rape crisis advocate shares her feelings of how this can be harmful to the victims:

A lot of police don't have training on sexual assault. And if you have just been raped by a man and you have a man coming in who is talking down to you in a way or making it feel like it is your fault, asking questions like, "Well, did you go with him to his room? Were you alone with him in his room?" Things like that, it tends to make you feel like it was your fault. –Rape Victim Advocate (Maier, 2008, p. 794).

Victims felt as though they were not believed and that they were the bad guy, that it was their fault. Furthermore, victims were threatened that they would be cited for filing a false complaint, and the officers were perceived as being aggressive and cold (Jordan,

2001). Further trauma is added to the victims through the police's invasive questioning, victim blaming attitudes, general insensitivity, refusal to proceed with criminal investigation, and forcing victims to retell their story multiple times (Maier, 2008). In Frazier & Haney's study (1996), the victims were unsatisfied with the police not providing them with enough information and they felt that the system was unfair because the defendants' rights were given precedence over their own.

Victim blaming questions that often are asked by police inquire about the victim's past sexual history, the type of clothing they were wearing, the use of alcohol or drugs, reasons for being at the location when the rape occurred, how they were behaving at the time of the assault, degree of resistance, and whether she "led on" the alleged assailant or if she responded sexually to the assault (Maier, 2008). For example, they may phrase questions as, "why were you wearing that outfit?" or, "why were you at the bar?" A rape victim advocate explains how this type of questioning can be harmful to the victims:

Cops will have their own idea of how the situation should be and how the survivor should be acting and basically expressing to the survivor, "If you were really raped you'd be crying right now. You should be beat up." That can all be very traumatic and very victimizing to the survivor. –Rape Victim Advocate (Maier, 2008, p. 793)

The way the police ask their questions may be sending the message that they are blaming the victim for the assault.

Many victims are also advised not to prosecute (Campbell, 2006). The process of prosecuting rape can be emotionally painful to the victim and can exasperate the effects of rape, "As a result of these negative reactions, survivors may blame themselves, question if their experience qualifies as rape, and discontinue seeking help from community agencies including the criminal justice system" (Patterson & Campbell, 2010,

p. 202). Harmful behaviors exhibited by police (e.g., accusing victims of lying, telling them what happened is not serious enough to prosecute, etc.) are very damaging to the victims' psychological health. It is actually in the best interest of the police to treat victims responsively because they waste less time and energy and avoid adding further stress to the victim (Martin & Powell, 1995).

This problem can affect the family members and close friends of the victims as well. Rape victims are primarily impacted; yet, as indicated through research, retraumatization can cause higher levels of post-traumatic stress (PTS) (Jordan, 2001). Due to this increased stress, it can be emotionally draining for the victim's family members as they try and help the victim. It is especially frustrating to see a loved one harmed and then to be "beat up" per se by the people who are intended to help them. Furthermore, it can cause anger when the family and friends want justice served but law enforcement will not take them seriously or pursue the case. This issue of revictimization by police treatment is not isolated to just the United States but is a problem in other countries around the world (Brown et al., 2007; Jordan, 2001; Kelly et al., 2005; Regan & Kelly, 2004; Temkin, 1995). Now that the problem has been identified, this paper will continue to discuss the effects this problem has on others.

Effects

Victim Trauma

Retraumatization by police officers is a serious concern because rape victims are three times more likely to suffer from depression and six times more likely to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, also known as PTSD (RAINN, 2008). Research indicates rape victims who reported the crime, versus those who did not, show higher levels of

PTSD symptoms (Jordan, 2001). These mental health issues are serious in that PTSD can hinder a person from living a healthy happy life. One could make the assumption that by exacerbating the victim's trauma, detectives are putting the victim at a greater risk of suicide.

Statistics are unavailable as to how many suicides resulted because of the detectives' harsh treatment towards the victims which exacerbated their trauma. There are, however, news articles that suggest this may be an issue. For example, two girls are noted in the media for taking their own lives after being sexually assaulted and reporting the crime. Todd Lightly from the Chicago Tribune wrote an article in 2010 about a young girl named Elizabeth "Lizzie" Seeberg who was a 19 year old freshman at St. Mary's College. On September 1, 2010, Lizzie reported to the Notre Dame school police that she was sexually assaulted by a football player at Notre Dame. She cooperated in all of the necessary procedures such as reporting, providing a written statement, and received a forensic medical exam. The Notre Dame Campus Police did not refer the case to the county police department to investigate the crime. It appears they simply dropped her case. When asked why the case was not referred, Notre Dame did not address the question specifically but gave a statement that they "involve law enforcement officials as appropriate" (Lightly, 2010). Ten days after reporting, Lizzie committed suicide. It appears that her case was not taken seriously and the system failed her.

Ashley Billasano was only 18 years old when she ended her life in November of 2011 after reporting her sexual assaulted to the police. Ashley's mother blames the police for contributing to her suicide. She told reporters that "[Ashley] gave up. She felt like nothing was ever going to happen, that nobody was ever going to believe her"

(Martinez, 2011). She further stated that, “It was almost as if they were treating her like she was the one under investigation instead of her being the victim” (Martinez, 2011). Ashley’s life did not have to end so tragically and so soon. Victims are already at a greater risk for suicide and the harsh treatment by law enforcement can intensify this risk and contribute to a victim’s death.

From these stories about the lives that were taken, it is evident how vitally important it is that police are not adding to the victims’ trauma and hindering their recovery. This problem can affect the families of the rape victims as well since the families are there to support the victim, and helping them through the healing process can be very difficult. It can also cause much distress and anger for the victims and their family when their case is dropped and the assailant walks free with no punishment at all. This could possibly lead to people taking matters into their own hands if they feel the police are not there to help and serve justice.

Janoff-Bulman (1979) describes two types of self-blame that a victim of rape may experience—behavioral and characterological self-blame. The first type, behavioral self-blame, is found to be a positive adaptive reaction to the trauma in that it is viewed as a protective or coping mechanism. In attributing blame to themselves for the rape, the victim believes that they are in control of the events and can prevent it from occurring again in the future. For example, a victim experiencing behavioral self-blame might blame herself for walking alone, or not locking the window, going into his apartment, etcetera, because all these things are viewed as things that they can control and can avoid in the future.

The second type of self-blame, characterological, is found among victims that have a low sense of self-worth and low self-esteem. It is seen as a negative maladaptive or unhealthy reaction. They feel they have character deficits that may have led to the abuse, and because of these deficits they feel they are being punished and that they deserved the abuse. These victims may see character deficits such as not being able to be assertive to say no, or that they are too trusting, or they are careless (Janoff-Bulman, 1979). This type of self-blame is more commonly found amongst victims who are depressed.

Victims may also experience symptoms related to Rape Trauma Syndrome. This syndrome was initially identified in 1974 by Ann Burgess and Lynda Holmstrom. They created a RTS model that depicted two phases in a victim's recovery. The first phase is called the acute crisis phase which can last for a few days or weeks, and the second is the reorganization phase in which the victim experiences long-term reactions. During the first phase a victim may experience both physical and psychological symptoms. The physical symptoms include "sleeplessness, loss of appetite, numbness or pain" (Kennedy, 2009, p. 108) and the psychological symptoms include "extreme fear, persistent nightmares, depression or suicidal thoughts" (Kennedy, 2009, p. 108). During the second phase the victim may experience "disturbances in general functioning, development of phobias, sexual problems, and lifestyles changes" (Kennedy, 2009, p.108).

Weeks and Hof (1987) explain that the two stages of Rape Trauma Syndrome can be either expressed or controlled. Expressed is when they are visibly emotional; whereas, Controlled they are in denial and therefore less emotional. Weeks and Hof also explain that the victim may fear places because they develop a phobic avoidance to which they

avoid the place where the rape occurred, they avoid sex, talk of sex, or even physical affection. The female victim may also fear men and have obsessive thoughts about the attack. They may experience somatic issues such as depression, changes in sleep patterns, nightmares, changes in eating habits, or may experience shame and guilt. The victim may become dependent which can be detrimental to a relationship. To cope, some victims turn to alcohol and/or drugs.

Most victims' level of trauma reduces as time goes by, but the symptoms interfere with their life by changing their lifestyle and how they function at home, work, and in school. When trying to provide counseling to victims, Weeks and Hof (1987) note the reaction victims may present to the helper, "Many rape victims have developed a deep distrust of new people, especially of those who may be probing at thoughts and feelings the victim has worked hard to repress and deny" (p. 179). This reaction may also be common for victims to treat law enforcement when police are probing and needing details about the incident.

Case Disposition

Reporting. Victims will likely discontinue their cooperation in the legal system if they feel they are being treated unjustly. This can have a profound effect on rape prosecutions and convictions. Ahrens et al. (2007) state that majority of survivors are likely to disclose a rape incident to family or close friends first before reporting to the authorities. In their study, Ahrens et al. (2007) found that nearly 70% of victims had first disclosed to friends, partners, or family members. Victims choose to disclose only after they determine that the benefits will outweigh the cost. If the victim determines that disclosing will help them, then they may disclose to a family member or friend who may

encourage them to report the crime to the authorities (Ahrens et al., 2007). It was also found that victims who first disclosed to informal support providers, such as family and friends, had a more positive reaction; whereas, victims who first disclosed to formal providers, such as the police or hospital personnel, were more likely to receive negative reactions (Ahrens et al., 2007). The type of reactions the victims receive after their initial disclosure could affect their healing process and the amount of trauma they experience after the rape. If victims receive negative reactions then they are more likely to experience further trauma. On the other hand, positive reactions such as being validated and encouraged to report showed to have no effect on recovery (Ahrens et al., 2007).

Victims may delay reporting because victims may feel that the assailant will seek revenge and the Criminal Justice System would not keep them safe (Patterson & Campbell, 2010). Schafran (2009) stated during an interview that a victim confessed to lying to detectives about not knowing the assailant, when in reality she did, because she was fearful that the detectives would not be able to protect her from the assailant retaliating. Once the detectives questioned the assailant, the victim was fearful that he would then know that she did not keep quiet and would come after her. The fear for their safety outweighs the benefits of reporting. Victims may change their mind and decide to report if they feel they are in more danger if they don't report. For example, if the assailant is still harassing them then they may decide that it is in their best interest to report. After being raped women may feel dirty, ashamed, and feel their self-image is tainted. They may also want to avoid people looking at them differently so they prefer to keep the incident private (Burnett et al., 2009). Other victims may simply believe that rape is a private matter and should not be discussed (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006).

Victims may not report because they feel their case will not be taken seriously and so there is no reason to go through the stress of the legal system (Burnett et al., 2009).

Sexual assault is one of the most underreported crimes, and some studies show that male victims are even less likely to report than females (Felson & Pare, 2005). Pino and Meier (1999) identify the need for more research to be conducted on male victims of rape. This may be due to the fact that rape against men “is one of the least discussed crimes in our society” (Pino & Meier, 1999, p. 981). Men generally do not report because of how they are socialized to behave. Men are also raised to believe they must be masculine and defend themselves; being sexually assaulted presents a stigma that they are no longer masculine because they could not defend themselves. Men have to deal with the stereotype of being masculine and to control their feelings by not expressing their emotions. Because of these stereotypes, being sexually assaulted and not being able to defend themselves makes the crime very humiliating. Being that the crime is so underreported, it is also hard for male victims to relate to others because it is not commonly discussed. When men are sexually assaulted the crime typically involves more than one assailant and the victim generally is physically harmed and injured (Pino & Meier, 1999). Men will report when the crime is too serious for them to ignore, such as with physical injuries that need medical attention. Reporting to police is also a very stressful experience for men.

Research by Patterson and Campbell (2010) examines the reasons that prompt a victim to report and why victims continue the process of prosecuting. Seven reasons are given to explain why a victim does report. First, the most common reason is that the victims want to prevent the attacker from raping anyone else. They do not want it to

happen again and they feel the perpetrator needs to be stopped. Secondly, the seriousness of the rape may influence them to report, such as if the assailant was a stranger, a weapon was used, and they were injured and feared for their life. Third, victims may report due to medical reasons such as injuries or being checked for sexually transmitted diseases. Fourth, they were encouraged to do so upon disclosing to family or friends. Fifth, the victim had positive feedback from the personnel of the criminal justice system that advised them they had a strong case. Six, they were treated with respect from the personnel of the criminal justice system. Seven, the victim did not have a choice to drop the case (Patterson & Campbell, 2010, p. 197-198).

Other reasons given were that some victims were not given a choice because others contacted the police for them without their permission or consent, and many reported due to safety reasons. The victims that were in the situation where other people called the police for them without their consent or permission felt angry and felt that the control was taken from them. Other victims said they reported the rape because they needed help getting out of an abusive relationship (Patterson & Campbell, 2010).

Dismissal Rates. The entire process of reporting a rape and going through the criminal justice system is met with suspicion and disbelief by personnel of system (Ellison & Munro, 2009). Women are often disbelieved by police officers and also feel humiliated by how they were questioned by the police (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). In a study by Kelly et al. (2005) they found what seems to be an exaggerated expectation of false allegations among police officers. This belief is what the researchers termed “culture of skepticism.” Brown et al. (2007) found variation in responses to officers’ perception of false allegations, “some asserted the need to treat all cases as genuine until

or unless compelling evidence persuaded the officer otherwise, while others presented a more prejudicial perspective” (p. 367). The belief that most women are lying about the assault attributes to the high attrition rate of cases and can add to the victim’s trauma. If the victims were disbelieved by the police officers, it was found that they reported having a negative experience with the criminal justice system even if their offender was convicted (Brown, Hamilton, O’Neill, 2007).

Attrition is defined as when the cases drop out of the criminal justice system. Reasons why cases may drop out of the system are due to the “victims’ failure to report the rape, complainants’ withdrawal of the allegation, police unwilling to proceed, prosecutors not taking the case to court and juries not returning a guilty verdict” (Brown, Hamilton, O’Neill 2007, p. 355). Eighty percent of victims that had their cases dismissed said that it was against their wishes (Campbell, 1998). The highest proportion of rape cases are filtered out of the system at the police stage of the process. As many as half to two-thirds of all reported cases are dropped before being referred to the next stage (Brown, Hamilton, & O’Neill, 2007). Campbell (2006) suggest that “approximately 50% of the time law enforcement personnel either do not take victims’ report or never forwarded their report for investigation, and only 22% to 25% of reported cases are prosecuted, and 10% to 12% of which result in some type of conviction” (p. 31). In comparison to what Campbell (2006) found, Frazier and Haney (1996) found in their study that only 22% of cases were referred to the prosecuting attorney for charging and furthermore only 33% of the suspects were questioned.

In a study by Gregory and Lees (1999), detectives have the option of labeling a case as “No Criming” to indicate that there was no crime or that the victim withdrew the

complaint. The study found a rate of 43% of cases labeled as “No Criming” from three London police stations in a two year period. The highest proportion, 25%, of cases that were not referred were cases closed as “No Further Action” because the victim withdrew their allegation. The most common reason that a case was not pursued was because the victim did not want to prosecute. This is an area that needs to be researched further to investigate why so many victims report but then drop out of the system. From the literature, one can assume that the manner in which victims are treated when reporting causes them to discontinue their efforts to prosecute.

The case disposition for sexual assault cases that Bouffard (2000) studied varied from 18.1% an arrest was made, 22.4% closed due to lack of victim cooperation, 9.2% closed due to lack of prosecutorial merit, 22.4% were still open, and 27.9% were unfounded. From these percentages, it should be noted the high number of cases due to lack of victim cooperation. As stated above, this issue needs to be examined further though additional studies. Also, the second category that needs be noted is the high percentage of unfounded cases which is almost thirty percent. Unfounded means that they found the victim to be lying. This number represents the widespread belief of rape myths among law enforcement. Brown et al. (2007) found that comparable to other studies, most cases were dropped at the police level. The “No Criming” rate (which means that a crime did not occur) in the study by Brown (2007) of 23% was substantially lower than in Gregory and Lees (1999) study of 43 percent. This shows that case disposition rates can vary greatly depending on the police department being studied.

Police departments have been found to use unethical practices when closing cases. For example, Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) found that the Phoenix Police

Department was hiding statistics and labeling cases as solved even though no arrests had been made. Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) accounts the case disposition rates among the Philadelphia Police Agency which was called into question. In 1981 the Philadelphia Police Agency established their own sex crimes unit in response to the criticism that they were treating victims poorly. This did not solve the issue but rather the detectives started to classify many cases as “unfounded” which meant that the victims were proved to be lying. It wasn’t until the FBI looked further into the alarming high rate of unfounded cases that the numbers started to decrease. Cases were also classified as “investigations of the person” which meant that no crime had been committed. Victims would not be informed that their case had been dropped, nor would they receive a return phone call when they had tried to inquire about the progress of their case. Victims were blatantly being ignored.

These practices used in the Philadelphia Police Agency proved to be destructive. Since many of the cases were dropped because they thought the victims were lying, an unfortunate case resulted when a serial rapist was not caught and eventually killed one of his victims. If the detectives had investigated the cases more thoroughly instead of jumping to the conclusion that the victims were lying, then the serial rapist possibly could have been stopped and a life could have been saved (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty 2006).

Frohmann (1991) examine the reasons why sexual assault cases are dropped by prosecutors. Although his study focused on prosecutors, many of these behaviors and negative assumptions are exhibited by police as well. Prosecutors will examine police reports to determine if there are any discrepancies with the victims' stories. One issue with this method is that often police reports can be subjective, bias, and incomplete.

Detectives have the ability to include their own perceptions of the victim and what really happened, when these details may in fact be incorrect. For example, I had the opportunity of participating on a ride-along and I observed a detective tainting the case by including his own biases and incorrect information when talking to witnesses. His body language and tone of voice, as well as his words, implied that he had already concluded that the suspects were guilty and he relayed these biases to the witnesses. He asked the medical and paramedics if they were surprised that this couple just regained custody from CPS of their 4 month old baby that just died. Later we were told by CPS that this was not true. After hearing the information about the couple losing custody of their baby, the medical and paramedics' perception of the people changed and their initial unbiased response also changed. The detective tainted the validity of the case.

If a victim changes her story or cannot remember exact details, it is automatically assumed that she is lying. Another reason why prosecutors may discredit a victim's story is if the incident does not match what the prosecutors believe to be normal behavior. For example, one prosecutor explained why she dismissed a case because the incident did not match what generally happens, "The only act she complained of was intercourse, and my experience has been that when a rapist has a victim cornered for a long period of time, they engage in multiple acts and different types of sexual acts and very rarely do just intercourse" (Prosecutor, Frohmann, 1991, p. 217).

Prosecutors might drop a case because of the victim's demeanor. Two examples are given, the first case is dropped because the victim was yawning and the second was dismissed because the victim was shy and didn't express anger. The first example, "There was an exchange of body language that makes me question what she was

doing...yawning is a sign of stress and nervousness. She started yawning when I talked to her about her record earlier, and she stopped when we finished talking about it”

(Prosecutor, Frohmann, 1991, p. 220). The second example, “I don't like her body language. She's timid, shy, naive, virginal, and she didn't do all the right things. I'm not convinced she is even telling the truth. She's not even angry about what happened to her”

(Prosecutor, Frohmann, 1991, p. 220). It is apparent through these quotes that prosecutors are given much power in deciding whether a case is dropped or referred to the next stage.

Just as prosecutors are given much power, one can argue that police hold considerably more power since closing cases are often based on their discretion which could be biased. Since many victims become discouraged and discontinue their participation in the legal system, law enforcement personnel can greatly impact prosecution and conviction rates by treating victims with respect and encouraging them to continue their participation in the legal system. These efforts to treat victims fairly upon reporting are vital to keeping the criminal justice system operating effectively. Victims are not even given a chance at justice if their cases are being dropped at the first stage of reporting and an investigation never takes place.

Causes

Some organizations are unresponsive to victims because of work overload, scarce resources, and staff burnout (Martin & Powell, 1995). There is an abundance of research that suggest the problem may stem from, (1) police culture; (2) the belief of rape myths; and (3) a lack of proper training to interact with victims in a state of crisis. These areas will be discussed further.

Police Culture

The rift between police and victim could be due to the disparity of needs. Kelly (2005) identified the needs of the victim and the needs of the criminal justice system. The victim needs treatment of injuries, prompt examination, crisis intervention and support, testing for HIV/use of prophylactics, prevention of STIs, and assessment and prevention of pregnancy if desired. The needs of the justice system include gaining accurate history of assault, documentation of physical findings, collections and preservation of evidence, interpretation and presentation of findings and expert opinion in legal proceedings. It may be possible that employees of community rape services are unaware of the harm they may be causing to rape victims and simply educating the workers may alleviate retraumatization (Campbell, 1999). Although, with the amount of research conducted on this issue and the movement by the women's right activist group in the 1970s, it may be more likely that this is not the case. Deep embedded beliefs held by the officers may attribute to their ill treatment of rape victims.

Campbell and Johnson (1997) found that officers did not have a consistent belief about rape and that many officers' perception of rape did not match that of the state law. Few officers held the definition closely to that of state law. Some officers held the belief that sometimes guys can't stop themselves; that they get egged on by the girl. Many of the police officers' definitions of rape were inconsistent with state law. Gregory and Lees (1999) also found a widespread belief among officers that most victims were lying and held an exaggerated expectation of false allegations in which they termed a "culture of skepticism" (p. 83). This distrust can greatly affect the investigation and influence the

victim to withdraw their complaint. Jordan (2004) believes that this belief is the product of a culturally deep-rooted misogyny.

A culture that accepts these rape myths is called a rape culture, and this culture fosters silencing where victims do not report the rape because they feel it was their fault (Burnett et al., 2009). Not reporting the rape creates a sense of tolerance in society that the perpetrator can get away with rape (Burnett et al., 2009). One theory to explain why victims do not report rape states that women live in a male dominant society and therefore are muted. The institutions are dominated by men and therefore control the media and the way women should behave and how their bodies are portrayed. Because of this male dominance, especially in the work force and institutions, this theory states that women are muted and therefore do not report the rape but rather keep silent like they are socialized to behave (Burnett et al., 2009).

Victims may also not be able to identify the incident clearly as rape because of their socialization and being enmeshed in a culture that socially accepts rape myths (Burnett et al., 2009). Although feminist movements have accomplished many things and have brought more equality to women because of the historical roots of male-dominance, women have been socialized to believe that they are to blame for their own victimization (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Blaming women for being raped is not new to society, but rather has been seen throughout the ages and across countries. During the 1960s and 1970s, the feminist movement began recognizing this issue and pushed to bring justice to those that committed the crime and replace the blame from the victim to the assailant (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Even with the efforts starting as far back as the 1960s, this still remains and major problem to this day.

Police forces are dominated by men who generally can be more insensitive to sexual assault; this attitude can spill over to their investigations of sexual assault cases (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Some officers simply may not have the personality that allows them to be sensitive towards victims. Gerber & Ward (2011) discuss two different types of models describing personalities of police officers. The first is the *predispositional* model which postulates that police work attracts a certain type of personality; whereas, the second model, *socialization*, postulates that officers' personalities change as they gain experience on the job. Surveys administered to 91 police officers in a study conducted by Campbell and Johnson (1997) revealed that more than half of the police officers had victim blaming ideologies such as, men cannot stop themselves, rape is rough sex, women change their minds after they are no longer intoxicated. These beliefs among many police officers further propel behaviors that discredit the victim and cause additional harm to them, "Prior research has found that most survivors of rape report feeling guilty, depressed, anxious, distrustful of others, and reluctant to seek further help after their interactions with legal system personnel" (Campbell 2006, p. 31).

Overall, if an organization fosters an environment that adheres to patriarchal beliefs, degrades women through sexist jokes, and displays pictures of half-naked women on their walls, then how are the employees supposed to respect and be caring towards women? This was one example of what a rape victim experienced while reporting the crime. While she was being interviewed by police she heard sexist jokes being told by some of the officers and saw pictures of half-naked women pinned up on the wall (Jordan, 2001).

The study by Schuller and Stewart (2000) found that gender also played a role in officers' perceptions of rape victims. Male officers viewed the perpetrator's claim as more credible and attributed greater blame to the victim than did female officers (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Additionally male officers were more likely to believe that the victim was lying, that she was interested in having sex, was being sexually provocative, and that it was unreasonable for the victim to expect the man to stop (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). This identifies how gender plays a role in the treatment of rape victims in looking at the different beliefs about sexual assault among men and women.

It was also noted in the article by Jordan (2001) that female officers tended to be more responsive and sympathetic to the victim's needs but yet this was not the case in every situation. Although female officers are less likely to behave in ways that will cause harm to the victim, there are still female officers that exhibit the harmful behaviors as well. It is not surprising since if the female officers work in a misogynistic environment and are trained by men that tend to believe most victims are lying, then it is likely for them to hold the same beliefs. Although victims stressed that they would prefer a female to conduct the investigation because of the sensitive nature of the questions, most just preferred that they were treated fairly and were respected. As long as the victims were treated with respect, then it did not matter whether the officer was male or female (Jordan, 2001).

Rape Myths

Although society has progressed towards a more equitable outlook towards women, due primarily to the continual efforts of the women's rights movement, many

assumptions about women and rape are still held today by members of society. This is also true for some sexual assault detectives. It can be damaging to a victim's case if the detective has a belief in rape myths. Examples of rape myths include: It is the woman's fault for being raped; rape is not a serious crime, there's no harm done; women bring rape upon themselves; women secretly crave rape; it is not really rape if the victim knows the assailant; and a woman's appearance is associated with her being assaulted (Bevacqua, 2000; Burt, 1980). Temkin (1995) further identifies the rape myths that state: If the woman is not a virgin before being raped, then she is most likely lying about being raped because if you consent to one man, you consent to all, and that women in reality like to be raped. Caringella (2009) includes the rape myth that women must have resisted and become injured by the attack for them to really have been raped.

To truly understand the origins of the rape myths, one must understand the evolution of women's role in society in comparison to their male counterparts. Rape is not new to society, there is evidence of this crime dating back even to biblical times as in the story of Bathsheba by King David (Bevacqua, 2000). According to author Maria Bevacqua (2000), the Code of Hammurabi, in effect over four thousand years ago, "provided penalties for the rape of virgins, daughters, and wives" (Bevacqua, 2000, p. 18). The code was not implemented for the protection of women, but rather for the protection of a man's property (Bevacqua, 2000). This is the start of the evolution that women were seen merely as property of men and not as a free human autonomous being. The women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to the respect of women as autonomous individuals and started shifting away from the traditional belief of women as property; yet, it is evident that traces of the old beliefs still linger in today's society.

The myths that still prevail today lead women to believe that being raped was their fault and often time victims blame themselves (Bevacqua, 2000). The shame and guilt many victims feel cause them to stay silent and not report the crime (Bevacqua, 2000). In fact, authors Jody Clay-Warner and Callie Harbin Burt (2005) said that rape was drastically so underreported, “even if every rape reported resulted in a trial, more than 90% of rapists would never see the inside of a courtroom” (p. 150-151). Many victims are also hesitant to report the crime because they fear the derogatory treatment of the criminal justice officials (Clay-Warner & Burt, 2005). An excerpt from Bevacqua’s book (2000) further emphasizes this point of the harsh treatment of rape victims upon reporting. The following passage is taken from an interview of a victim recounting her experience when reporting the crime:

[It seemed] the police were skeptical [because] of their cross-questioning. They repeatedly asked, “What were you doing on the highway? Why were you out at eleven thirty? Why would you let him in your car? Don’t you know better than that? You look like a mature grown women who should certainly know the facts of life,” and “What were you doing out alone?” p. 9

This type of treatment of rape victims adds more trauma to the victim and further perpetuates the undeserving feeling of self-blame and guilt. The detectives’ negative judgment can cause a victim to blame themselves; but on the other hand, it is also common that victims will blame themselves after being raped, so detectives will negatively judge the victim and not take their case seriously because they are blaming themselves.

The myth that a women’s appearance brings rape upon herself is challenged by the truth that regardless of age, looks, class, and so forth, women across the board, everywhere and anywhere, can become a victim (Bevacqua, 2000). If a women’s

appearance causes her to become a victim, then how might one explain the sad truth of young children being victimized? Research often stresses that rape is not a crime of sexual passion, but rather a crime of control, dominance, and humiliation. Bevacqua (2000) quotes an excerpt from D.C. Rape Crisis Center explaining how rape is not specific to appearance:

If a woman is older, sees herself as unattractive or dresses conservatively, she may feel immune to rape. In reality, a woman of any age or appearance is vulnerable to rape. At the Center, we have talked to rape victims in their 80's and 90's. Rapes of children as young as six months have been documented. ...Focusing on the condition of the victim leads to a distorted view of rape. It implies that the conditions of the victim contributed to the crime. (D.C. Rape Crisis Center, 1977, I; Bevacqua, p.61)

So it is with these myths that the women of the reform era band together to seek justice for victims and to alleviate the added trauma victims were feeling when reporting the crime.

The Real Rape Victim. Another rape myth relevant to the detectives' perceptions of victim credibility is what Maier (2008) calls the "real" rape victim. Police often times will not believe a victim unless she was raped by a stranger, a weapon was used, she was injured, held blameless (i.e., was not drinking, was not a bar, was not wearing clothes that may be perceived as immodest), and reported the incident immediately. With studies showing that majority of women are raped by someone they know and often times a weapon was not used, nor will victims necessarily have injuries, the assumption to disregard victims unless they fit the profile of a "real" rape victim is harmful and incorrect (Maier, 2008). Statistics indicate that approximately every two out of three rapes are committed by a person that the victim knows (RAINN, 2008). It is

incorrect then to suggest that a victim is not a “real” victim unless they were raped by a stranger since majority of rapes happen by people they know.

Investigators are not the only ones that may adopt rape myths. The study by Ellison and Munro (2009) found that jurors felt that if a victim had delayed reporting they had more time to make up a lie and were possibly out for revenge. It was also found that some jurors questioned the validity of the victims claim if she had gone to the police right away instead of going and talking to family and friends first. The victims face a double edge sword of not being believed—jurors were suspicious of victims who delayed reporting, but interestingly enough, jurors were also suspicious if they reported immediately. Martin and Powell (1995) noted that jurors can also be persuaded of the victim’s trustworthiness by how the victim dressed at the time of the attack:

A Broward, Florida jury acquitted a Georgia drifter of kidnapping and raping a woman at knife-point saying the women got what she deserved. “We all feel she asked for it for the way she was dressed,” said the jury foreman. Another juror claimed that she was too calm during the trial. Throughout the eight-day trial, the jurors were repeatedly shown a lacy white miniskirt and bright green tank top the women wore the night she was abducted at knife-point. The woman said she was totally shocked by the jurors’ comments. “I can’t understand how anybody could think I deserved to be cut up with a knife, raped multiple times, knocked out, and almost killed in a car crash.” –Miami Herald, 5 October 1989 (Martin & Powell, 1995, p. 854)

There is much blame and attention placed on the victims and their actions and yet the suspect and his actions are rarely considered.

There is limited research on male rape victims. Jamel, Bull, and Sheridan (2008) found that rape myths are still prevalent among police officers for both women and men. There is a belief that men that report being raped are all gay. In this study 40% of the male victims that reported to the police were heterosexual. Research indicates that majority of prostitutes reported being raped since entering prostitution (Monto &

Hotaling, 2001). Acceptance of rape myths, such as prostitutes cannot be raped, can influence a prostitutes' decision to report (Monto & Hotaling, 2001). The victim may feel she will not be taken seriously since she is a prostitute. Monto and Hotaling (2001) found that "empirical research and narrative accounts consistently reveal that prostitutes are frequent victims of violent crime, including beating, rape, and murder, most of which is never reported to the police" (p. 276).

Alcohol and Drug Use. Alcohol or drug use by the victim at the time of the assault can ruin their credibility if they file a report. Victims may not even report if they were under the influence of alcohol or drugs when the incident occurred (Burnett et al., 2009; Fisher et al., 2003), but some victims will still report. Champion et al. (2004) state, "Alcohol and illicit drug use is one of the most frequently cited risk factors associated with an increased risk of sexual victimization among adolescent females" (p. 322). Studies estimate that half of all sexual victimizations "involve the use of alcohol or other drugs by the perpetrator, victim, or both" (Champion et al., 2004, p. 322). Victims that engage in alcohol consumption during the time of the assault are more likely to experience self-blame and are less likely to report due to this feeling (Fisher et al., 2003).

Schuller and Stewart (2000) investigate the attitudes of police officers' perceptions of a credible rape victim and whether the presence of alcohol consumption lowers credibility. Out of 569 cases of sexual assault involving women reported to a midwestern metropolitan police department, only 22% of the cases were referred by the police to the prosecuting attorney (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Police are the gatekeepers to the cases being prosecuted and yet in this example only 22% were referred. Reasons behind this low percentage may be due to the police officers' preconceived perceptions of

a “real” rape victim as being credible or not. Another interesting finding addressed in the article was the study of 331 jurors and their perceptions of rape victims, “jurors were less likely to believe that the defendant was guilty if the victim had reportedly engaged in sex outside marriage, drank or used drugs, or had been acquainted with the defendant” (Schuller & Stewart, 2000, p. 548).

Schuller and Stewart (2000) found that the more intoxicated the officers believed the victim was, (1) the less credible they believed her to be; (2) the more blame they placed on her; (3) the less blame they attributed the perpetrator; and (4) the more they viewed her as wanting sex (p. 545). From these findings, it is clear that the presence of alcohol consumption does play a role on the officers’ perception of victim credibility, yet they are more judgmental of the victim’s drinking behavior than the perpetrator’s drinking behavior (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Authors Brown, Hamilton and O’Neill (2007) use the term counterfactual thinking to describe why police may blame the victim. Counterfactual thinking is when they think that if a victim had not done X, then she would not have been raped and so therefore is responsible for the outcome.

Lack of Training

Studies have shown that training for sexual assault officers can improve the victims’ experience when reporting; yet, many departments do not offer training pertaining to the psychological effects of rape victims (Lonsway, Welch, & Fitzgerald, 2001). Schwartz (2010) conducted a study in which he interviewed 49 detectives with the purpose of finding "best practice" methods in police investigations. At the close of his study, Schwartz concluded that there were no best practice methods worthy of replication or widespread use.

Police practice in general is detrimental to investigations, as few to no departments engage in any experimental or innovative practices. An early goal of this study was to discover the “best practices,” and to publicize them. Unfortunately, there are no “best practices.” Most departments are doing exactly the same thing, some better than others. The idea of talking to others either within or outside the department to attempt to gain fresh ideas to break cases was greeted with universal derision. p. 53-54

It was also noted that police are very resistant to any kind of change and that they are doing little or nothing to improve the problem (Schwartz, 2010). Despite many years of training, majority of police officers still maintained attitudes and opinions that prevented them from treating victims with respect. Although, studies show that training was associated with a lesser allegiance to rape myths. Schwartz also found that detectives were conducting investigations that would make conviction very unlikely. The detectives were almost unanimously hostile to changing to a system that would protect victims. They felt it was their job to expose the victim as a liar because of their beliefs that most victims are lying (Schwartz, 2010).

Wycoff and Cosgrove (2001) noted that police are resistant to change and although change was met with skepticism and reluctance, many officers did adjust to the change in his study. Officers later said they were satisfied with the new model and would not want to go back to the former procedures. Preparing staff for the upcoming change can reduce stress and reluctance. One department that was adopting a community policing model gave officers articles to read and informed them of the changes that were being planned. Formal training was also given to help smooth the transition, as well as a rationale for why the change was necessary.

Reform

There have been efforts of reform to rectify this issue of police treating sexual assault victims harshly. The most prominent reform effort has been the feminist movement in the 1970s. Many changes to the law came about because of the feminist movement. In more recent times, there has also been the development of training programs designed to help detectives improve victim experience through interviewing techniques. These reform efforts will be discussed in further detail.

Feminist Movement

During the mid-1970s there began an effort, mainly by feminist groups, to bring about reform to the way society and the criminal justice system treated rape victims. The feminist groups believed that society held many myths regarding rape, and that these myths were embedded in the United States' rape laws. For example, women were blamed for being victimized, most likely due to sexist beliefs that women in fact really want to be raped and that their behavior brings it upon themselves (Bevacqua, 2000). Feminists believed that many other myths prevailed in society; they sought to dispel these myths and bring about equality for women and victims of rape. It took thousands of women gathering together to rally, protest, publish, educate, and lobby for their voices to be heard. Their efforts were not in vain, as every state in America changed or adopted rape laws that were fairer to victims of this crime.

Pre-reform problems. Victims of rape were often being retraumatized by the criminal justice system and the personnel that processed the cases (such as police, medical workers, lawyers, jurors, and judges) which is why the feminist movement sought to change these practices. Although many changes were brought about, this

problem still exists. When reporting the crime, it was common for the victims' stories to be discredited. The victims were not believed and they were accused of lying. Rape cases simply were not being taken seriously which was evident through the low prosecution and conviction rates. Women were blamed for being raped and treated as harshly as if they were the one who committed a crime. LeGrand (1973) emphasizes the point of injustice among rape victims by the very laws that supposedly were to protect them, "And they have ignored the possibility that rape laws as they are presently conceived, rather than protecting women, might actually work to their disadvantage by hindering prosecution of rapists and by exacerbating the inequality between men and women" (p. 197). Historically, sexual assault laws were created to protect women's honor and their value as property to their fathers and husbands (Kelly, 2005).

Patricia Searles and Ronald Berger (1987) identified the problems in which the women activist groups sought to reform. They viewed the laws as being bias and unjust towards women:

...laws containing misogynist assumptions and reflecting societal skepticism about the seriousness of rape and the veracity of women's accusations. In the past, images of women as seductive and untrustworthy were combined with socio-legal conceptions of women as the property of males, producing a wide range of prejudicial criminal justice system practices in the handling of rape cases. p. 25

These degrading beliefs about women as being seductive, untrustworthy, and the property of men, were the reasons why feminist groups sought to reform the criminal justice system.

Goals of the rape reform. Five main goals were set forth by the rape reform movement: (1) increasing the reporting of rape and enhancing prosecution and conviction in rape cases; (2) improving the treatment of rape victims in the criminal justice system;

(3) achieving comparability between the legal treatment of rape and other violent crimes; (4) prohibiting a wider range of coercive sexual conduct; and (5) expanding the range of persons protected by law. These goals were to be achieved through changes in the following areas: Redefinition of the offense, evidentiary rules, statutory age offenses, and penalties (Berger, Searles, Neuman, 1988; Bevacqua, 2000; Searles & Berger, 1987). With these goals in mind, the activists set forth to change legislation and challenge the embedded rape myths.

Policy formulation. Policy is government's attempt to solve a public issue or problem. The feminist groups knew that it would be over-ambitious to strive for total eradication of the crime and so instead fought for justice within the legal system to treat victims fairly and punish the offenders (Bevacqua, 2000). Policy is created at all levels of government: Federal, state, and local. The leaders of the reform led thousands of women seeking change and together they rallied, protested, wrote, educated the public, and fought to change the laws. They recognized that it took a large number of people, all in line with the same goal, to actually bring about change in the legislation.

Policy changes on the local level typically involve changes within organizations, like hospitals and police personnel. Public awareness is also an example of policy initiatives on the local level. For example, Los Angeles, California in 1974 made changes to their police procedure, medical care of victims, offered self-defense training in schools, and applied for grants to continue programs seeking to help women and victims (Bevacqua, 2000). The city also assigned one District Attorney to follow a case from start to finish instead of multiple attorneys receiving the case and it getting lost in the

shuffle. Additionally, Los Angeles provided training to the personnel directly involved with interacting with the victims.

Also in Los Angeles, they held a public awareness gathering called “Blow the Whistle on Rape Day” encouraging women to carry whistles if they are ever attacked (Bevacqua, 2000). Although a whistle may not protect a woman from being raped, the gathering stood as a symbol of the public becoming aware of the need to address this issue. Horney and Spohn (1991) identify that sometimes policies are adopted merely as a symbolic gesture to show constituents that they are being heard and their issue matters to elected officials, even if the policy may never actually be implemented or enforced. Another example occurred in New York when they created a special unit within the police department dealing specifically with rape. This special unit only employed females. Rape treatment centers in hospitals were also created to allow privacy and counseling for victims (Bevacqua, 2000). These efforts created many changes in the law.

Changes in law. Caringella (2009) summarizes the overall changes that the rape reform was successful in changing. The changes included addressing corroboration, consent and resistance, past sexual history and character evidence, cautionary jury instructions, prompt complaints, redefinition of terms, gender neutrality, victim anonymity, victim polygraphs, statutory rape, punishment, and marital rape. The movement in the 1970s spurred legislative action and by the early 1980s virtually all states had revised their rape laws. The state of Michigan is recognized as the first state to change their legislation and take the daring first steps in leading the reform. After Michigan’s example, many states followed suit.

Each category is an example of how change can occur and how the current sexual assault laws have evolved. It should also be noted that although these changes were made, some of them are not actually being implemented. For example, a husband does not have the right to rape his wife, but, if the detective feels that this is not considered rape then the detective is less likely to submit the case to the district attorney's office for prosecution. So although this is law (i.e., that a husband cannot rape his wife) if those that are processing the rape cases are not in agreement with the law, then it is unlikely that the law will be enforced. Each category of change will be discussed further to identify the reform efforts that have taken place to fix the problem that victims' are being treated harshly by police.

Corroboration. The corroboration requirement was unique to rape cases since virtually all other crimes did not require corroboration, or evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt (Caringella, 2009). In many states this requirement was taken off the books.

Consent and resistance. Many states have relaxed their resistance requirement. The old way of thinking was that women must have resisted and become injured by the attack for them to really have been raped. Research has shown that this line of thinking is incorrect given that women may fear they will be injured if they fight back, or women may "freeze" (shut down or not respond) due to the trauma they are experiencing (Schauer & Elbert, 2010). Laws used to include language such as "resistance to the utmost" or "resistance throughout the entire duration of the attack" (Caringella, 2009, p. 14). Some states have weakened their resistance requirement and other states have done away with resistance requirement all together. The states without a resistance

requirement include Michigan, Alaska, Iowa, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, and Vermont (Caringella, 2009, p. 15). Although resistance is no longer a requirement, evidence of a physical opposition strengthens a case and makes non-consent seem more credible.

Past sexual history and character evidence. This type of change is more formally known as “rape shield” legislation (Caringella, 2009) which recognized the victim’s right to privacy and limiting the introduction of their past sexual history in court. The evidence is still considered probative and relevant under certain circumstances (e.g., if the victim had previous relations with the defendant, evidence of pregnancy or disease) (Caringella, 2009). Previously the sexual history and character of the defendant was not allowed to be called into question, but the victims’ history was used to assess the likelihood of consent and victim credibility in court (Temkin, 1995).

Cautionary jury instructions. Many judges before trial would advise jurors that it is very difficult to prove that rape occurred and so jurors should be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt of the defendant’s guilt. A famous quote by Chief Justice Lord Matthew Hale in the 1680’s is often cited in rape research due to his misogynistic portrayal of women as liars. Chief Justice Hale often warned jurors before a trial, “rape is an accusation easily made, hard to be proved, and harder to be defended by the party accused, tho’ never so innocent” (Caringella, 2009, p. 16). All states abolished this formal caution since it is not reasonable to claim that a man’s word is more trustworthy than a female’s.

Prompt complaints. Many states required that victims report the crime right away or they would not be able to press charges. Most states do not require victims to report immediately. Few states set a time frame, for example, three to six months to

report the crime (Caringella, 2009). The circumstance surrounded the rape can influence the victim if whether or not they will report the crime, as Clay-Warner and Burt (2005) conclude that, “women raped by strangers were significantly more likely to report compared to women raped by acquaintances” (p. 157). Through this statement, it is evident that rape myths can influence even the victims in which case many times they will not report. Even though the law has been changed to allow delayed reports, if a victim does delay, their case will not be as strong as if they had reported immediately.

Redefinition of terms. Many states changed the terminology from using the word “rape” to “sexual assault” because the word assault directly implies that the victim was assaulted and did not consent, and the word rape implies a crime of uncontrollable sexual passion (Searles & Berger, 1987) and not violence.

Gender neutrality. Although a significant amount of women are raped more often than males, rape is not a crime confined to just the female gender and many are unaware of the high percentage of males that are raped as well. The laws were changed to be more gender neutral to encompass and give justice to the males that are victimized also (Caringella, 2009).

Victim anonymity. The victim’s identity will be withheld from the public, such as organizations or the media, to respect the victim’s privacy (Caringella, 2009).

Victim polygraphs. The victim must not be forced or asked to take a polygraph; it must be the idea of the victim (Caringella, 2009).

Statutory rape. The statutory rape laws set a minimum age for which one can legally engage in sexual intercourse with another. It becomes automatically illegal if the

person is under the minimum age restriction. The age restriction among the states varies from thirteen to eighteen (Caringella, 2009).

Punishment. The former definition of rape was all inclusive and did not expound on the varying degrees of seriousness and different acts that may be forced upon the person (Horney & Spohn, 1991). A continuum of varied degrees of sex crime was structured so that punishment would coincide with the severity of the crime. The reformers did not strive for harsher penalties per se because they knew that jurors would be more apprehensive to convict someone if they feel the penalties are too severe. It was better that a conviction was made with a lesser punishment than no conviction at all (Caringella, 2009).

Marital rape. Again Chief Justice Lord Matthew Hale has often been quoted claiming women are subordinate to men by saying, “The husband cannot be guilty of rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract, the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto the husband which she cannot retract” (Caringella, 2009, p. 20). Many states now have made it illegal for the husband to rape his wife. This means that the wife is allowed her right to refuse sex, or refuse certain request from her husband, and if the husband still forces her against her will he may then be prosecuted in some states. Caringella identifies that all states have some form of marital rape law, yet some states’ laws are weaker than others and still allow some exemptions from prosecuting husbands.

Specific rape legislation acts. The following is a list of specific legislative acts that have been passed since the rape reform era.

Rape Prevention and Control Act of 1975. Established an organization called the National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape within the National Institute of Mental Health. The organization is assigned to conduct research on rape including, but not exhaustive, of evaluating the effectiveness of rape laws, psychological research pertaining to victims and offenders, and educating the public (Bevacqua, 2000).

Privacy Protection for Rape Victims Act of 1978. This Act amended the Federal Rules of Evidence during a rape trial to protect the victim's history and privacy by not allowing their past sexual behavior or reputation to be brought up in court, unless under certain circumstances (Bevacqua, 2000).

Sexual Abuse Act of 1986. The act amended a title under the United States Code in reference to sexual abuse. The amendment changed the term "rape" to "aggravated sexual abuse or sexual abuse." It also broadened the definition of sexual abuse and included penalties and fines (Bevacqua, 2000).

Violence Against Women Act of 1994. This act is a comprehensive list of preventive strategies, as well as aid to women that have been victimized. The act includes grant money to train government personnel working with women victimized by domestic violence and rape, program initiatives to prevent the violence of women, a national violence telephone hotline, allows the right to file civil suits against offenders, and provides funds to programs responsible for research and education pertaining to rape (Bevacqua, 2000).

Drug-Induced Rape Prevention and Control Act of 1996. The act prohibits and sets forth penalties for the use of drugs to commit a crime such as rape (Bevacqua, 2000).

Success and Failures. Identifying all of the changes that the reform movement was successful in accomplishing, it is hard to say that the movement was not successful. Although, researchers address the need for more studies to be conducted to truly assess the success of the rape reform and the outcomes of the changes it brought about. There is still some evidence that prove limited success. For example, the experience of the rape victim has improved throughout the criminal justice system because of the changes in law; yet, there is still much work to be done. Victims are still being retraumatized and blamed by the justice system (i.e., police, nurses, lawyers), and low prosecution rates still exist. One of the main reasons for the reform falling short of its goal is because not all the laws are being implemented and enforced. Caringella (2009) emphasizes this point by adding:

...because criminal justice actors all enjoy decisional options at virtually every stage of case processing and because there is not a great deal of visibility, accountability, and/or control over the exercise of this discretion, the laws on the books look different from the laws in action. p. 29

This is not to discredit the hard work and dedication of the many thousands of advocates that helped to change the laws. They were instrumental and the changes in law were a necessary step to progress in the direction of reform.

Horney and Spohn (1991) emphasize this critical point of the difficulties of implementation by adding, “Statutory changes like the rape law reforms must be interpreted and applied by decision makers who may not share the goals of those who championed their enactment and who therefore may not be committed to their implementation” (p.120). Berger, Searles, and Neuman (1988) also agree that efforts need to be made to eliminate the gap between the law on the books and the law in action.

With the example of removing the corroboration requirement, it has been found that although it is no longer part of law, it is still widely used when basing decisions of guilt or innocence. Many judges felt corroboration is a rule of good sense but not a rule of law (Caringella, 2009). Furthermore, Horney and Spohn noted that it seems to be the case that a person will still win or lose on based on corroboration. This is also true for the requirement of resistance; if there was no evidence of resistance, than the cases are not likely to be pursued.

One of the major steps of reform was upholding acquaintance rape as a form of rape; however, this type of rape is less likely to be prosecuted to this day. Research has found that majority of rapes committed are by someone the victim knows; yet, this form of rape is not taken seriously. Justice Coleman commented on this issue, as cited by Caringella (2009) as saying:

Under the Court's holding today, it will be virtually impossible for a women to prove that she was raped by a man whom she had previously expressed interest in, flirted with, or even dated, even if she never engaged in sex with him prior to the assault occurring. p. 33

There is a distinction in the literature that is made between “real or classic rape” and “simple or nonaggravated rape.” Real rape is thought of as the stranger jumping out of the bushes with a weapon inflicting injuries; whereas, simple rape is rape by someone known to the victim and typically there are no injuries (Caringella, 2009). Because of the reform, classic rapes are taken more seriously, but the so-called simple rapes are not. With further reform efforts, non-aggravated rape will, optimistically speaking, be taken seriously as well as classic rape.

In reference to prosecution rates, the studies showed both positive and negative results, but some of the studies were contradictory of each other. For the most part,

studies found that real rapes were taken more seriously than pre-reform era, and are still taken more seriously than simple rapes (Caringella, 2009). This has also been found to be true for conviction and sentencing rates—the more serious the crime, the more likely the offender will be prosecuted and convicted. The findings for sentencing were discouraging as according to Horney and Spohn (1996) there were no significant effects of reform in relation to enhanced rates of imprisonment. This may be attributed to the severity of the sentencing when prosecuting the more serious rape crimes; for example, some states have a maximum sentencing of life in prison (Caringella, 2009). Although the rape reform era may only have proven slight success, policy changes and implementations take many years to truly see the outcome. Therefore, the reform was a vital and necessary step in the right direction and without credit of some success that will surely be shown in the future.

Discussion of rape reform movement. The goals of the rape reform movement were to improve the treatment of victims and challenge rape myths that were embedded in the American laws. The reform was successful in making many changes in law such as: Redefining rape as sexual assault and creating a continuum of severity, removing corroboration, resistance, and reporting immediately requirements. The laws were also amended to protect the privacy of the victim and to contain more gender neutral terms to encompass men as well as women. Statutory rape laws were created making it illegal to engage in sexual activity with a person younger than a certain age to protect children and youth. The reform also made it illegal for a husband to rape his wife.

Many of the myths that were challenged included beliefs such as: Women are untrustworthy and secretly desire being raped, or that women bring rape upon themselves

and are at fault for being raped because of their appearance and actions. These myths fostered a belief among victims that caused them to feel self-blame and guilt. The guilt that victims felt often prevented the crime from being reported. The justice system as a whole added trauma to the victims because of these beliefs and so rape was viewed as not being a serious crime and therefore had low prosecution and conviction rates.

The government was responsive to the voices of the rape advocates throughout all levels: Federal, state, and local. On the local level, organizations such as police and hospital personnel were trained and operational standards were modified to improve standards when interacting with victims. On the state level, among the legislation was the core in which the changes in every state's laws took place. The federal government also passed legislative acts that sought to create programs that researched and educated the public regarding rape. Programs to help victims and address their needs were also created.

Although studies have conflicting views as to the effectiveness of the rape reform outcomes, it can still be said that the reform was successful in starting the movement and creating the path towards further reforms of justice. Major milestones and challenging feats were obtained because of the reformers dedication and conviction. One of the major setbacks with the reform is the challenge of implementation, but with the identification of this weakness, further research and reform can be made to keep the movement progressing towards equality.

Training

Kinney, Bruns, Bradley, Dantzler, Weist (2008) found that many police agencies do not train officers in responding to sexual assault cases and that literature on sexual

assault training is scarce. Maryland is one of the few states that mandate all officers to be trained in responding to sexual assault cases (Kinney et al., 2008). Training is enforced by the Maryland Police Training and Correctional Commission. Maryland law requires sexual assault training every three years for one hour and officers must pass with a seventy percent (Kinney et al., 2008). The Sexual Assault Needs Assessment Project (SNAP) surveyed victims and officers to assess areas of improvement in service delivery to sexual assault victims. What was found was almost half of all victims surveyed were dissatisfied to very dissatisfied with the police interview. Victims were very dissatisfied with the attitudes of the police officers and recommended that the system can be improved by changing these negative attitudes. When victims have a negative experience with the police, it is harder for service providers to provide treatment to them.

Other training programs that have been created include: Illinois Criminal Sexual Assault Act (60 minute video), Dynamic and Preliminary Investigation of Sexual Assault (90 minute video), Sexual Assault Impact and Interview (60 minute video) (Lonsway, 1996). London Metropolitan Police Department developed a training program called SOIT which stands for Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (Jamel et al., 2008).

There are psychological effects on victims due to the legal system. By training officers how to effectively respond to victims, the harmful effects can be reduced. Studies have shown that training can be effective to improve skill level of detectives, positively influence their opinions towards women, broaden their perspectives on the different types of rape, and lessen victim blaming perspectives (Kinney et al., 2008). Sexual assault survivors reported having a positive interaction when the police adhered to the skills taught from the training (Kinney, 2008). The benefits of additional training as

found from survey include: More thorough interviewing skills, better understanding of existing resources, enhanced victim sense of comfort/safety, greater cooperation of victims, more thorough collection of evidence/statements, greater likelihood victim will testify in court, greater likelihood of full police investigations, greater likelihood of prosecution (Kinney et al., 2008, p. 96). Additionally, officers themselves stated the need for high quality instructors that are knowledgeable in the area of sexual assault to teach the training.

Lonsway (1996) examined the effectiveness of three different training programs since literature on police training is scarce. Lonsway stated concern for the lack of training for police officers on victim interviewing. The contact between the victim and police officer is critical due to the impact it can have on victims. Since the 1970s the criminal justice system has been criticized for how they treat victims. The problem did not start in the 1970s, but rather this is when people starting calling attention to the problem. The problem entailed the attitudes of the police officers because of the stereotypes they hold, victim blaming attitudes, and rape myth acceptance. Some trainings focused on changing attitudes but Lonsway found that attitudes were not changed through training but behaviors were. This is also backed by Lonsway's second study (2001) that found that training is effective in improving behavior but not cognitive or attitudinal outcomes. One reason why training did not change attitudes was because respondents knew the socially acceptable answers. Therefore, the acceptance of rape myths was low to begin with. Role play scenarios, also called behavioral simulations, proved to be very effective. Lonsway found that knowledge was learned after the

training program but was not retained weeks later; this is referred to as “attitudinal rebounding” (p.725).

It is important that efforts are placed on preventing retraumatization rather than treating it after the fact. Educating police is essential to modifying harmful behaviors exhibited towards rape victims. A video has been made to educate personnel treating rape victims on the possible harm they may be causing. The video is titled, Restoring Dignity: Frontline Response to Rape (Campbell, 1999). Although there has been a video made to educate police, the video also exhibits false beliefs of a “real” rape victim in that only victims of stranger rape were interviewed. This suggests an interesting finding that victims that are perceived to be “real” victims (raped by someone they did not know) may sometimes also be treated in a negative manner and not believed. Another minor yet significant step in preventing retraumatization is for sexual assault detectives to refrain from disclosing their opinion of whether they believe the victim until further investigations have been conducted.

Maier suggest that police officers be trained to interact with rape victims, as well as be trained to reframe their questions so they are not victim-blaming or being insensitive. Other suggestions include that the police officers take a seat while interviewing the victim instead of standing over them looking down, or that they slow down instead of being so aggressive, or permit victims to take breaks from questioning (Maier, 2008). It helps when rape victim advocates stress to the victim that it was not their fault and there is nothing a person can do to deserve being sexually assaulted (Maier, 2008).

An important aspect in the article by Jordan (2001) is the discussion of the tension between the police's responsibilities and the needs of the victims. After just being raped and traumatized, the victim needs consoling, reassurance, and validation that it was not her fault. The officers' job is not to provide counseling but yet to build a case to prosecute. What is important to note is that the police can still build their case but also be sensitive to the victims' needs. Approximately half of the victims felt satisfied with their experience with the police because the police validated them, were empathetic and sensitive to their needs (allowed them to take a break if needed), and informed them of the process and included them in the decision making process. Simple little behaviors such as these mentioned can make a huge difference and alleviate distress.

Kelly (1984) interviewed adult rape victims about their experience when reporting and asked for their recommendations for improvement. Victims were unsatisfied with the police for not providing information about their cases and not keeping them involved with decisions. Victims wanted to be kept informed of the status of the investigation and wanted to know if the assailant was arrested or still walking the streets. Many victims felt that the police's questions were inappropriate and in poor timing. Such inappropriate questions that were asked included, "Didn't you ask for it?" (Kelly, 1984, p. 72). Other comments made by the police included, "you should know better than to go out alone" (Kelly, 1984, p. 72). Victims felt that the timing of the investigation was also inappropriate. The victim just suffered a traumatic experience and the police want to interview them immediately after the assault. One victim explained, "I'm suffering and they want a statement. They asked me too many questions too soon" (Kelly, 1984, p. 72). Victims recommended that the police provide victims with information about their

case as well improve sensitivity towards the victims' emotional needs after the crime (Kelly, 1984).

Campbell & Johnson (1997) recommend further education for police officers regarding sexual assault and its effects. Martin and Powell (1995) recommend that scholars and advocates be unrelenting in pressuring elected officials and those in the criminal justice system to change. Criminal justice personnel aside from police officers also need training pertaining to sexual assault. Jamel et al. (2008) recommend training of police officers to include rape among male victims, as well as training on Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. They also state the important to develop trust and confidence between the victim and the police to ensure a proper investigation. With these small improvements, large strides will be made to rectify this problem and allow both women and men who have been sexually assaulted the respect and dignity they deserve.

Police Literature

The research on detective investigations is limited, yet, there has been research that identifies the shortcomings of detective work and provides recommendations. Muir (1977) wrote a book that examined the lives of police officers. Muir sought to answer the questions of what makes a good police officer and is it possible to avert the corruption of a policeman's soul and moral decline. From interviews, he analyzed how the work of a police officer affected them and what made a good police officer. Muir tailored Max Weber's (a German social theorist 1864-1920) model of a professional politician to help explain what makes a good police officer. He explained the difficulty of defining "good." The term good can mean different things to different people. For example, a police officer's supervisor will define good differently than a psychiatrist would.

Muir uses Weber's model because of the concepts of passion and perspective. Muir defines a "good" police officer as one that has both passion and perspective, "if he felt morally reconciled to using coercion and at the same time he reflected empathetically upon the condition of mankind, he measured up to being a professional, a good policeman" (Muir, 1977, p. 154). Passion was explained as the ability to integrate coercion into morals (Muir, 1977). The men that have passion do not feel guilt when they have to use coercion because they only use coercion under ethical terms. These men understand the necessity of using coercion for the good of the general welfare. Perspective was explained as intellectual objectivity (Muir, 1977). Instead of becoming cynical about the world and of mankind, those men that had perspective were able to understand mankind as varying degrees of good and evil. They did not see the world as all evil and corrupt.

Now that Muir described what makes a good policeman, or rather the "professional," Muir describes three types of non-professional policeman. These three non-professional policeman are: "1) enforcers—police who had passion, but lacked perspective; 2) reciprocators—police who had perspective, but lacked passion; and 3) avoiders—police who lacked both passion and perspective" (Muir, 1977, p. 55).

Sternross and Kleinman (1989) also looked at the emotional toll the work of a police officer could have. Police officers work in very stressful situations and are asked to handle people exhibiting a range of emotions. Those that work in high stress jobs that require them to manage their own or others' feelings, also known as emotional labor, often will experience burnout and become estranged from their feelings (Sternross & Kleinman, 1989). Some workers that experience emotional labor are not as affected

since they have what the authors call a “status shield.” This is when the workers have a high status with the type of work they do, such as diplomats, doctors, and judges, so others are less likely to challenge them.

Sternross and Kleinman (1989) expected detectives to feel more burnout from interacting with criminals than they would with victims, but the opposite was true, “The detectives felt burdened by the victims and energized by the criminals” (Sternross & Kleinman, 1989, p. 436). Detectives lack a status shield, yet, when interacting with criminals they in essence give themselves a status shield as they were participating in detective work that could have great benefits—convicting a criminal. It was also easier to discount the criminals’ emotional outburst because they were likely faking; whereas, detectives could not discount the victims’ emotional outburst because they felt this was genuine. Victims also placed a great deal of responsibility on the detectives. Detectives felt that they could not always live up to these expectations, especially when it came to providing emotional support.

Eck (1983) felt that police and detectives were relying too much on the victim to obtain information. It was found that detectives rely too much on the victims for information and yet victims were “the least likely sources to provide information leading to the arrest of the suspect” (Eck, 1983, executive summary xix). It was suggested that detectives rely more on witnesses, informants, other members of the department, and department records which are more likely to yield fruitful information. Eck’s research also disputed the claims that detective work was waste of time and tax payer’s money because they were ineffective in solving crimes (Eck, 1983). Eck found that detectives played an important role when solving crimes but that there was much room for

improvement. Interesting enough, Eck even recommended that they needed to improve their treatment of victims (and this was written in the 1980s). Eck strongly recommends that police change their methods when interviewing victims. Eck (1983) states, “The police, a service agency, should be concerned with being sensitive to the needs of victims. The police must avoid, at all cost, seeming to be calloused” (preface).

Eck further stresses that the practice of re-interviewing victims should be abandoned as it is unnecessary and harmful to the victim. Police feel that they will gather new information and leads by re-interviewing the victims but this was found to be a false assumption. Rather, by re-interviewing victims, the police are continually disrupting the victim’s life and preventing them from returning to a normal life. Eck (1983) provides the following recommendation instead of re-interviewing:

As an alternative, this report suggest that police officers do a thorough preliminary investigation, provide the sensitive help victims need, and elicit whatever information the victim can give. Further interviews of the victim by detectives should not be conducted unless the victim has additional new information to convey. (preface)

Police practice today still involves requiring victims to be interviewed several times. It can be assumed from reading the literature that many police agencies operate in isolation and do little to improve upon their services that are recommended by the public and scholars. Some police departments are trailblazers and are continually improving upon their services; yet, as research shows, police agencies are very slow and resistant to change (Wycoff & Cosgrove, 2001).

Further recommendations were offered from the literature such the importance and need for training, “Although training may be expensive, labor intensive and time consuming, the benefits derived may be substantial and greatly enhance an agency’s

capacity to address community concerns” (Wycoff & Cosgrove, 2001, p. VI6). Other management and process issues were addressed and recommendations were given such as assigning cases based on their likelihood of being solved. For example, cases can be divided into three types of categories: Cases that cannot be solved with a reasonable amount of investigative effort, cases that have already been solved by circumstances and little investigating effort is required, and cases that with a reasonable amount of effort can be solved (Eck, 1983). Whether it is research on psychology, public administration, criminal justice, or communication, the research appears to be united on the issue of victim treatment and sensitivity. Even police literature stresses the importance of sensitivity towards victims.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

With all the efforts that have been made to reform the harsh treatment of victims (e.g., the feminist movement, development of training programs, advocacy groups, published articles and studies, and news publicity) the question that needs to be asked at this point is why do victims still feel that they are being retraumatized while reporting? Years have gone by since changes have been made as a result of the feminist movement and efforts have continued throughout the years to reform this problem but with little success. This issue is not new to society; it has been on the public agenda since the 1970s with the feminist movement. The exploration of this issue through the literature has been on the victim and the victims' experiences. There is a critical lack of literature examining the detectives and their experiences.

Bouffard (2000) further identifies the lack of literature studying police investigative function and Frazier & Haney (1996) identify that very few psychological studies have examined the behavior and attitudes of the police. A recent article published in 2010 by Schwartz identified this gap in the literature and interviewed sexual assault detectives with the purpose of finding best practice methods. Schwartz concluded that there were no best practice methods worthy of widespread replication. What he found was that the detectives believed that majority of victims were lying and it was their job to uncover this deception. He also noted that the detectives were very resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods (i.e., officers were resistant to being sensitive and compassionate towards victims). Although Schwartz's article is a step in the right direction, the question he did not ask is, "Why?" Why are they so resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods?

If the problem lies with the detectives and efforts have been made to change their behavior, then it is necessary to include them in these efforts and understand their viewpoint and the challenges they face. Understanding their culture and the difficulties of the job will help explain the reasons behind their behaviors. Furthermore, learning about their culture will also provide explanations as to why some detectives are so resistant to change, especially when it comes to using victim sensitive interviewing methods.

Research Questions

The primary purpose of this study is to explain why sexual assault detectives are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. It is possible that because of this resistance victim insensitivity remains a problem to this day and why efforts of reform have been unsuccessful. Although Schwartz (2010) concluded that there were no best practice methods among the 49 detectives that he interviewed from 16 different police departments ranging from large cities to rural sheriff's departments, one cannot assume that this will be the case for the new agency of detectives that will be interviewed. Some detectives may actually use victim sensitive interviewing methods and others may not. If it appears they are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods, then more probing questions will be asked to uncover their reasons behind this resistance. In summary, two main questions will guide this study:

- 1) What type of investigating methods do sexual assault detectives use when interviewing victims?
- 2) Why do sexual assault detectives use aggressive interviewing methods and why are they resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods?

Drawing upon literature, Schwartz (2010) found that sexual assault detectives are very resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. It is necessary to first understand the challenges of being a sexual assault detective to fully understand why they may be resistant to using victim sensitive methods. It is important to understand their world and what they deal with day-in and day-out. There has been little opportunity for them to express their viewpoint and their reasoning. Challenges of their job do not justify investigative actions that traumatize victims but understanding their challenges when interacting with victims may provide some insight into why they are resistant to changing their methods. By identifying these challenges, efforts can be made to help them overcome these challenges with the hope of ultimately improving victim experience.

The challenges of sexual assault officers stem from two main issues that have been identified through literature. 1) The first issue was identified in an article written by Pace (2011) in which he described the case characteristics of all sexual assault cases reported to a large metropolitan police department during 2008-2010. What he found is that 36.5% of cases are dismissed due to victim issues. Victim issues can include the victim refusing to prosecute or becoming uncooperative, providing false contact information, or not returning calls. Compared to other categories for case disposition, this category has the highest percentage rate for case dismissal by far. This raises the question, why do victims report but then become uncooperative? This is one of the challenges that will be discussed during interviews through this research.

One assumption as to why victims become uncooperative may be due to the manner in which victims are being treated during the investigation process. 2) This is the second challenge that has been identified through a large literature base. Literature

reveals that many detectives do not use victim sensitive interviewing methods during investigations. Rather, they use methods that are harsh and callous. They blame the victim, accuse the victim of lying, threaten to cite them for filing a false report, as well as not return the victim's phone calls to inform them of the progress of the case. Many efforts have been made to improve the experience for victims when they report but these efforts are met with much resistance. It appears that some detectives that use these "callous" methods are resistant to changing their methods to be more victim sensitive so it still remains a major problem. The two research questions of this study will set the foundation for the detective interviews so the researcher can attempt to uncover the reasons detectives use the methods they do.

Methods

Qualitative Research. These questions are best answered through qualitative methods. Qualitative research consists of different methods that include an array of epistemological orientations, data gathering techniques, and analytic procedures (Weinberg, 2006). Qualitative methods are used to, "understand social phenomena and perspective of those involved and even possibly to change social conditions" (Glesne, 2006, p.4). Furthermore, the role of a qualitative researcher is to, "seek to understand and interpret how various participants in a social setting construct the world around them" (Glesne, 2006, p.4). One of the main reasons researchers use qualitative analysis is because "it allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.12). Unlike quantitative work, qualitative work is not for the purpose of making generalizations (Glesne, 2006) but rather seek to explain

phenomena. Qualitative approaches are appropriate to explore and uncover new avenues (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

A qualitative approach was selected as the most appropriate method for obtaining a context-rich description of the challenges detectives face when interacting with sexual assault victims. Qualitative work allows researchers to uncover hidden beliefs and values. This approach supports the desire to include the detectives' voices in this study and to capture the stories and meanings behind the experiences they face. Qualitative research focuses on quality rather than quantity (Miller & Brewer, 2003). Qualitative methods allow flexibility and freedom to further delve into important messages that may emerge through conversations with the detectives. It also helps to explain reasons and rationale for using certain methods during interviews with sexual assault victims.

Qualitative research is by its nature exploratory and allows for the researcher to have an open mindset to the variety of perspectives that may arise (Glesne, 2006). Exploratory research was necessary in this study because relevant variables have not been identified and so uncovering different interviewing methods and why they are utilized provides useful insight into why police practice has changed so little. For example, through my experiences on my ride-alongs with the sexual assault investigators, I was told the story of how detectives closed a case because they felt a young girl was lying due to her inconsistent story. Prior to hearing this story, I would not have known that a detective could close a case purely on their assumption that a girl is lying. The story that was told to me involved a nine year old girl who claimed her sister's boyfriend tried to rape her. Her sister was thirteen and the boyfriend was twenty-one. The detectives closed the case as unfounded immediately after interviewing her because at the start of

the interview she said the boyfriend tried to “stick it up her butt” and then during the same interview she changed her description to say that he did “stick it up her butt.” Due to this inconsistency in her story, the detectives concluded that she was lying and dismissed the case. The inconsistency in her interview was more salient to the detectives than this researcher would have expected. Researchers with knowledge of child abuse would know that it possible the girl was inconsistent in her story because she was embarrassed to disclose what happened to her initially but then later could have gained the courage to admit what really happened. Unless further investigations are conducted, one cannot assume guilt of lying because there may be other reasons why the young girl changed her story.

These are the stories that will emerge through qualitative work but not quantitative methods. This is why it is most appropriate to use qualitative methods for this study. The stories and examples are important to shed light on this issue. It is more appropriate at this stage to bring awareness to this issue through meaningful stories and examples rather than test hypotheses through quantitative work. The detectives appeared to dismiss the explanation that the young girl may have been frightened or embarrassed to admit what happened to her at the start of the interview. Through conversations with the detectives, the researcher will be able to capture these stories and further explain detective behavior. Qualitative work in this study will lead to strong detailed conclusions and recommendations.

Sample. Sexual assault detectives were chosen from a large metropolitan police department. There were four detectives on each squad at the main headquarters (with the exception of the graveyard shift squads which have two detectives for each squad) and a

total of six squads—two day squads, two swing squads, two graveyard squads. There is also an additional specialized squad located at the Child Assessment Center that has eight detectives. For the purpose of this study, the graveyard shift squads were not included because they have different functions than that of a sexual assault detective. The graveyard detectives are responsible for responding to a variety of different crimes and assisting patrol officers in triaging the calls.

Ultimately, twenty participants agreed to be interviewed for this study. This number was acceptable since the level of saturation was met with the twenty participants. At this point of the interviews, no new information was being learned. Of the twenty participants, 15 were men and 5 were women. The age ranged was from late twenties to late fifties. The average time an officer stays in the area of sex crimes is about two years. Many officers will transfer to a different area after a year because they quickly learn they would rather work in another detail. According to the detectives interviewed, many police officers feel they would not be emotionally cut out for the work that sexual assault detectives do. This is especially true with the child sexual assault cases because it is a highly emotionally draining job. Few detectives had been on the sex crimes unit for over 5 years.

The detectives were very guarded about providing personal information. Some detectives offered information about their private lives, such as marital status, children, and education level. Not all detectives offered this information. Among those that did share this information, the degrees ranged from high school education to graduate degrees. There was a mix between detectives that were single (never married), divorced, or married. Some had children and others did not. To protect the anonymity of the

participants, since this was a small sample size, specific information regarding types of degrees earned or how many participants were married vs. single will not be given. This information would make it easy to identify who participated in the study.

Procedures. Extensive interviews of the detectives provided a deeper understanding into their thoughts and motivations for certain behaviors and actions. Qualitative interviews were the most appropriate method for uncovering relevant themes and building a thorough, rich, detailed description of the reasons for using certain methods. Interviews also provided an understanding of police culture specifically within sexual assault units. The qualitative researcher, through interviews, is able to explain and understand “how they perceive it, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, talk about it with others” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.19).

Qualitative work takes time to build rapport and build trust so participants will feel comfortable to share their thoughts and feelings (Glesne, 2006). Efforts to build a rapport started months before the research actually took place. This was done through ride-alongs in which I was able to meet and talk with detectives. That I was able to meet and interact with most of the detectives prior to the study helped with participation involvement.

Before data collection officially began, an initial meeting was scheduled with all the sergeants from each squad. This gave me the opportunity to introduce myself, explain the research, answer questions, and schedule interview dates for each squad. From then on individual and group interviews were scheduled with the detectives and sergeants that were willing to participate. Interviews varied in time depending on the nature of the interview—whether it was an individual or group interview. Interviews

ranged from one hour to about three hours and were conducted in a private office.

Interviews were not audio recorded since many officers would be hesitant to participate if they felt they could be identified; therefore, notes were taken during interviews and expanded into fuller notes immediately following the interviews.

Police officers are very guarded and distrusting of the public so having the opportunity to interview them was quite rare. Given the nature of qualitative research, it is sometimes necessary to be flexible. This was true for this study. It was anticipated that individual interviews would be conducted, however, it was found that some detectives were hesitant to be interviewed separately and preferred to be interviewed in pairs or as a group. Once this was discovered, detectives were given the option how they preferred to be interviewed. Most detectives (13 detectives) agreed to be interviewed individually, two detectives preferred to be interviewed together, and one squad preferred to be interviewed as a squad which included five detectives. I was given the opportunity to do a ride-along with the squad that preferred to be interviewed all together prior to conducting the group interview. During this ride-along I was able to ask questions to three of the detectives on an individual basis. So although they were interviewed formally as a squad, I had the opportunity to interview three of the five detectives individually before the group interview.

Interviews were guided by the questions from the interviewing instrument created for this study. This instrument can be found under Appendix A. Detectives were asked to talk about a variety of different types of cases that they worked on. For example, detectives have the option of closing a case under different exploratory categories such as victim issues, unfounded, submitted, and so forth. These categories were used as

prompts to facilitate discussion among detectives and to ensure that a wide scope of case scenarios were discussed.

To explain why some detectives are resistant to using victim sensitive methods, it was first necessary to understand their world. This involved understanding their culture, their perspective, and the job itself. To gain this comprehensive understanding, three critical areas were explored during interviews: The job, the cases, and the detective. The *job* included the process of how they were selected to be sexual assault detectives, the training that is involved, and the process of investigating sexual assault crimes. The *cases* provided examples of the challenges detectives faced when investigating crimes as well as provided an opportunity to understand their decision making process and explain why they choose certain methods and actions during investigations. The interviews of the *detectives* provided a deeper understanding of their thought process, their beliefs and how these beliefs were shaped, how the job affects them and how they manage these effects.

It is necessary to be flexible when doing qualitative research and this flexibility was practiced during interviews. I started interviews by asking questions from the interviewing instrument created for this study but was flexible to explore other avenues (i.e., new knowledge, interesting themes/issues) that were presented during interviews. I facilitated and guided the interviews but was also open for participants to share additional information they thought was pertinent to this study. This was the best method to understand the challenges of detective work and the reasons some are resistant to sensitive interviewing methods.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is like peeling back the layers of an onion. The researcher develops a deeper understanding of the data layer by layer in order to determine its core meaning (Creswell, 2009). Analysis occurs even while open-ended data is still being gathered. The researcher continually takes notes, jots down thoughts, and exams the data for new knowledge that may change the course of the study (Creswell, 2009). Traditional analysis of qualitative data involves collecting data, analyzing it for common ideas and perspectives, and identifying four to five themes. Throughout this process the researcher continually notes their thoughts about the information.

Analysis for this study followed six common steps outlined by Creswell. First, the data that was collected through intensive interviewing was transcribed from written notes to type written notes. This involved extending brief notes into a more detailed summary immediately following the interviews. Second, once the notes were typed I read through the data to get a general sense of the information. This process of understanding and thinking about possible themes also occurred during interviews. This was necessary so that I was prepared to ask questions not previously thought of when new information was revealed. It was vital to be flexible to explore different avenues that were revealed during interviews so that a deeper understanding of the research questions could be obtained.

Third, I organized the data into possible themes by cutting and pasting data into groups under the theme titles. These themes became evident even as interviews were taking place because I was continually thinking about similarities between the

participants' answers as they were being interviewed. The cases that were shared during interviews were each given a title representing how that particular case supported the detectives' opinions on using aggressive techniques. Detectives also shared advice on prevention strategies of sexual assault which was not anticipated before starting the interviews but was found to be important information to include in this study since their advice supports their reasons for using aggressive interviewing methods with victims. The prevention advice was typed and organized into groups based on the target audience (i.e., advice to adults, advice to parents).

Fourth, the data was analyzed based on the newly formed categories and detailed subthemes were developed to explain each category. Fifth, the data once organized was examined to explain how the themes pertain to the research questions. Sixth, the data was interpreted to explain lessons that were learned from the data which is presented in the discussion section of this dissertation. This stage also involved utilizing literature and theories to support the data to find consistencies and/or inconsistencies found in the literature in comparison to the findings. This final step concluded by recommending additional questions that should be asked that emerged from the data and findings.

Reliability, Validity, and Generalizability. Researchers must consider the concepts of reliability, validity, and generalizability in their research. Qualitative research does not assume the same meaning of these definitions as they are defined by quantitative research. For example, Creswell (2009) explains the differences of these concepts as they are applied to the different research methods:

Validity does not carry the same connotations in qualitative research as it does in quantitative research, nor is it a companion of reliability (examining stability or consistency of responses) or generalizability (the external validity of applying results to new settings, people, or samples). p.190

Creswell further explains that qualitative validity refers to the researcher taking certain procedures to check for accuracy. To ensure validity, the data was recorded with as much description and detail reported by the participants as possible. Qualitative reliability refers to the researcher using the same approach that is consistent and accepted among other researchers and projects. The research for this study followed the traditional qualitative methods of collecting and analyzing data to ensure reliability. The steps that were taken to analyze the data were also documented.

Generalizability should be mentioned because often individuals will assume that qualitative work should be able to generalize to the greater population as in quantitative research. This is not so since qualitative inquiry “is not to generalize findings to individuals, sites, or places outside of those under study” (Creswell, 2009, p.193). Qualitative research is based on particularity of the specific site studied rather than generalizability. Generalizing in qualitative work refers to generalizing the findings of one study to a new study or generalizing results to a broader theory which was done in this current study.

Ethical Issues. As outlined by Chambliss & Schutt (2006) ethical issues that need to be addressed include voluntary participation, subject well-being, informed consent, and confidentiality. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) upon reviewing documents detailing the procedures of this study granted approval for this research to be conducted. Agency approval was also given from the agency that agreed to participate in this study. Furthermore, each individual participant also agreed to be interviewed for this study. All participants of the study were informed at the recruiting stage that participation is voluntary. They were also informed of the purpose of the study and were given a copy of

the informed consent form. There was minimal risk to subject well-being since the study was focusing on healthy adult individuals. Participants were not required to answer questions that they were uncomfortable answering. Participants' identities are kept completely anonymous and answers are not linked with any identifying information.

Theoretical Framework

A feminist theoretical framework will be used to guide the qualitative analysis of this study. Feminist Social Theory examines the subordination of women through male power which is derived through social, economic, and political arrangements (Jackson & Jones, 1998). Police departments, which predominately employ male officers, hold considerable power and may be seen by feminists groups as a means of suppressing women's rights by denying them justice from violent acts such as domestic abuse and sexual assault. Feminist Social Theory asserts that oppression was built into the structure of society where men worked and women were responsible for childcare (Jackson & Jones, 1998). This was seen as a natural division of labor because of women's biological structure and ability to bear children. Feminists have felt that because of women's biological makeup they are meant to do nothing more than "reproduce and serve men sexually and domestically" (Dworkin, 1996, p.59). Men were seen as the dominate gender and were given power over women in the work industry and therefore had the power to make decisions that affected women.

Although the feminist movement in the 1970s made great strides, it was not until 1994 that the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act made it illegal for a man to rape his wife (Jackson & Jones, 1998). Feminist Jurisprudence literature examines how the legal

system further suppresses women's rights, as was seen in the previous example that it was not until the 1990s that women were awarded sexual autonomy from their husbands. Catherine Alice MacKinnon, an American feminist, argued that through laws women are kept in their suppressed state. For example, McKinnon felt that the First Amendment (free speech) is the means to keep women silent by allowing pornography to be protected under this amendment which reduces "women's sexuality to a projection of male fantasy" (Jackson & Jones, 1998, p. 66).

Feminist scholars have identified the problems that exist within the legal system when investigating sexual assault reports. Scholars have asserted that forced and coerced sex are the same, and yet, coerced sex is not seen as rape (Kelly, 1988). Kelly (1988) created a continuum consisting of consensual sex to altruistic sex (women who engage in sex because they feel sorry for the man or guilty for saying no) to compliant sex (where the consequences of not having sex are worse than saying no) (Kelly, 1998). Altruistic and compliant sex are considered forms of pressurized sex. Altruistic sex can occur when the man expects sex in return for buying the woman dinner or paying her rent, and so forth. This is when the female feels pressured into having sex because she feels obligated or guilty if she does not. Feminists believe that women are socialized to fulfill the sexual needs of men, Kelly (1988) asserts:

The general socialization of women to place the needs of others before their own and naturalistic models of sexuality where needs (usually male) are given the status of biological urges or drives result in many women internalizing a sense of responsibility for men's sexual pleasure. (p. 200)

Due to this socialization, women feel obligated to engage in sexual activity and are afraid to say no because they fear the consequences. Men also assume right of access to a female's body once they have engaged in sex. The legal system and much of society

does not consider coerced sex a type of rape because of socialization. Many rape laws were redefined after the 1970 feminist movement to include a lesser focus on force and provide women the protection against coerced sex; yet, it is seen through low prosecution rates that coerced sex is not validated as a form of rape.

This feminist perspective will be used as a lens to analyze the information gathered from the detectives that will be participating in this study. Feminist theories assert that women are continually oppressed to their subordinate state through the power that men hold within society that govern many of the decisions relating to women. Such power can be seen within police departments, which are predominately male based, and therefore may be hindering justice for women after being victimized by a man. Men hold much power over the sexuality of women. By denying women the right to prosecute the men that victimize them, they are then denying women their autonomy to their bodies. Instead, police are keeping women in a continual state of subordination. Once the interviews are conducted with the detectives, the feminist perspective will be reassessed for applicability within the police department participating in this study.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The following information is based on the interviews of 20 sexual assault detectives and sergeants. This information is based on their opinions and is not necessarily fact. This information is based solely on the answers they provided and does not represent the author's opinion. This paper seeks to represent the detectives' perceptions of sexual assault cases and allow them a voice since law enforcement has been underrepresented in the literature on the issue of victim treatment. For this reason, their opinions are of value to the body of literature so that both sides of the issue (i.e., victim treatment) can be represented.

This section will address the two research questions of this study, which are: 1) What type of investigating methods do sexual assault detectives use when interviewing victims? and 2) Why do sexual assault detectives use aggressive methods and why are they resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods? Furthermore, this section will address the underlining assumptions held by detectives as they compare to available demographic statistics for the participating police department. Findings as they pertain to victim cooperation will also be presented, as well advice from detectives on how to prevent sexual assault.

Research Question #1

What types of investigating methods do sexual assault detectives use when interviewing victims?

The first research question asked: What types of investigating methods do sexual assault detectives use when interviewing victims? A study by Swartz (2010) found all detectives resistant to using victim sensitive methods, but this could not be assumed for

the new sample of detectives in this study that were interviewed. This question was answered by exploring the detectives' attitudes about sexual assault and the methods utilized when interacting with victims.

It was found among the participants of this study that there were indeed detectives that used aggressive interviewing methods. The detectives who appeared to use aggressive methods met four main criteria. First, they believed that most victims were lying. Second, they felt the majority of victims brought the assault upon themselves and therefore were not legitimate victims. Thirdly, they had less patience and tolerance towards victims and felt most were wasting police time. Lastly, they disclosed they found it efficient to confront a victim directly and challenge them with statements like: "You're lying, you brought it upon yourself, you weren't really raped, or the suspect doesn't deserve to go to jail. They shared that they may also use harsh and graphic language such as saying to the victim that "this is bullshit" or "you're fucking lying to me."

The information for categorization of detective style was gathered strictly through interviews with the detectives and by the answers they gave, not through observations of the detectives interviewing the victims. Therefore, it must be noted that it was possible for detectives to downplay their style when providing their answers and they might be more aggressive in reality than they led on. With that said, all of the detectives that were interviewed seemed to be very forthcoming and honest with their answers. Most were probably on the more guarded side but the detectives that used aggressive methods openly admitted to being aggressive and were not ashamed of this as they felt they had justifiable reasons for using these methods.

Tables 1 shows a comparison of interviewing methods utilized by detectives and Table 2 compares the differences of beliefs among detectives. On one side are the methods and beliefs utilized by the non-aggressive detectives and on the opposite side are the methods and beliefs utilized by the most aggressive detectives. It was found that few detectives fall solely within the non-aggressive (5 detectives) or most aggressive (5 detectives) side. Most detectives (10 detectives) fell within the middle which would be the moderate category.

Detectives that fell within the moderate category for aggressive methods alluded to using aggressive tactics, yet, also expressed feelings of needing to be careful with victims so to not further traumatize them. These detectives used a combination of both non-aggressive and aggressive methods. For example, a couple of detectives categorized in the moderate category stated how they are careful not to further traumatize victims but also gave statements of questions they asked that could be perceived as placing blame on victims or downplaying the severity of the assault. Such questions may include, “Now you do realize he [the accused] could be sent to jail for the rest of his life,” or, “I don’t understand, if you weren’t interested in sex then why would you do that?” These questions may not be intended to downplay the seriousness of the assault or place blame on victims, but nonetheless, victims may perceive the questions as such.

Those that fell in the most aggressive category openly admitted that they are at times aggressive towards victims. The interviewing methods used by the non-aggressive detectives will be explained and compared to the methods used by the most aggressive detectives.

Table 1. Styles of investigating

Style A	Style B
Non-Aggressive	vs. Aggressive
Investigating Methods	
Calm approach- tone of voice is steady, neutral	Aggressive approach- tone of voice is harsh with accusing underlining tones
Sits down during interview	Remains standing
Takes the time necessary to get the information needed	Rushes the interview
Allows victim to take a short break from questioning if necessary	Does not allow victims to take breaks from questioning
Monitors victims' emotional state- such as handing them a Kleenex if needed	Disregards victims' emotional state
Establishes safe talking environment- shows empathy by stating they understand it is difficult and uncomfortable to share personal and graphic details but reassures the victim that nothing will shock them because they have heard it all and informs victim the importance of such details to make a strong case	Threatens the victim that they will be cited for filing a false report if they are caught lying and are given the option to leave right then before the tape recorder starts playing
Slow to make assumptions (or does not make assumptions)	Quick to make assumptions
Refrains from sharing opinions, even if they think that the victim may be lying	Tells victims that they are lying
Refrains from blaming the victim	Tells victim that they were stupid for putting themselves in that situation
Refrains from telling victim that they put themselves in danger	Asks victims if they really think they didn't deserve it
Stays neutral and refrains from taking sides	Asks victims if they really want the perpetrator to go to jail for such a minor crime
Explores all possible avenues when investigating the case	Does not follow up on leads
Does not drop a case until all avenues have been explored	Quick to drop cases
Keeps the victim informed about case/progress	Does not keep the victim informed about case
Returns phone call from victims	Does not return phone calls from victims

Table 2. Comparisons of beliefs among detectives

Style A	Style B
Non-Aggressive	vs. Aggressive
Beliefs of Rape	
Low rape myth acceptance	High rape myth acceptance
Understands that it is possible some victims are lying, but does not think that majority of victims are lying	Believes that majority of victims are lying
Feels victims are not to blame for the assault	Feels that victims are to blame for the assault
Does not feel that the victim deserved to be raped	Believes that the victim deserved to be raped because of the situation they put themselves in
Believes rape is what the law states it to be	Does not believe that “simple rape*” is rape
Generally wants to help victims	Annoyed and frustrated with victims
Does not jump to conclusions	Immediately sides with the accused and does not feel it is fair for them to be put in jail for simple rape
Understands that if a women says “No” to an act and is forced to do it, it is rape even if she consented to other acts	Believes that if a victim consents to one sexual act, they consent to it all

*Note: Simple Rape is referred to in the literature to mean rape by an acquaintance with no physical injuries inflicted, as opposed to Aggravated Rape which is rape by a stranger that inflicted physical injuries.

Non-Aggressive Investigating Style

The non-aggressive detectives are the detectives that take a calm empathetic approach and believe that the best way to gain information from the victim is to build a strong rapport with the victim. These detectives stay unbiased throughout the interview and avoid making any assumptions until evidence has been found to support otherwise. These detectives are generally always calm and collected with the victims and rarely ever confront the victim in a hostile manner. Their priorities consist of: 1) staying neutral until the evidence is gathered, 2) bringing justice to those that offend, and 3) protecting

the victim from further harm and trauma. Their definition of rape closely follows that of the legal definition.

Although these detectives take a non-aggressive approach, this does not mean they lack the ability to confront a victim if necessary. They are still police officers that worked the streets for years dealing with the so-called “bad guys” before becoming a detective. They have the necessary experience to make judgment calls and can discern if someone may be lying to them. So although they have a calm approach, they feel they are not easily manipulated by victims that may be lying. These detectives have the ability to be the tough cop when necessary, yet, can switch hats and be the nice cop when they are dealing with a victim.

These detectives (non-aggressive) feel that a good detective is someone that is innately a people-person and has good communication skills. The detectives stated that the personality of the detective can have a huge impact on the cases they investigate. They feel that a good detective has the personality to effectively interact and communicate with all different types of people with different personality types, cultures, religions, and backgrounds. They feel that it takes skill to be able to have a victim feel comfortable enough to talk to the detective about very detailed and personal things. They place much emphasis on the victim and believe that the victim’s account of the incident is key in building a successful case. The non-aggressive detectives place much emphasis on victim treatment and collecting evidence; whereas, the most aggressive detectives place greater emphasis on proving that the victim is lying.

Non-aggressive detectives felt that if a detective lacks the ability to show compassion towards victims then they should not be a detective in the sexual assault unit.

They felt that if a detective had derogatory thoughts or beliefs about women then they should not be sexual assault detectives because these beliefs affect their cases. They have a passion for investigating sex crimes and care about the work they do. They believe that a good detective will be committed to their job and invest their time and energy to help others. The methods of the non-aggressive detectives will be discussed further.

Build rapport. The non-aggressive detectives place much emphasis on treating victims fairly and making victims feel comfortable to disclose details about the incident. They feel that the best way to get the most details from the victim is by building a rapport with the victims. They establish a rapport by treating all victims fairly and equally. They make efforts to make the victim feel comfortable to talk about details of the assault and refrain from judging and blaming the victims. These detectives are attentive to the victims' needs and caution them about the intrusive nature of the interview.

The detectives feel it is important to build a rapport with the victims before the interview starts. As mentioned previously, detectives said that the victim is the most important person in the case. According to the detectives without the victim's testimony and cooperation the case is unlikely to be prosecuted. It is thus important that the detective builds a rapport with the victim so they feel comfortable to disclose all details.

The detectives felt that there are certain things a detective can do to increase the likelihood of conducting a successful victim interview. This process starts before the actual interview begins. The detectives prep the victim before starting the interview. This is where the detectives introduce themselves and attempt to build a rapport with the victim. Detectives explain the criminal justice process, caution about the nature of the

interview and the invasive questions that are necessary to ask, as well as emphasize the importance of being completely truthful.

Calm and unthreatening demeanor. The non-aggressive detectives stated that the detective's demeanor is important when making the victim feel comfortable enough to disclose all information about the assault. Detectives should always stay calm and appear non-threatening. They should keep their tone of voice calm and neutral and avoid using negative undertones. Negative undertones include comments, grunts, or sighs that lead victims to believe they are being judged, blamed, or not believed. The detectives should phrase questions in a way that does not send negative messages as though they are blaming the victim. Detectives stated that they may say the following things to elicit more information without using confrontational tones, these statements are, "tell me more about that" or "walk me through that one more time."

Detectives' nonverbal messages can be just as important as the words they are speaking. For example, victims may think that a detective is not believing them or judging them if the detective is hovering over them and making facial expressions of disgust or disbelief. The non-aggressive detectives will control their facial expressions and will sit during the interview for this reason. Detectives believe that victims will refrain from talking when they feel what they are saying is shocking the detective or if they feel they are being judged.

Explain legal process and caution about nature of interview. The non-aggressive detectives will explain to the victims the purpose of their job which is to stay unbiased. They have to balance the responsibility of protecting the victim and protecting someone who is wrongly accused. Detectives stated they are responsible for collecting

evidence to build a case for prosecution if someone has committed a crime, but, they are responsible to clear a person's name if a crime did not occur.

Detectives will explain the legal process to the victims. Some victims may not understand the process and may not be aware of the stages and procedures that occur if the case is brought to court. Detectives felt that many victims drop out of the process because they are not aware of the procedures. Victims may think all they have to do is tell their story and then they are done. Detectives stated that the process is very emotional and intense and many victims are unaware and unprepared for it.

Detectives forewarn victims about the invasive and personal questions that are necessary to ask. They inform victims that it is just the nature of the interview and that the questions are not intended to pass judgment or blame the victim. Very personal questions are asked to understand what happened and to gather evidence. The invasive questioning is to prepare the victims for the questions that will be asked by the defense attorneys if their case advances that far in the process. The defense attorney will try to punch holes in the victim's story so the detectives will try to gather all possible information to avoid discrepancies. The invasive questioning is necessary to build a strong case.

Caution about lying. Detectives emphasize the importance of being truthful and caution the victims about lying. They emphasize the fact that they have heard it all and will not make any judgments regarding the victim's behavior. Detectives reiterate that nothing the victim tells them will shock them. Detectives tell the victim prior to starting the interview that it is very important that they are honest with them even if they engaged in illegal activities such as drug use or prostitution. Detectives stated victims will not get

in trouble by the law if they were involved in illegal activity during the time of the assault because the detective's main goal is to investigate the crime of sexual assault so victims are strongly advised to be completely honest. The detectives will stress that one little lie can ruin the victim's credibility and their case. Detectives believe that if they build a rapport with the victim to help them feel comfortable then the victim is more likely to trust the detective and will be more forthcoming with all details about the assault. This in return saves time and energy on the detective's part if the victim is truthful from the beginning.

Make the victim feel comfortable. Detectives must overcome barriers to help victims feel comfortable to disclose all details. Many victims are intimidated by the police and are uncomfortable disclosing to them. Detectives stated that in certain cultures, people learn from a young age to fear the police and so some victims are anxious and untrusting of the detectives. Detectives attempt to ease their fears and anxieties by appearing less intimidating and having a calm demeanor. The detectives wear civilian clothing (rather than their police uniform) and conceal their gun. They said this helps to appear less intimidating to the victims.

Detectives stated victims are sometimes reluctant to talk because they were involved in illegal activity at the time of the assault. As mentioned previously, detectives inform the victim that they are concerned only about the assault and are not concerned about any illegal activity they may have engaged in. The detectives really mean what they say when they inform the victim they are not concerned with any illegal activity they were engaged in, unless it is a serious crime that they cannot ignore.

Some detectives said they try to make victims feel as though they are the most important person at that moment. Some detectives use what they know about the victim (e.g., such as where they are from) to engage in simple conversation to help establish a rapport. Detectives feel that engaging in simple conversation before asking the very detailed and personal questions helps make the victim feel more comfortable sharing such details. The detectives stated the importance of being cognizant that victims will likely feel uncomfortable to disclose such graphic details about the assault. The detectives will be immune to hearing such graphic details due to the nature of their work, but victims will likely find it difficult to disclose such details. One thing that detectives will often say to ease their discomfort is, “Nothing you tell me will shock me or is something I haven’t heard before.”

Attentive to the victims’ needs. The detectives said that to establish rapport with the victims they paid attention to their needs. The detectives allow victims time to calm down if necessary and allow them to take short breaks from the interview. The detectives stated the importance of actively and attentively listening to the victim and the importance of not being rude or pushy. Detectives felt that the victim is more likely to disclose all details when the detective appears empathetic and nonjudgmental. Detectives said it is important not to force victims to talk because it is their choice if they want to report what happened. Detectives give victims a choice to continue by asking, “Would you like to continue?” Detectives stated that they will not put the mental health and the wellbeing of the victim secondary by forcing a disclosure.

After the interview. After the interview the detectives provided the victims with their work email address so victims can contact them with any questions or concerns.

They ensured that the victim received the appropriate referrals from the Rape Crisis Center, counseling services, and/or information on temporary restraining orders. The detectives continued the investigation and followed up on all leads. Detectives interviewed as many people as they could to make sure that the victim's story was consistent. The detectives stated the importance of not jumping to conclusions before they gather all of the evidence. Detectives will ensure that the victims know the status of their case and detectives will email updates to the victims.

These methods used by non-aggressive detectives are vastly different from the methods used by the most aggressive detectives. How a victim interview is conducted by the detectives that use an aggressive interviewing style will be outlined next.

The Most Aggressive Investigating Style

Detectives that take an aggressive approach believe that most victims are lying and it is their job to uncover this deception. Their idea of rape does not closely parallel that of the legal definition; if a victim made poor choices leading up to the assault, then they are less likely to consider this rape. This is discussed in further detail at a later section. Their priorities are to expose liars and protect the wrongly accused person. These detectives put more emphasis and importance on protecting the wrongly accused than on protecting the victim. If a victim is a true victim, by their standards, then they are capable of being empathetic and will handle the victim with care. A "true" victim by their standards is a victim that did not contribute to the assault in anyway by engaging in such behaviors such as promiscuity, high alcohol consumption, and/or drug use. Often judgments about whether or not the victim is a "true" victim is made prior to the investigation being completed. If it is a "true" victim then they are very careful, in their

perception, not to add to the victim's trauma. Their main priority then is to catch the suspect. So if they are dealing with a "true" victim, then their methods are similar to those of the non-aggressive detectives.

The detectives that use an aggressive approach reported a belief that 95-98% of victims are lying so their style of investigating is most often an aggressive approach. The main difference between the non-aggressive and most aggressive detectives is that the non-aggressive detectives believe it is best to take a calm and empathetic approach to gain information from the victim, whereas, the aggressive detectives believe that a stern and unsympathetic approach is best.

Stern demeanor. The aggressive detectives believe that the best technique to uncover deception is to be very direct and upfront with the victims. They do not want the victim to think they are there to counsel and provide them sympathy, especially since they feel most victims are lying. They make it known from the beginning what their purpose is and that they will not tolerate being lied to.

Strongly caution about lying. The aggressive detectives start the victim interviews differently than the non-aggressive detectives. Whereas the non-aggressive detectives will spend time on building a rapport before they start an interview, the most aggressive detective are very direct and to the point with victims. These detectives do not want the victim to believe that the detective is there to be their friend to console and comfort them. These detectives believe most victims are lying and therefore confront the victims at the very beginning of the interview.

Detectives give victims the option of leaving before the interview officially starts. They may say, "Before I start recording this interview I am going to allow you to leave

right now with no questions asked if you are intending to lie to me. Otherwise, once the recorder starts if I catch you lying I will cite you for filing a false report.” Detectives feel they are being nice to the victims by allowing them to leave without being cited if they were intending to lie. They feel that they are being kind by allowing the victims to walk away without being cited for filing a false report if they were planning to lie.

They tell the “alleged” victim they do not care how they behaved but if they were pressured into reporting or know that it was not really an assault then they need to leave now. Detectives assure them they will not tell their family members or friends they walked out but it would be best if they leave before the recorder starts. They feel they are being benevolent because they allow victims to leave without judgment if victims made poor choices leading up to the assault. Detectives stated that they do not want their time wasted by false victims when they can spend their time on legitimate cases in which the suspect is a true threat to the public. Some detectives may explicitly say this to the victims if they feel the victim is lying.

Confront victims. The aggressive detectives confront the victims about their actions or the validity of their story. Detectives reported using strategies like listing the actions the victim took prior to the incident and implying they were responsible for the assault. Some will ask the victims directly, “Given everything you told me, do you still want to proceed with the investigation?” Detectives said in their opinion some victims back out at this point once they realize what they did wrong. The victims do not vocalize this, but the detectives assume they realize what they did wrong when they leave the room and discontinue the investigation. Therefore, it is possible that the victims leave for other reasons such as the detective’s aggressive interviewing method.

The aggressive detectives speak their opinions and tell the victims what they did was stupid, or, they say, “What did you think was going to happen?” Sometimes, if the victim has tried their patience, they will forcefully accuse them of lying by saying, “You’re fucking lying to me,” or “Quit wasting my time.” The aggressive detectives feel that victims get mad and belligerent at them because once the victims start talking they start judging themselves. Victims are guided to realize the mistakes they made and that it was not really rape. Victims start accusing the detectives of judging them when in reality they are really judging themselves, according to the detectives. Detectives deflect negative reactions of victims by arguing that victims are mad at themselves and not at the detectives.

Protect the suspect. Detectives remind victims of the seriousness of their accusations. They remind victims what they are doing can ruin someone's life and their accusations are not to be taken lightly. They warn them against making someone go to jail because the victim made a poor decision. They imply what happened does not warrant the accused to go to jail. Some detectives stated they do not like when victims state that they were drunk and so therefore could not have consented. These detectives feel that victims could have indeed consented and probably did but cannot remember doing so. These detectives ask, “Are you really willing to send this guy to jail when you can’t even remember if you consented or not?”

Belligerent victims. Detectives may switch with each other if they feel another detective has a personality that suits the suspect or victim’s personality. Victims may respond to one person but not another, so detectives may have to switch depending on how the victim is responding. Detectives take breaks or switch with another detective if

the victim is trying their patience. If a victim becomes uncontrollable and is cursing and yelling then the detectives leave the room for a few minutes. Detectives tell the victim that they will not continue the interview until they can be nice. Although this does not seem like an aggressive technique used by the detectives, this information was still included because the nonaggressive detectives did not state that they have to do this. It seemed that the aggressive detectives have more issues with belligerent victims than the nonaggressive detectives. This may be due to their aggressive interviewing methods which may cause victims to become belligerent.

After the interview. Unlike the non-aggressive detectives, these detectives do not like to be bothered by victims after the interview. Once the interview is over, if the detectives feel they were not a legitimate victim, they are less likely to follow up with the victim or answer their calls. Whereas the non-aggressive detectives ensure the victim meets with the Rape Crisis Advocate, some of the more aggressive detectives stated that they do not like the Rape Crisis Advocates to be present. They feel the advocates provide sympathy and will bias the interview. Only if they feel the person is a legitimate victim will they continue to investigate and collect evidence.

It can be seen that there are two vastly different interviewing methods being utilized within this department. Some detectives focus on victim treatment and building rapport, whereas, other detectives focus on exposing the liar. A discussion on detecting deception will be discussed next since this was a major theme found during interviews. Whether it is a non-aggressive detective or the most aggressive detective, they have all been lied to, but the most aggressive detectives feel that as high as 95-98% of victims are

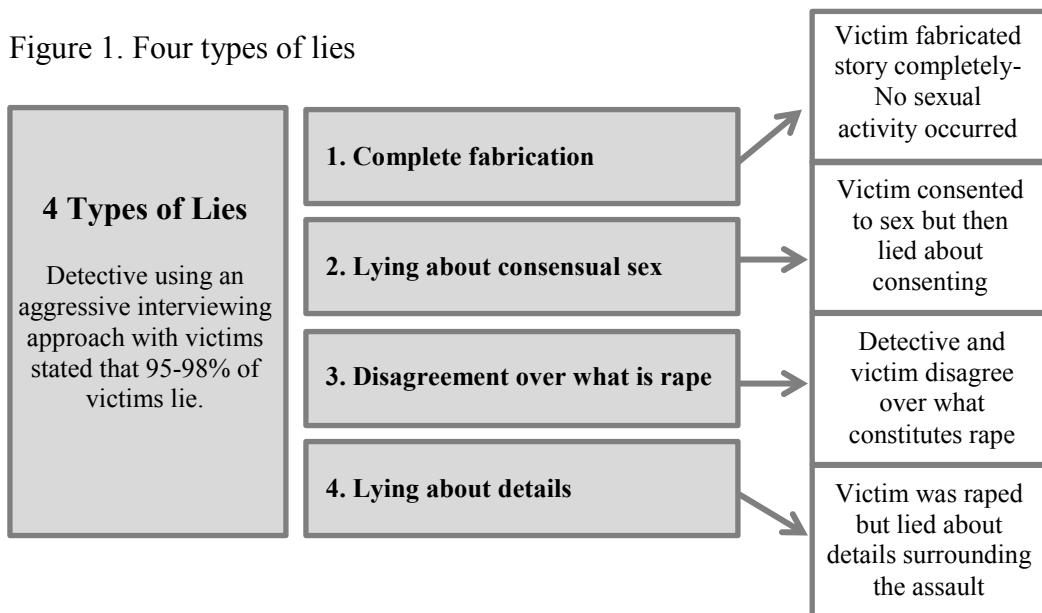
lying. What a detective means when they say a victim is lying will be discussed, as well as motives for lying and methods used by the detectives to uncover deception.

Detecting Deception

All detectives agreed that one of the major challenges of their job was detecting deception. All detectives have encountered a victim that has lied to them. This can make a detective feel calloused, unsympathetic, and cautious of other victims. Many detectives stated that they felt between 95-98% of victims are lying. Since the percentage was so high, I investigated this claim further and discovered that when a detective said a victim was lying, there were actually four different possibilities for what they meant. The four main themes that emerged from interviews are organized into four types of lies which include incidences involving: 1) complete fabrication, 2) consensual sex, 3) disagreement of what constitutes as rape, and 4) lying about details of the assault. These four types of lies will be discussed in detail.

Four types of lies. It should be noted that not all detectives thought that 95-98% of victims are lying. Some detectives stated that about 50% of victims are lying, but the majority of detectives stated the higher percentage. This was especially true for the aggressive detectives. The four types of lies can be briefly explained as follows. First, the victim fabricated their story entirely and was not actually raped and no sexual activity occurred. Second, sexual activity occurred but it was consensual. Third, the victim felt they were raped but the detectives did not believe the incident was rape. Lastly, a victim was raped but lied about details surrounding the assault. In addition to types of lies, detectives expressed common themes on their interpretation of victims' reasons for lying.

Figure 1. Four types of lies



1. Complete fabrication. A complete fabrication means the person fabricated the story entirely and there was no sexual activity. According to the detectives it is rare that a confession of lying is made by the victim but it has occurred a few times, such as in the following case examples. The first case example involved two females that were in their house when they claimed a man broke in and tried to sexually assault them. One girl was able to run out the door, but the second girl was attacked by the perpetrator. The second girl was able to defended herself and get away by jumping out her window (which was on the first floor) before he was able to remove all her clothing and sexually assault her. She then ran half naked to a neighbor's house to call 911.

This case initially had all the evidence of being a legitimate case. A stranger broke in and the females fought their way out of the house. One girl ran half naked to the neighbor's house which seemed consistent if someone just fought off an attack. Why

else would someone run half naked outside? As the investigation continued, the evidence was not adding up. After running a report on the alleged victims, the police discovered that one of the girls had reported being sexually assaulted just two months prior. Now the detectives were suspicious of the allegations, they asked the second girl to show them how she left the house. She took them to her room, showed them the dresser that was right in front of the window, and explained how she jumped on the dresser to get out the window. The detectives told her to actually jump on the dresser and show them how she got out. The girl was hesitant but proceeded to comply.

After her attempt to jump out the window, her hand and footprint marks were left in the film of dust on the dresser. Items on the dresser were also now out of place. Prior to her showing the detectives how she jumped out the window, the dresser looked undisturbed—no print marks and everything in place. The detectives confronted her by asking how she managed to jump out the window without touching anything. The girl became very defensive and emotional but after some time she finally confessed to fabricating the story, as she had done two months prior as well.

The second case example also addresses a victim who completely fabricated her story of being sexually assaulted. Just like the first example, at first glance, this case appeared to be a legitimate case. The girl was severely beat up and her story was consistent that she missed work because of the assault. She said two black males drove up and sexually assaulted her at knife point. Her story was corroborated by her best friend. A few days later, the friend had a guilty conscious and came forward to state that her and her friend fabricated the story. Detectives were apprehensive to believe her because the girl had been brutally beat up. It turns out that both friends were hanging out

before the alleged victim had to go to work. The alleged victim desperately did not want to go to work so she beat herself up and fabricated a story of being sexually assaulted so she would not get in trouble for missing work. The girl literally slammed her own arm in the car door, hit herself, and tore her own clothes just to support her story.

One may wonder why someone would fabricate such a story. One female admitted to lying about the assault after hours of investigation because she was helping her friend seek revenge. Her friend's ex-boyfriend cheated on her so the girls decided to get back at him by falsely accusing him. Another young female who confessed to lying said she did it to get revenge on her ex-boyfriend. He made her mad and she wanted him to be locked up in prison. These cases are just a few examples that detectives have experienced. Many detectives wonder how individuals could fabricate such stories, especially when the consequences could greatly affect the accused. Cases like these make detectives less sympathetic towards victims and more cautious to believe them.

2. *Consensual sex.* If it is not a completely fabricated story where no sexual activity occurred, then detectives assume the possibility that a victim may be lying for their own gain to cover up the fact that they had consensual sex. Detectives feel many victims consent to sex but then lie and say they were raped after the fact. There are several reasons why a person may lie about engaging in consensual sex. The following case examples show that one reason for lying is to avoid getting in trouble (e.g., a teenager did not want her parents to be mad). Detectives felt that people may also lie about consensual sex to avoid getting in trouble by a significant other if they were caught cheating. Another reason is when a person engages in a one-night stand or experiments sexually and then regrets their decision and lies about being raped to justify their actions.

One other reason includes the victim feeling jilted when their agreed upon deal does not pan out. These are the possible motives that police will consider when interviewing the victims.

A case was shared where a teenager engaged in consensual sex but lied to avoid getting in trouble by her parents. A teenager missed sports practice and arrived home three hours late. The parents were irate and threatened to kick the girl out. The teen then cried to her parents that she was raped by four black men. The men captured her and sexually assaulted her in a 2-door Honda while one guy was driving. She explained that the men were about 18-25 years old and were all around 6'6" tall. The detectives realized that the young girl may not know how to estimate height accurately and so asked her to show them how much taller the men were in comparison to the detectives. She did indicate that they were much taller than the detectives which would indeed put the men in the taller six foot range.

The detectives felt that the story sounded impossible. How could four very tall men all fit in this small car and be able to sexually assault her while driving? In addition to the detectives' suspicions, the position in which the girl said she was sexually assaulted was not consistent with the nurse examiner's findings. These findings were from examinations of the victim's anatomy in which the nurse could determine the sexual position based on the damage to their internal anatomy. The findings did show evidence of sexual intercourse but did not find evidence to support the position in which the girl said she was raped.

The girl said that after they raped her the men dropped her off back at school. By this time the story had taken hours to tell and was not adding up. The detectives felt that

this was all a farce and so they brought the victim to the school for her to show them the area in which she was dropped off after the assault. The area she pointed to had surveillance cameras. The detectives told the victim that the school officials would be there shortly to show them the camera footage and they would then be able to identify the car. The girl started backtracking with this knowledge. The detectives aggressively confronted her about whether she was lying and told her she needed to stop wasting their time and come clean with the truth. At this point, detectives had already spent six hours on the case and were getting nowhere. The girl finally confessed to lying. The girl admitted to being picked up by a guy that she had consensual sex with but did not want to get in trouble so she lied about it. Cases like this example wear down detectives' patience and make them more skeptical and frustrated with victims.

Another example of a victim lying about consensual sex involved a young female in her twenties who was partying with her friends at a nightclub. She lied about engaging in consensual sex because she felt regret for her actions from the previous night. She was highly intoxicated and woke up the next morning knowing sexual activity had occurred. She reported to the police she thought she was sexually assaulted. Upon investigation it was found that the guy was just as drunk as she was, which made detectives hesitant of the validity of her story. The young female later confessed that she felt it was a bad decision on her part and she did remember consenting but regretted what she did. Detectives become calloused with victims such as this that are capable of lying and will put an innocent man in jail just to make them feel better about themselves.

Men have also lied about consensual sex. This case is another example in which a victim may lie about consensual sex because they regret their actions. There was a man

that attended a weekend conference sponsored by a group that catered to individuals with the same sexual preferences. Members of the group would fly from all over to attend this conference. The group booked an entire wing of hotel rooms so that members could freely visit other members and engage in sexual activity. Typically they would have four to five sexual partners per day. One man explored different sexual fetishes during this conference but afterwards felt he was pressured into these acts. According to the detectives he initially consented to the acts but later revoked his consent when the acts left him feeling less than pleased with himself. Detective become very annoyed with these types of victims and will express little sympathy towards them. They feel that victims should have made better decisions or at least should deal with the consequences of their actions.

The detectives shared a few case examples of situations that the detectives call “deals gone bad” or “revoked consent.” This is where the victims made some sort of deal and consented to sex, but then later revoked their consent when the deal fell through. For example, a female reported being sexually assaulted but it was discovered during the interview that she was engaging in prostitution at the time of the assault. The reporting female and the buyer agreed on a price and the sexual act was performed. After the act was performed the buyer did not pay the prostitute. The detectives do not feel the prostitute was raped, but rather this was a “deal gone bad” and she had been taken advantage of. Detectives are less likely to show empathy towards these types of victims because they do not consider the incident rape.

Another example of a “deal gone bad” involved a lady who found a job announcement that was just too good to be true. It was for \$80.00 per hour. Her husband

drove her down for an interview which was being held in a casino by the slot machines. The boss said that the employee being hired must be okay with him masturbating frequently. The girl said she was okay with this. The man wanted to continue the interview in his car. The husband stayed behind and allowed his wife to go with the man. The man drove to a motel and parked on the side in a dark alley. He started to masturbate in front of the girl. He asked her to pretend to give him oral sex which she did. He then asked her to hike up her skirt so he could digitally penetrate her. She agreed to this but did not agree to let him ejaculate near her vagina. She allowed him to ejaculate on her breast. After all this the man drives her back to the casino and dropped her off where her husband was waiting. He told the husband that the wife did great and that he would be getting in touch with them about the details of the job and when she would start. She called the man a week later wondering when she was supposed to start. The man never answered her calls or returned them so she reported being sexually assaulted. The detective asked the woman if the man would have given her the job if she would be okay with the acts she performed. She answered “yes” but because he did not give her the job, she was not okay with what happened. The detectives felt this was a persuasive example of consensual sex reassessed as rape after a “deal gone bad.”

Detectives shared another case example of a “deal gone bad” which involved a teenage girl who claimed to have been raped by three men but it was later discovered that she was lying about having consensual sex. The girl left the house where she was raped but later that night returned to that same house. The details of the story were not adding up. The detective asked the girl why she would return to the house where she had just been sexually assaulted. The story just became more bizarre and unrealistic. The

detective looked up the house number and found that the police had been called to that house before and was a known household for dealing drugs. The girl continued to assert that she was raped, providing new explanations when confronted by obvious inconsistencies. She would not budge even when confronted that the details of her story did not add up. Detectives spent hours on this case. It was later discovered that the girl initially went to the house for drugs but she did not have any money so they agreed to trade sex for drugs. The girl did not get her drugs so she later went back to house demanding her drugs. When the dealers did not follow through she reported being raped. The detectives felt that this scenario is not an example of rape, but rather a deal gone bad. The girl agreed to sex but then revoked her consent when the men did not follow through on their end. Detectives feel frustrated when victims waste their time by lying to them and are more likely to confront these victims aggressively if they feel it is necessary.

According to the detectives, some reports of rape are triggered by dissatisfaction with the quality of a consensual act. Some detectives stated that individuals will go out partying expecting to have great sex with a random person but then realize that the sex was terrible. That person's fantasy of random sex did not meet their expectations so they report being sexually assaulted. These detectives feel that these individuals need to accept their consequences and not lie about being sexually assaulted when it was their poor decision.

3. *Disagreement of what constitutes rape.* If detectives feel that an alleged victim brought the assault upon themselves, then often they do not see this as rape. It is important to note that not all detectives feel this way. There are varying degrees of victim blame among the detectives. Some detectives feel that there is a difference

between being sexually assaulted and being taken advantage of. For example, some detectives said that an intoxicated woman that had sex with a man she normally would not have sober was taken advantage of but not raped. The woman, however, may feel she was raped. The woman is not lying, but some detectives feel she is lying because their definition is not aligned with the woman's definition of rape. This is why there is a disagreement over what situations are considered rape.

It is important to note that the main difference between the previous category (consensual sex) and this category (disagreement of what constitutes rape) is that in the previous category the victims know they are not a victim and are lying about being raped, whereas, the victims in this category believe they were raped but the detectives do not. The victims in this category truly feel they were raped and do not feel they are lying but some detectives feel they are indeed lying. This is due to the disagreement of what constitutes rape.

An example shared over the disagreement of rape involved a case in which a teenage girl reported being raped by her boyfriend. It was disclosed during the interview that the girl told her boyfriend when they started dating six months prior that she did not want to have a sexual relationship. One night they were being intimate and the mood escalated and ended in sexual intercourse. The girl did not tell him to stop at any point that night. She assumed her boyfriend would not proceed to that point because she told him six months prior that she did not want a sexual relationship. The detectives felt that she should have continually stated her boundaries and if the boy was going too far then she should have spoken up. Detectives felt that it was possible that the boy thought the girl changed her mind. The problem with this case was that the boy and girl both

assumed. The boy assumed the girl had changed her mind and was giving consent and the girl assumed that the boy would not take it that far even though they were being physically intimate. The detectives felt that the situation was not rape, but the girl felt she was raped.

An example that detectives shared of a situation that, in their opinion, does not constitute as rape is when a person engages in sexual activity with someone they just met and the acquaintance goes beyond the person's normal sexual boundaries. Some detectives feel that this is a situation where the person was taken advantage of but was not raped. For example, a girl in her twenties was partying at a night club and met a group of guys at the club. She went up to the hotel room and engaged in sex with one of the men. During this time, a second guy joined in and the girl was fine with this. A few minutes later a third guy joined in and the girl was also fine with this. The point when the girl became uncomfortable was when one of the guys sodomized her. The detectives feel that she was taken advantage of but not raped because she put herself in a compromising position.

Along this same line, another example that was shared in which the detectives felt the victim made poor choices leading up to the assault involved a man that visited an adult superstore. This man was giving oral sex to different guys in a private room for about five hours. Adult superstores have private rooms where customers can view pornographic videos. There is a secret signal customers can do which tips off other customers that they are willing to perform certain acts in these rooms. The man serviced about five different guys before another man walked in the room requesting to be serviced. The man performing oral sex was fine with the previous men but was

uncomfortable servicing the new guy because of his race. The new guy was vocally forceful that he be serviced but did not use physical force. The man provided the service and then reported it to the police. Some detectives feel that this is not an example of rape but rather an example of a man being taken advantage of because of his poor choices.

Again, it must be noted that some detectives would consider some of the above examples as rape. The non-aggressive detectives' beliefs of rape closely parallels the legal definition and therefore would most likely consider a situation rape if the person said "no" even if they made poor decisions leading up to the assault. Nonetheless some detectives feel that a situation is not rape if the victim made poor choices leading up the assault and they are less likely to proceed with these cases.

4. *Lying about details.* The fourth and final type of lie is when victims lie about details of the assault. These are cases in which victims are truly raped but will lie about some of the details surrounding the assault during the interview. Detectives suggested victims will lie about the details for several reasons. These reasons include: They are embarrassed about their behavior, embarrassed about what happened to them, they were involved in illegal activity at the time of the assault, or they were scared to divulge certain details because they may have been threatened by the attacker.

One particular case was shared which shows an example of why a victim may lie about details of the assault. Detectives told the story of a young teenage victim that disclosed to the school counselor that her mom's boyfriend had been touching her breast for the past five years. She decided to finally disclose because she had enough and did not want him touching her anymore. The detective felt that if this was going on for five years that it was very likely that the boyfriend was doing more than just touching the

girl's breast. The detective made an effort to make the girl feel comfortable to talk to her. The detective told the victim that nothing she will say will shock her so it is important that she discloses all details. The girl did disclose that the boyfriend had been doing more than just touching her breast for the past five years; he had also been sexually assaulting her. The reason she had lied initially and minimized the severity of what was happening to her was because she saw the horror in the counselor's face when she started to disclose. She decided not to divulge the entire truth because of the counselor's strong reaction.

Another example that was shared reveals reasons victims may lie which include embarrassment or involvement in criminal activity. A man was gang raped and brutally beat up. He initially lied about the details of the assault because he was embarrassed of what was done to him. The gang burnt him with an iron and sodomized him with a plunger. Drugs played a factor in the assault and the man was also afraid to admit his involvement in drug use. The detectives are more concerned with the assault and typically do not charge a victim for drug use, as seen in the next example.

A girl was selling drugs out of her home and lied about the details of the assault because of her criminal involvement. Three guys came to her door and kicked it in to steal the drugs. They were attempting to rape her but the girl was able to get a shotgun and shoot one of the guys. The girl was completely honest about her drug use and that she was selling drugs at the time the men broke in her home. Due to her honesty, her case was still prosecuted even though she was using drugs at the time. This shows that even if the victim is involved in criminal activity, their case may still be prosecuted if they tell the truth. Being truthful is one of the most important things a victim can do,

according to detectives. Once they are found to be lying, the victims lose their credibility.

The four types of lies presented—complete fabrication, consensual sex, disagreement over what constitutes as rape, and lying about details of the assault—are important to distinguish when a detective says a victim is lying. If a victim is lying, it does not necessarily mean they were not raped. A victim may have been raped, but is lying about details of the assault, or a victim truly believes they were raped but the detectives do not. Other victims may flat out be lying. One word of caution pertaining to this section is that these examples were shared by the detectives and therefore the stories are one sided. A detective may have believed that a victim was lying to avoid getting in trouble by their spouse, but in reality, the victim may have been truly assaulted.

Motives for lying. In addition to this analysis revealing types of lies, the interviews revealed officers' theories on motives for lying. It is substantially harder for a victim's case to proceed through the legal system if they lie. This is because they lose credibility. For a case to be successful it is important that the victim tells the most details (versus the suspect giving more details) and is honest. The detectives do not want to get more details from the suspect during the interview. Some detectives feel that the alleged victims that are lying are typically also the ones that are constantly calling and wasting their time.

The detectives felt that victims may lie for several reasons. These reasons include: Embarrassment, protection of their reputation, regret, avoid getting in trouble, revenge, involved in illegal activity, financial reasons, free services, break their lease, or to be used as ammunition in custody battles. It should be noted that the following motives

for lying are opinions of the detectives that have been formed from their experiences and are not necessarily fact. These motives are a compilation of the answers given by detectives and does not mean that every detective agrees with all of the following motives.

Embarrassment. Victims may lie because they are embarrassed to tell detectives the graphic details of what happened to them. Typically people do not tell others the graphic details of their sex lives, but if someone is victimized, they are asked to explain in detail to a complete stranger exactly what the assailant did to them. Some are too embarrassed to use the terminology or to describe what was done to them. According to the detectives, men may be embarrassed to admit they were raped because of the stereotypes that exist in which men cannot be raped or that they are not masculine if they are raped. This was true for one particular man that was ganged raped and violently sodomized with a plunger. This man was embarrassed to admit what happened to him but he needed medical attention and so eventually disclosed. According to the detectives, other victims may lie due to embarrassment because of behaviors they engaged in prior to the assault such as using sex toys, cheating on their spouse or significant other, or engaging in a one-night stand.

Regret. Detectives felt that victims may have done things while intoxicated they normally would not have done sober and do not want other people to know about. Along with being embarrassed, the alleged victims may regret what they did and do not want to admit their behavior to others. Detectives felt that some people engage in risky behaviors or experiment sexually but later regret their actions.

Protecting reputation. Protecting their reputation is another reason why victims may lie according to the detectives. As mentioned before, they may be embarrassed to admit they were cheating but they may also lie about it to protect their reputation. The alleged victims may not want to be looked down upon or judged because of their behaviors so they may lie about it. According to the detectives, they may not want to get in trouble with their spouse or significant other and are afraid that the detectives will inform their significant others of their behaviors.

Avoid getting in trouble. Detectives felt that teenagers between the ages of 13 and 17 are most likely to lie to avoid getting in trouble from their parents. The trouble they are trying to avoid may be something as relatively minor as getting bad grades on their report cards. Their perspective is different from adults because they believe what they may get in trouble for is more severe than accusing someone of sexually assaulting them. Some detectives stated that they find the teenage alleged victims as some of the hardest to read because they often show no remorse for lying.

Revenge. Prior case examples show that victims may lie out of revenge. They may have been dumped, cheated on, or someone may have made them mad so they falsely accuse them of rape. One case cited was a female who was mad at her husband and so falsely accused him of raping her. The female later confessed that it was not really rape, she was just furious at her husband. After confessing, she handed the detectives a ring of keys and said “Here, I stole his truck too.” It is cases like these that taint the way detectives think of victims. They are more cautious to believe them when they have cases where the victim confesses to lying out of revenge.

Involvement in illegal activity. Other victims may be involved in illegal activity at the time of the assault or have a record so they lie about details surrounding the assault to avoid disclosing their illegal behavior. These illegal behaviors may involve drug use, underage drinking, or prostitution.

Financial reasons. Victims may lie for financial gain or free services. According to detectives, one mother had her daughter lie that she was molested by her teacher so that she could sue civilly and receive money. The mother appeared to not be concerned about the child's safety but was more concerned about the lawsuit. She hired a lawyer the same day she reported the abuse to police, which detectives found to be suspicious. When she was confronted the evidence was not adding up and detectives felt she was lying, she said, "okay, thank you" and that was it. The case was dropped.

Some detectives felt that victims may lie for financial gain when accusing their former spouse of sexually assaulting their child so that they get majority custody and therefore child support or state assistance. Detectives shared an example that involved a famous sports player who was accused of sexually assaulting a female. The woman claimed this person sexually assaulted her but it was later discovered just three minutes after the alleged assault she sent a text message to her friends bragging that she just "fucked" this guy. Detectives felt that the claim of sexual assault was to get money from the rich athlete.

Free services. Victims may also lie for free services. When victims report, they are provided free services at the hospital such as sexually transmitted disease (STD) testing, morning after pill, and sometimes free counseling. Some detectives feel victims lie for free services because detectives stated that casinos comp many amenities if a

person was sexually assaulted at their resort. Although the detectives did not provide any specific cases in which the victim confessed to lying for this reason, they still felt this was a possible motive for a victim to lie.

Break lease. Detectives felt that some victims may lie to get out of a lease. Detectives stated that if a traumatic event occurred at a residence, the person may be able to get out of the lease without penalty. The detectives shared a case in which they felt a victim was lying about being sexually assaulted just to get out of her lease. It was discovered that the victim had tried to break her lease but was unsuccessful. Detectives felt the timing of the reported assault was suspicious since it was shortly after she tried to break her lease. The victim did not confess to lying for this reason but detectives were still suspicious of her story and thought this may be a possible motive to lie.

Ammunition in custody battles. Detectives felt that it was relatively common for parents to have their child lie for custody reasons. Detectives felt appalled that someone could falsely accuse another person of child molestation even though it is very damaging to the child and the accused could serve most of their life in prison. In one particular case, during a custody battle, a mother told her daughter to tell police that her dad touched her inappropriately. It was known to detectives that the child had been coached because her story was generic and she could not explain certain things that children who are molested usually can describe.

Custody battles can include grandparents that are trying to gain custody over the children if they feel the child's living environment is unsafe. For example, one case was shared in which grandparents were trying to gain custody over their daughter's child because of her drug use. The daughter then accused her father (the grandpa) of molesting

her child. The detectives discovered that the daughter fabricated this allegation just so the grandparents would not win custody.

Techniques. Through experience, detectives have found several reasons why a person may lie about being sexually assaulted. Unless the alleged victim confesses, it can be difficult to truly know if a victim is lying and for what reason. The following are techniques that detectives use when trying to detect deception.

From talking with the detectives, it was found that one of the major challenges of their job is detecting deception. As one detective put it, what the victim says should not be taken as gospel. Through experience, detectives have found certain techniques as being helpful when trying to detect if an alleged victim is lying. The following list is a compilation of techniques detectives use to detect deception during victim interviews. It should be noted that this is a compiled list of the detectives' responses. Detectives may use some of these techniques but may not use all of the techniques listed. Characteristics of truthful victims contrasted to false victims will first be presented, then followed by the specific techniques detectives utilize.

Truthful victims. Detectives felt that truthful victims can describe details about the incident that usually victims who are lying struggle to provide. These details can be as specific as remembering different smells. Detectives felt that victims should be able to tell their story forward and backwards. As one detective put it, they can tell their story from A-Z then Z-A. According to the detectives, if a victim was truly sexually assaulted then the victim will give very specific details about what happened without any delays in their story. Usually if a victim is being truthful, their story will flow smoother than the victims who are lying. Many times they want to unload and they will do so in detail and

the detectives will not have to ask many questions. The truthful victims will be able to answer tough questions (meaning very detailed questions) and evidence will support their claims (e.g., video surveillance, witnesses).

False victims. In contrast to the truthful victims, the detectives felt that the false victims usually tell stories that are inconsistent, lack detail, and cannot be supported with evidence. They will also struggle to answer questions and delay providing answers. Detectives felt that victims that are lying are not expecting to be asked detailed questions so they are usually unprepared to answer them. Some detectives felt that if a victim is lying they will often say, “To be honest with you.” Detectives also felt that body language and the victim’s demeanor may be indicators of deception.

Body language. Some detectives feel that body language is a big indicator of deception. These detectives feel that the body tells the truth. For example, the victim may nod their head “yes” but they are saying “no.” Some detectives felt that the victim’s demeanor can also be a sign of deception, such as if they are twitching, rubbing their hands, or seem unaffected by the assault.

Forward and backwards. Some detectives will have the victim tell their story but then will have them tell their story backwards (i.e., start with the most recent events and go backwards until before the assault). The detective may use phrases such as “and before that,” or “go backwards.” One of the limitations to this is that it is natural for people to forget details. Even having someone provide details backwards about their average normal day may be difficult for someone who is not lying. If a detective feels a victim may be lying, most detectives will still continue to conduct the interview and investigation to be sure their assumption is correct.

Hold personal opinions and assumptions. Most detectives felt that opinions and assumptions should be left unsaid until the evidence is collected. The aggressive detectives were the exception to this technique because as mentioned previously, they believe that confronting the victim and being accusatory is the best method. The detectives that are cautious about closing a case until their hunch is substantiated stated that on a few occasions they were confident that the victim was lying, but the evidence actually supported the victim's claim. This is why they felt it is important detectives continue the investigation despite their assumptions about victim deception. These detectives felt that a case should not be dismissed purely on a detective's assumption of whether or not the victim is lying. This leads to the next technique of finding corroborating evidence.

Corroborating evidence. Detectives should always look for corroborating evidence of the victim's story to determine if they are lying or not. Just as in a previous case example, a victim claimed she went out the window but nothing was knocked down and the dresser had not been disturbed. Evidence did not support her claim that she went out the window.

Check victim's background. Knowing information about the victim's background can also help detectives detect deception. If a victim is thought to be lying or withholding certain details then the detective can use information they know to confront the victim. For example, a prostitute reported being sexually assaulted but did not disclose that she was a prostitute. The detective knew that the victim had been arrested in the past for prostitution. When the victim was being interviewed about the assault she could not tell the detective why the perpetrator specifically picked her out of the crowd.

The detective knew of her prior convictions and knew that it was a strong possibility that the perpetrator picked her out of the crowd because she was soliciting. After asking the victim a couple times how the perpetrator picked her, and without getting an honest answer, the detective then used this information about her prior arrest to confront the victim. The detective asked the victim, "I see that you have priors in the past for prostitution, is it possible that the man picked you out of the crowd because you were soliciting at that time?" The victim then confessed that she was indeed soliciting at that time.

Confronting. The way in which a detective confronts a victim can be crucial to the success of the interview. Sometimes it is necessary for a detective to confront the victim, whether they use aggressive techniques or not. Aggressive detectives take a very different approach than non-aggressive detectives when confronting victims. Aggressive detectives are very straight forward and blunt about their opinions. Many of the non-aggressive detectives stated the importance of a detective being careful not to disrupt his/her neutral and calm tone of voice when they must confront. These detectives felt that if the detective uses a hostile and annoyed tone of voice that this will ruin the rapport with the victim. By ruining the rapport, this may cause the victim to close up and refuse to provide any further details which are essential to the case.

The non-aggressive detectives feel that a victim will not disclose important information if they feel the detective is being hostile towards them. One detective recommended a phrase to use that will allow the detective to maintain rapport when it is necessary to confront. After the victim tells their story, the detective can say, "I just want to make sure you're being truthful so I need you to verify a few details of your story."

Some detectives also stated the importance of staying calm in order to keep the rapport with the victim because an aggressive approach will prevent them from disclosing important details.

Caution about process. Detectives sometimes explain the process of investigating to the victims, such as, telling the victim that there will be a toxicology test used which will show if the victim was using drugs or alcohol. Not all detectives use this technique since victims are usually not given a toxicology test. Victims may not lie about using drugs at the time of the assault if they know that there will be a toxicology performed so the detectives will find out anyway.

Inform victim of assailant punishment. Detectives may caution the victims about the legal process by warning them what will happen to the assailant. Some detectives inform the victim that the accused can go to jail for the rest of their life. The detective can ask the victim “What do you think should happen to this guy?” Some do not want to see the assailant go to jail. For example, a young female reported being sexually assaulted by her ex-boyfriend. She later confessed that she lied since the detective informed her that he could go to jail possibly for the rest of his life. She did not want this for her ex-boyfriend.

Assess victim. Detectives will on occasion incorporate all these techniques by doing an overall assessment of the victim. This includes knowing information about the victim’s past (e.g., any convictions), being aware of possible motives (e.g., could they be lying and for what reasons), assessing the victim’s reactions (e.g., is the victim crying, fidgeting, hostile, etc.), and how they tell their story (e.g., is their story consistent and can they provide details). Some detectives will hold the question, “What is the motive to

lie?” in mind during victim interviews. After many interviews, the detectives often feel they gain the ability to detect lying. They feel that this comes through experience on the job after listening to hundreds of stories in which the detectives are able to recognize similarities among those that may be fabricating their story. There was an emphasis placed on detectives always following through with the case and collecting evidence even if they feel the victim is lying because their hunch could be wrong.

Victim interviews can be difficult to conduct when detectives feel that they have to be mind-readers and try to detect deception. Both aggressive and non-aggressive detectives have to deal with the possibility of victims lying. The main difference between aggressive and non-aggressive detectives is that the aggressive detectives feel that 98% of victims are lying and so they frequently use aggressive lie detection techniques.

Female Detectives

Another assumption about interviewing styles detectives use would be the belief that female detectives are kind and sympathetic towards victims. Many victims will ask for a female detective because they feel more comfortable talking to a female. These victims have an incorrect belief that all the female detectives will be kind and sympathetic. Female detectives can also use very aggressive interviewing methods and are not always kind and sympathetic.

According to some of the detectives interviewed, a female detective is at an advantage because they look more like a mom figure and appear less intimidating so victims often times feel like they can disclose to them. It is incorrect to assume that all female detectives will be more sympathetic than male detectives. In fact, some female

detectives are more aggressive than the male detectives and almost seem to resent the victims for asking for a female detective, assuming they will be the nice ones. According to the detectives, female detectives have much to prove working in a predominantly male organization and therefore may resent a victim that asks to speak to a female detective since the female detectives do not want to be seen as being soft or a push-over. Some female detectives seem to uphold the masculine persona and completely rid themselves of any female stereotypes of being sensitive and nurturing; while other female detectives did not seem to take on the masculine persona and were fine being seen as kind and understanding.

According to the detectives, it is a misperception to think that all female victims want to talk to female detectives. The victims may ask for a female but once they get a female detective and realize they are not getting special treatment or any sympathy the victim often becomes belligerent. Victims may ask for a female detective but once the interview starts they resort to calling the female detective a bitch. Some detectives felt that a man has an easier time confronting and being direct with victims than the female detectives. According to some of the detectives, female detectives are viewed as being a bitch if they confront the victim because they are seen as casting judgment. The detectives that felt this way thought this was a “girl thing” for female victims to perceive other females, such as female detectives, as being judgmental. They also felt that many victims actually prefer a male detective because of what some detectives call the “daddy syndrome.” This is where they latch on to the man that makes them feel safe and secure. The male detectives are seen as an authoritarian figure—their hero—and can get away

with being aggressive. Interviews revealed it is incorrect to assume that all female detectives will be kind and sympathetic. Some are kind and others are very aggressive.

Research Question #2

Why do sexual assault detectives use aggressive interviewing methods and why are they resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods?

To understand why detectives are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods, one must first understand why detectives use aggressive methods in the first place. Ultimately, the reasons why a detective uses aggressive methods provide us with significant new insight into why police are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. It first must be noted that detectives who are more aggressive in their interviewing approach do not treat every victim in this manner. If they believe the person is a legitimate victim, they are able to treat the victim with compassion and sensitivity. There are, however, according to the aggressive detectives only about 2-5% legitimate victims. This means the majority of victims are exposed to aggressive interviewing methods.

The five reasons detectives use aggressive interviewing methods are due to: 1) the belief that majority victims are false victims, 2) they use it as a strategic technique to prevent lying, 3) it is used as a defense mechanism to avoid burnout and becoming vulnerable, 4) their personality and inability to be sensitive, and 5) the acceptance of rape myths among within the police culture and the lack of oversight from the police department. These reasons will be discussed further.

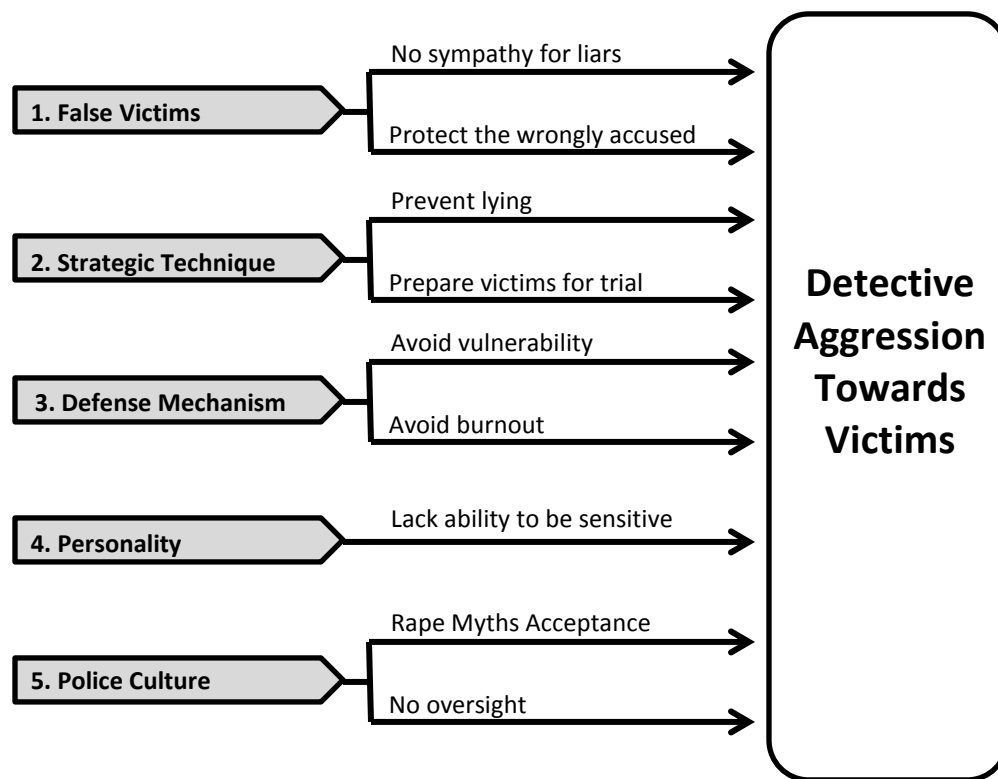
1. Aggression towards False Victims

a) No sympathy for liars. The number one reason why detectives are resistant to using sensitive methods is because they believe that most victims are in fact not victims. They believe that the alleged victims are either flat out lying or are people who made poor decisions and were taken advantage of, but were not actually raped. Due to this belief, detectives become callous, annoyed, and unsympathetic to the many people they see every day. Those that make poor decisions and expect the police to “clean up their mess” will receive little sympathy from the detectives. They cannot muster sympathy for individuals that they feel bring it upon themselves.

Detectives expressed frustration with the high number of victims that abuse alcohol and drugs. Abuse of prescription medicine was reported as common. According to the detectives, victims become so intoxicated that they make poor decisions, do things they regret, and often cannot remember these poor decisions. It is an investigatory challenge when a victim claims to be raped but cannot provide any details. It can be frustrating for detectives when there is no evidence and nothing can be done. The detectives have little tolerance for victims that put themselves in these situations and then expect police to work magic by miraculously being able to find a suspect without any details.

Coming from a background of law enforcement and seeing such horrific things, some detectives simply lack the compassion for victims where they feel no harm was really done. There was one example where a girl got drunk and had “drunk sex,” as the detectives put it, but could not remember consenting. The detectives in this situation feel the girl should “walk it off” because they feel no harm was done. If the girl did not like

Figure 2. Reasons & justifications for aggressive interviewing



what happened, then they feel the girl should not have put herself in that situation. There are no physical injuries and therefore no harm was done. If the victim is afraid of STDs or pregnancy, the detectives feel that it is the victim's fault for putting themselves in that situation so therefore should take care of the consequences themselves. Detectives said that they have the power to prevent it by not getting drunk.

The aggressive detectives felt that people who make poor decisions and put themselves in compromising positions should not be entitled to free services such as STD testing, the morning after pill, and in some cases free counseling which waste tax payer dollars. They also felt that these individuals should not be able to put innocent people in

jail because of their false accusations. Some detectives felt that good girls come out to the city to party but wind up making poor choices. The next day when everyone in their group judges them they realize their poor decisions and become scared of an unwanted pregnancy or a sexually transmitted disease. Detectives felt that victims' regret their decisions and want to protect their reputation so they claim they were sexually assaulted. By victims placing responsibility and blame on someone else, they then can feel better about themselves. The detectives feel that these types of victims should be met with a stern and aggressive attitude so they know the detectives will not tolerate this behavior.

If the victim made poor choices, then detectives are less willing to listen to them and show any sensitivity towards them. They do not have tolerance for these types of victims. Some detectives even display disgust with these types of victims. These cases are also considered weak legally so detectives feel they are wasting their time investigating. So if the detective feels the victim brought the assault upon themselves, then detectives do not consider this rape and therefore will be more aggressive towards them.

b) Protect the wrongly accused. Detectives also do not respect people that are willing to put another person in jail because of, what they feel, are the victims' mistakes or lies. They realize the severity of the accusations that the alleged victims are making and are very cautious not to destroy a person's life when the victim could be lying. They feel it is not fair for a victim to put another person in jail when they put themselves in a compromising position and made poor choices (e.g., engaged in prostitution, became heavily intoxicated, was being overly promiscuous).

By being aggressive and stern, detectives feel they are emphasizing the severity of what the victim is accusing the suspect of. Detectives do not take the accusations lightly and they feel the victim should not either. Some detectives place more value on protecting the wrongly accused then protecting the possible victim. Some detectives would rather error on the side of caution to protect the innocent than protect the victim.

Detectives feel that some guys do not deserve to go to jail. For example, a girl told a boy to stop once they starting having intercourse. He thrust two more times and then stopped. The detective felt this boy did not deserve to go to jail for 20 years because he did not stop immediately. If the boy continued to proceed against the girl's demands then the detective felt this should be punishable but stopping after two thrusts or a few seconds should not result in jail time.

The detectives are exposed to such horrific crimes which they consider "true" crimes that when a victim comes to them asking to put someone in jail after they spent the night partying and flirting with the guy, the detectives becomes callous and annoyed that they are wasting their time with false complaints. They feel that these victims are taking the detectives' time away from working on the legitimate cases and wasting tax dollars.

2. Aggression as a Strategic Technique

a) To prevent lying. Some detectives deliberately choose to be aggressive in their interviewing methods because they feel that this is the best strategy to get the facts and find the truth. They feel it will prevent lying because the victims see that the detectives will not tolerate it. Since detectives believe that many victims are lying they feel that by being aggressive this will scare the victim into telling the truth or confessing

if they are lying. They feel that if they show compassion then detectives will be seen as weak. They will then be taken advantage of by being manipulated by the victim's lies which could ultimately ruin another person's life (i.e., the accused). They feel it is their duty to be tough and get to the truth. The best way to do this, they feel, is by being aggressive with the victims.

b) To prepare a victim for trial. Detectives want to make sure the victim can handle the trial process because if their case goes to court victims will be emotionally challenged and intensely cross examined. The defense attorneys will try to tear their story apart and make the victim out to be a liar. For this reason, detectives will put the victim through a "mock" trial, per se, to prepare them for the real thing. Detectives will drill the victims to check their story for any gaps or details that the victim may be leaving out. Detectives felt that if they cannot handle the detective's invasive questioning then they will not be able to handle trial. This also indicates to the detective if the victim is emotionally strong enough to handle trial, as well as if their case is strong enough (i.e., enough evidence and consistent story) for a successful prosecution. Detectives feel that by being aggressive, this is the best technique to prepare the victim for trial.

3. Aggression as a Defense Mechanism

Across all the detectives, they have experienced being lied to by victims. This creates a sort of wall that they put up to guard themselves from being manipulated. This wall, or defense mechanism, can be seen in the form of their aggressive methods. By being aggressive they can then prevent feeling vulnerable when victims lie to them and try to manipulate them. Due to this defense mechanism detectives may generalize that "all" victims are lying. Detectives may also use their aggression as a defense mechanism

to prevent burnout since their work is emotionally draining. By blocking out their feelings, they feel they can prevent burnout by not becoming emotionally involved in their work.

a) Avoid vulnerability & burnout. Detectives are a product of their training and life experiences on the streets. They are trained not to be vulnerable because this could be fatal. From the beginning they are groomed and trained to think and act alike. They are under strict paramilitary command and are taught to obey. Their training and experience grooms them to feel a strong camaraderie with their peers. Police in essence hold power over the general public and in a way separate themselves from the public due to distrust and self-preservation.

On the streets, they deal with people that will lie to them, manipulate them, and even kill them if given the opportunity. They learn not to trust others and to guard themselves because they are witnesses to some of the most heinous acts possible by man. They see the lowest of the low from people and are exposed to gruesome and grotesque violence by others. They are all too aware of the danger and wickedness people can possess. Because officers have to witness these things, they must develop coping mechanisms. Sometimes without even realizing they are developing these coping skills, they are altering their mindset, beliefs, and behaviors in response to the gruesome events they are exposed to.

Not everyone can handle seeing dead bodies that have been mutilated. Whether it is from a car accident or an act of violence by another, this is a gruesome sight that one never forgets and yet they are exposed to these scenes multiple times. When I spoke with a police officer about how they handle seeing the gruesome things they do, it was evident

despite the tough guy appearance he held, that it does affect them. In the words of the police officer, “you can’t dwell on it and you have to go on.” I asked if they are able to forget about some of the things they see or if it always stays with them. One officer, one of the toughest guys anyone will meet with a no-nonsense attitude, still carried pain in his eyes as he told me about the time he was called to the case of a young girl that was murdered. It was about 20 years ago but it was evident the image was still vivid in his mind as he explained that he found the little girl dead in the closet hanging by her hair. How could this not affect a person? These things indeed affect them, and it is adaptive to learn to block some of it out. They must learn to desensitize somewhat and turn their emotions off for their mental health. These experiences are profound and have a strong impact on their mind and ultimately their behaviors.

Other detectives describe the impact of the job by sharing their worst experiences such as having seen babies brutally beaten to death, including a baby that was put in the microwave. Others described the traffic accidents they witnessed where body parts are severed and scattered around the scene. It makes sense that officers might have to turn off their emotions. If they let themselves feel the pain and truly process and understand the sorrows of life, how could they possibly go on with their job?

One must understand that detectives were first police officers on the streets dealing with criminals. Their minds have been shaped and altered with a different perspective of humankind. After serving their time on the streets, they then are promoted to detective if they qualify. It is difficult for some to switch gears from working with criminals to now working with victims. They were trained to guard themselves and will keep their guard up even with victims. Some view victims as if they could potentially be

the criminal. Some detectives have the skill of shifting from interacting with criminals to interacting with victims and showing compassion when necessary, but others find it more difficult.

Generalization. Detectives encounter many victims who are as aggressive, hostile, and rude. It can be a question of the chicken or the egg—which came first? Was the detective aggressive and in response the victim became aggressive or vice versa? It depends on the case and every case may be different but what is known is that all detectives reported encountering hostile victims. When detectives use aggressive methods they may be generalizing from their past experiences with the hostile victims and assuming all victims respond in a similar fashion.

Police officers are taught to be strong and it is not in their nature to back down when someone is trying to overpower them—whether verbally or physically. In the beginning of an interview some detectives make it very clear by their dominant presence that they have the power and will not tolerate undesirable behaviors. They set the tone of the interview and make sure the victims know they will not be manipulated or lied to or verbally abused. Instead of first interacting with the victims to determine how they will behave, the aggressive detectives feel it is best to set the standard right from the beginning. This defense mechanism also helps them block out the emotional toll that the job can have. Having victims constantly angry with them can certainly wear a person down.

Defeated. Detectives also reported feeling a sense of defeat. Their job is to investigate sex crimes and they see cases every day that could have been prevented and end up feeling powerless to change this. They feel defeated in their work to make a

difference with these types of cases that they feel could have been prevented (e.g., sexual assault involving alcohol). They feel that it is impossible to change people's behaviors because people are always going to make poor decisions.

Police reported prevention being relatively easy but often ignored. The detectives felt that often it is only a matter of using common sense, such as not becoming intoxicated and going to an acquaintance's room alone, or not becoming sexually involved with someone they just met and trust that the person will respect their boundaries. Cases were shared about victims that engaged in sexual activity with people they just met and wrongly assumed the acquaintance would respect their sexual boundaries. The first case involved a female that was ok with only one man but then another man joined in even though she said "no." The second case was about a female that wanted only vaginal sex but the guy forced her to have anal sex. Both victims wrongly assumed that the men they just met would respect their sexual boundaries.

These detectives are frustrated and annoyed that they have to clean up everyone's mess when victims could have used common sense and prevented the situation. They use their aggression as a defense mechanism to block out that fact that they cannot change what other people do. Detectives feel a sense of accomplishment when they help to convict an offender that sexually assaulted, in their perception, an innocent victim. A victim that used common sense and was not doing anything that would leave them vulnerable is considered an innocent victim and these detectives work hard to bring justice to these victims.

Burnout. The nature of the job as a sexual assault detective can take quite a toll on detectives. Many detectives do not stay in the sex crimes unit for long. On average,

detectives may stay for about two years but many will filter out within the first few months after they realize they cannot handle it or choose not to be exposed to this area. Once they experience this area some quickly realize it is not an area they want to stay in. Due to the high stress and intense emotional nature of the job, there is a high possibility of burnout. A detective that is experiencing burnout may also become insensitive and short tempered with the victims. Detectives felt that if a detective experiences burnout then they either need to move on or take a break. Detectives have the option of taking TDY which stands for temporary duty if they need to take a break. Officers may also leave this area because it was reported that this area is one of the least desirable detective positions and does not have the same prestige as other areas such as homicide. Some detectives felt that it is hard to move up in the system and be noticed if a detectives stays in this area.

Detectives stated that it helps to talk or even joke with some of the other detectives to lighten the atmosphere. They tell jokes with each other to minimize what they see so they do not internalize the seriousness and devastation of what they hear day in and day out. I was informed that burnout occurs less with adult cases and more with child cases. How a detective copes with the stress of the job can determine how the detective treats the victims. Some detectives say that they become desensitized because they have to in order to survive their job; otherwise, hearing such horrible things could have a profound impact on the detectives. They learn how to block it out and go on living their normal lives and keep up with their daily activities. This can be difficult at times with some cases that hit close to home, such as when a victim may remind them of their own child or wife.

Detectives use aggressive methods because they may be putting up a wall, or defense mechanism, to avoid becoming vulnerable to the emotional toll of their job. Many victims have lied to them and they feel it is better and easier to be stern than it is to be sensitive and manipulated. To endure their job, they also use this aggressive technique as a form of defense mechanism so that they can continue to do their job with the emotional stability necessary. Many detectives, if not all, will experience burnout at some point in their career. Burnout can lead to the detectives using aggressive interviewing methods because it causes them to have less patience and tolerance for others.

4. Aggression as a Personality Trait

a) Lack the ability to be sensitive. Personality also plays a critical role in the interaction between detective and victim. Some detectives have a very tough personality to begin with. They may not think that they are being rude or doing anything wrong, it is just the way they communicate. Others may realize they are being rude but not care because they feel the person just needs to toughen up. As mentioned previously, detectives are first police officers on the streets and are often exposed to horrific things. Some detectives have the ability to switch hats and be sensitive with victims; whereas, others lack this ability and will instead treat all victims like the criminals.

It should also be noted that many detectives stated that a good detective is someone who is good with people. These detectives felt that successful detectives must be able to communicate with various kinds of people from diverse backgrounds. Detectives stated that some detectives have this talent, and others do not. Therefore,

aggressive methods may be used because the detective simply does not have the personality to perform well in this area.

5. Aggression in Police Culture

a) Rape Myths Acceptance. An aggressive interviewing style may be used with victims reflecting an acceptance of rape myths among detectives. It was evident through the detectives' interviews that the acceptance of rape myths was present among some officers. Such rape myths include: The victim brought it upon themselves, the victim deserved what happened to them, or that most victims are lying. As mentioned in the literature review, the acceptance of these rape myths can affect case outcome and how victims are treated. This was evident through interviews conducted for this study as it was found that the aggressive detectives were more hostile towards victims if they felt the victims made poor choices and therefore brought the assault upon themselves.

The acceptance of rape myths is possibly passed down throughout generations of police officers that are employed by the police department. As mentioned previously, officers are trained to think and act as the higher ranked officers do. This is because the higher ranked officers are the ones that train the new officers and so their philosophies are passed down. The term groupthink is used to explain how individuals will make decisions or act a certain way contrary to logic because the group thinks that way (Janis, 1982). Going against the grain is difficult and often time individuals are easily influenced, especially when their superiors are present. Therefore, due to police culture, it is possible that police officers are experiencing groupthink and will readily accept what is being taught to them.

This could be seen during interviews since many of the detectives said the same thing—95-98% of victims are lying. Even some officers outside of the sex crimes unit responded the same way. They were resistant to providing more services to victims since they believe 95% of victims are lying. Many even gave the same example, a girl goes to a party and has sex with a man but does not want her boyfriend to know so she lies and says she was raped. Another story given multiple times was of a girl that reported being raped but was then found on surveillance camera sexually servicing two men in an elevator. It brings up an interesting question of where this example and belief originated from and how it was communicated throughout the police department.

It was also explained that the area of sexual assault was seen at the bottom of the pecking order when it comes to prestige within the department. This may be due to the acceptance of rape myths among officers within the entire organization. This is evident as it was gathered that “simple” rape, as the literature calls it (i.e., where a victim is raped by someone known to them and no physical injuries were inflicted) is not seen as rape by some detectives. Since “simple” rape cases are the most commonly reported cases, and being that many officers do not consider this rape, officers may feel that the sexual assault unit is not a legitimate crime unit. Rather, the sex crimes unit is seen by some as a unit that mostly deals with false complaints and not real crimes.

Research has suggested that police departments lack innovation and are behind the times with their philosophies (Wycoff & Cosgrove, 2001). It is possible that these rape myths are passed down throughout the years as officers are trained by officers. Without continual evaluation of programs, they will become stagnant and ineffective.

The training of officers and sexual assault detectives needs to be evaluated to ensure that accurate information is being taught.

It should be noted that during interviews there were police officers, as well as higher ranking officers, who did appear to be innovative and actively sought to improve the system. Although there may be officers that are contributing to the problem, there are also many detectives that demonstrated nonaggressive qualities (e.g., ability to show compassion, stay unbiased, interest in furthering their knowledge).

b) No oversight. If it is not a problem then why change it? This is the thinking among some detectives and higher rank officers. They do not realize the harm aggressive methods can cause so they do not see the reason for changing their ways. Also, some may know they are causing harm but do not care because they feel the victims brought it on themselves. Some detectives feel that they are just doing their job and they are police officers and not counselors. They do not think they are being rude, but rather they are just doing their job which they feel does not require them to be sensitive towards victims. They felt that consoling the victim is not the responsibility of the detective but rather that of the victim advocate. This is one of the main reasons why we still see victim insensitivity. For the most part, detectives can get away with using aggressive methods because typically (but not always) the higher ranked officers support their behavior.

There is also a lack of training for the sexual assault detectives on the psychological effects of rape. Many detectives may be acting out of pure naivety which could greatly impact the cases they work on. For example, it is common for rape victims to blame themselves. If a detective is not educated on the topic of sexual assault then they would not be aware of this. As soon as a victim starts blaming herself the detectives

will dismiss the case thinking she lied. A sex crimes detective that is uninformed of the wealth of research on sexual victimization seems counterintuitive but is common across the nation. There is training that has been studied and research has shown that police education does improve victims' experiences (Lonsway, 1996), and yet, many police departments are still resistant to implementing change that can improve victim experience. Often police are trained by other police officers and not by external experts. There is a small shift towards more innovative ways of training that can be seen in some pioneering agencies but it is a slow process for others to accept these expert recommended changes in victim interviewing.

If there is no external oversight that holds power to enforce change or reprehend if wrongdoing has been proven, then why change? If no one is making them change and the department does not care, then why should they change their ways. This is why this is still a problem today because no one is making them change their aggressive interviewing methods. There is little, if any, external oversight for police departments. Unless a major event happens that catches the media and public's attention then they will not be required to change their ways. Police agencies are government agencies responsible to the public and yet they hold the power to be unresponsive to the public. Many individuals' cries go unheard because police do not have to listen. Police forces are powerful and they can operate autonomously and without research or public scrutiny. Often it is not until there is a public outcry or a case gone badly wrong that change is forced. There are other possible oversight agencies but their power to effect change is questionable. These external agencies can include grant management units that have awarded the department money, and through this, certain standards can be established as

meeting to be met. There are also accreditation agencies that can take away police accreditations. Politicians and interest groups could also have an influence on undertaking the cost and effort of cultural and policy changes from the traditional status quo.

All these reasons suggest logical reasons for resistance to change. Since the seventies there has been a push for police to use more sensitive methods when interviewing victims, but, little has changed and many victims are still being treated harshly. This study found that there are five main reasons why detectives are resistant to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. First, detectives think most victims are in fact not victims. Second, detectives feel that using aggression is the most efficient investigative technique. Third, detectives use aggression as a defense mechanism to block out their personal emotions. Fourth, some detectives simply lack the personality that is best suited for this position. Lastly, detectives are resistant to using sensitive interviewing methods with victims due to police culture. Rape myths are prevalent among police agencies and the department does not necessarily see it as a problem, therefore does not require detectives to change their aggressive ways.

With what has been learned thus far, it is interesting to compare available statistics with the detectives' beliefs and assumptions about rape victims. This will be covered in the next section.

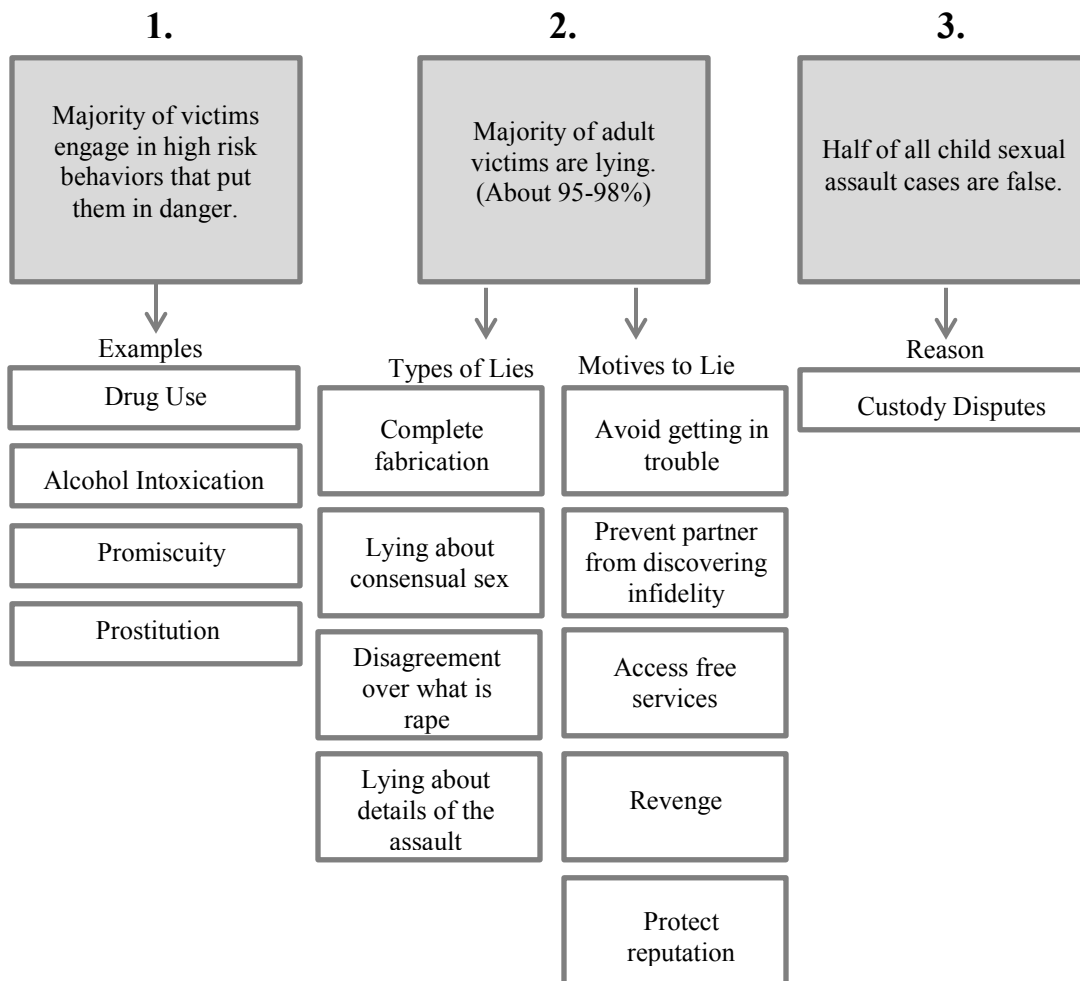
Testing Assumptions Underlying Aggressive Interviewing Methods

Are the general beliefs held by detectives about victims accurate? Because an internal agency report was conducted on the participating police department (Pace, 2010), this provides a unique opportunity to test underlining assumptions held my detectives.

There are three assumptions that most detectives believe. They are as follows: 1. Majority of adult victims engage in high risk behaviors that put them in danger (e.g., drug/alcohol use, prostitution, engaging in sexual activity with someone they just met). 2. Majority of adult victims are lying. There are four categories of lying, a) victims fabricated their story completely but there was no sexual activity, b) sexual activity occurred but it was consensual, c) sexual activity occurred and the victims feels they were raped, but the detectives do not feel the situation was rape, and d) an assault may have happened but the victim is lying about details to cover up their involvement in high risk behaviors (e.g., drugs, alcohol, prostitution). The main motives for lying include: a) avoid getting into trouble, b) prevent husband/partner from discovering their infidelity, c) access free services such as STD testing/treatment, morning-after pill, d) revenge, and e) protect reputation. The last assumption states, 3. About half of all child sexual abuse cases are false because they involve child custody disputes and one parent is usually lying.

According to the detectives, often victims will engage in multiple high risk behaviors at one time. Such as, they may party at club while drinking heavily, use drugs, and will go alone to the room of the guy they just met and start engaging in some form of sexual activity. They might then report being raped if the man went past their comfort zone (e.g., forced anal sex when the girl only wanted vaginal sex) or they cannot remember what happened the night before and assumed they were raped.

Figure 3. Assumptions held by detectives using aggressive interviewing methods



Pace (2010) conducted a study in which he analyzed specific characteristics of the sexual assault cases for the police department that participated in this study. From this study, comparisons of what the detectives believe versus what the statistics show can be made. Unfortunately, there is a lack of data on most of these underlying assumptions. However, statistics for the main assumption that most victims use alcohol or narcotics prior to the assault is available. Data is also available on case dispositions for 2011 which shows percentages of unfounded cases which means detectives concluded that the

victims were lying. Statistics on prostitution and sexual assault are recorded by the department but were not made available. For future reference, this could be a recommendation for the department to track how many cases they believe are false cases due to child custody disputes. Some of the categories would be difficult to record since often the truth is unknown and so nearly impossible to track motives for lying.

The study by Pace included 2,984 sexual assault cases between the time period of January 2008 and March 2010. Statistics show that 37% of victims used alcohol at the time of the assault and only 13% used narcotics (Pace, 2010, p. 129). These numbers show that it is inaccurate for detectives to assume that majority of victims use alcohol and/or drugs at the time of the assault. Although majority of victims are not consuming alcohol at the time of the assault, 37% of all victims is still a sizeable portion of victims that are engaging in alcohol use. It should be noted that child cases were included with adult cases in the original article by Pace, so the percentages were recalculated for this study to represent only adult cases. The total number of child cases age 12 and younger ($n=484$) were subtracted from the original total number of cases ($n=2,984$), then the total number of alcohol users ($n=917$) were divided by this new number ($n=2,500$). This formula was also used to find the overall percentage of victims that used drugs at the time of the assault ($n=331$). Although legally teenagers should not be drinking alcohol or using drugs, many teenagers still consume alcohol and/or drugs so teenagers were included in the new percentages (37% victims consumed alcohol, 13% used drugs at time of assault).

An overwhelming 43% of all victims just met the offender and only 11% of victims met the offender at a bar or night club (Pace, 2010, p. 93). The 11% includes

child cases so this number would be higher if the child cases were excluded. Only 4 % of cases were closed out as unfounded for the 2011 year (Department Yearly Numbers Report). Sometimes if the detective believes that the victim may be lying but there is insufficient evidence to prove this, then detectives will close cases out as Insufficient Evidence which accounted for 23% of all cases for 2011. It should be noted that the category of Insufficient Evidence does not always mean the detective feels the victim is lying.

What can be gathered from these numbers is that there appears to be a practice of over generalizing. Terms such as “most” or “majority” are being said by many of the detectives and yet this is not represented by the statistics. With that said, this should not downplay the challenges detectives face when interacting with victims. Often they encounter difficult cases in which no evidence is provided and often there is a lack of cooperation from the victims. The numbers, however, can be used to educate detectives to be cautious of making assumptions or generalizing by using terms such as all, most, or majority.

Victim Cooperation

Most the detectives agree the victim is the most important person in the case and their cooperation is vital to a successful prosecution. Yet, a large percentage of victims do not cooperate with the investigation. According to an article by Pace (2010) as many as 36.5% of cases are dismissed due to victim issues within this particular organization that was studied (p. 122). This is an interesting finding since victims are reporting but then at some point of the investigation they choose to drop out of the process. When victims become uncooperative they may refuse to give further information, refuse to

proceed with the prosecution, provide incorrect contact information, avoid the detectives' calls, or become hostile and belligerent with the detectives during interviews.

Reasons Victims Become Uncooperative

Reasons the detectives felt victims drop out of the investigation process include victims that: Lie about the assault, realize they made poor decisions leading up to the assault, involved in illegal activity, cultural reasons, just wanting to forget about the assault and move on, cannot emotionally handle the legal process, privacy reasons, financial reasons, just wanted free services (was never planning on continuing in the process), did not want to report in the first place but was pressured to report.

Detectives stated that many victims are intoxicated, hung-over, tired, hungry, and already in an emotional state when they are being interviewed. Having to be interviewed while they feel this way can further aggravate their emotional state. This can be a cause to their agitation and outburst. These above reasons are a compilation of answers that the detectives provided in their opinion and may not accurately represent all the reasons why victims become uncooperative. For example, it was never said that victims become uncooperative because of how they are being treated.

There are many reasons why a victim may not cooperate with the investigation; yet, this issue should be examined further by the department. Until the victims are given an opportunity to voice their opinion, the reasons that are mentioned for victims becoming uncooperative are just speculative. A good portion of cases are dismissed due to victim issues. Since this is such a substantial impact on the cases, efforts need to be made to lower this percentage. It is possible that victims are becoming uncooperative because of their experience with the detectives. If there are things the department can do

to improve their services, they should. Being a public agency, they are responsible to the public and should always be responsive to the public.

Prevention

One of the most important findings from this study is the advice that detectives gave for individuals to protect themselves from being sexually assaulted. Detectives felt that many sexual assaults could be prevented if people take responsibility and avoid making poor decisions. This section will be divided into two subsections—advice for adults and advice for parents on how to protect their children. It should be noted that advice was generally geared towards women and so women will be addressed in the following sections, but this does not exclude men since men can be victims of rape as well.

Advice for Teens and Adults

Detectives gave advice on how to prevent becoming a victim of sexual assault. Their advice can simply be stated as “protect yourself.” How a person can protect themselves can be summarized in two categories: 1) avoid risky behaviors, and 2) be assertive and communicate. These will be discussed further.

Protect yourself. Although an offender should not be allowed to get away with assaulting someone, women cannot rely on the law to protect or serve them justice. Women need to know that even the appearance of a sexual relationship can leave them vulnerable. Although society is wrong to allow these men to rape someone that seemed “flirtatious” with them, nonetheless, women need to protect themselves and not rely on the law after the fact. Rape is very difficult to prove and often justice is not served for these victims. Take all precautions to prevent the assault from happening in the first

place. Obviously, taking precautions is not a guarantee but it can reduce the risk of it happening.

Figure 4. Advice from detectives on how to prevent sexual assault

SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION		
Advice for Parents	Advice for Teens & Adults	Advice for Possible Simple Offenders
<u>Protect Your Children</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have open communication- teach kids boundaries ▪ Don't be too trusting- most offenders are close to the family ▪ Always supervise- Be cautious of sleepovers ▪ Watch for signs of grooming- offenders will try to be alone with child ▪ Don't be a naïve mother- offenders will seek out vulnerable weak mothers ▪ Don't be in denial- It can happen to anyone ▪ Abstain from drugs, alcohol, and pornography- These were given as excuses from offenders 	<u>Protect Yourself</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Avoid risky behaviors- Drug use, alcohol intoxication, promiscuity, prostitution ▪ Practice situational awareness- Don't walk alone late at night, don't leave drink unattended ▪ Avoid misperceptions- If sex is unwanted, clearly make it known ▪ Part safe/ travel safe- Stay with friends, stay hydrated, stay well rested ▪ Be assertive- Say "No" confidently and clearly communicate sexual boundaries 	<u>Avoid Uncertain Situations & Never Assume</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Never assume someone wants sex ▪ Always ensure your partner is giving a confident "yes" before proceeding ▪ If there is any hesitation- Do not proceed ▪ Avoid drunk sex & sex with strangers or acquaintances

***Note: Possible Simple Offender** advice is aimed at simple offenders. Detectives felt it futile to advise violent offenders such as with stranger assault cases.

Avoid risky behaviors. The detectives felt that many victims engage in high risk behaviors that leave them vulnerable. These behaviors include: Drug and alcohol use, prostitution, engaging in sexual activity with people they just met, leaving their drink unattended, walking home late at night, and other such behaviors. The detectives felt that these high risk behaviors leave victims vulnerable but are common sense behaviors to avoid. Detectives are frustrated by the many victims that do not seem to want to protect themselves. According the detectives, all it takes is altering a few behaviors and their risk of being assaulted is substantially lowered.

Obey the law. Detectives felt that many people make poor decisions that put them in dangerous situations. Individuals that break the law, such as engaging in drug use or prostitution, are more at risk for being sexually assaulted. When individuals break the law, they surround themselves with people that are not law abiding citizens and therefore are at a higher risk of becoming victimized by these individuals. Many case examples that were shared by detectives involved victims that were dealing drugs, using drugs, or engaging in prostitution. All these behaviors can increase the likelihood of being victimized.

Watch alcohol intake. Detectives would advise others to protect themselves and take responsibility for their safety. Detectives caution about overindulging in alcohol which could leave a person vulnerable. A person cannot provide evidence or an accurate account of the assault if they cannot remember what happened. They also leave themselves vulnerable to defend themselves. It is difficult to prove if a person was passed out, or, just too drunk to remember that they consented to sex. An intoxicated person can rarely provide details which will prevent the case from being prosecuted.

Avoid misperceptions. Detectives felt that people should also avoid misperceptions because people are always watching the actions of others. If a person is seen flirting with an individual or acting overly sexual then this can be perceived by others that they are showing an interest in this person. As one detective stated, “If you’re going to swim with the sharks, don’t cut your wrist prior to jumping in the water.” What the detective meant is that if an individual is going to party then this person should not send signals that they are interested in sex if they are not interested. Do not be overly flirtatious, do not dress provocatively, do not talk about sex, do not leave yourself vulnerable by becoming too intoxicated, and do not go to a complete stranger’s room and start “hooking up” with them if sex is not wanted.

Detectives felt that a person should watch their actions and be cautious of the signals they are sending. Remember, in today’s society with modern technology it is easy to film someone without their knowledge and then post it on the internet. Often a person’s actions are recorded by video surveillance if a person is partying at clubs or bars. This detective cautioned that their actions can follow them back home, especially if someone filmed them. Again, it was cautioned that individuals should be aware that they are always being observed by others. So when they are out partying, if they are sending the wrong signals (e.g., flirting or being promiscuous) then they may be attracting the wrong type of people. One detective stated, “If you are not interested in having sex, then make this clear.”

Party safe/ travel safe. If a person is partying, detectives caution that they party safe. Party goers should not split up from their group. If they go with a group of friends, they should stay with group of friends the entire night. They should avoid becoming

isolated with people they do not know. Detectives also advised individuals to remember names of the people they meet when they are partying, and to test the name out that was told to them. For example, if someone just met a guy at the bar and he says his name is Tony, throughout the night the person should call him Tony and see if he responds to that name. Detectives stated that sometimes suspects give false names so they may be caught off guard and not respond to the name they gave.

Party goers should watch their alcohol consumption, stay well rested, stay hydrated, and remember to eat (especially if drinking). Many times detectives hear of victims that they call the “Wisconsin Diet” because these girls know they are coming to the city to party and want to look good in their skimpy little dress so they starve themselves for weeks before they come out for vacation. Their body is already starving, they are dehydrated, and any alcohol consumption will affect them differently than in their normal state. Other victims may take energizer drinks or supplements so they have the energy to keep partying on top of the alcohol. This can adversely interfere with the alcohol. Others may be on prescription medication which can exacerbate the effect of alcohol. According to detectives, many women are drugging themselves without realizing it.

Many detectives gave the following scenario. Tourists come to this city thinking “what happens here, stays here” and no one will know about it. They are excited to let loose and have fun and party all night. They let their guard down and put themselves in danger. Many times they will be separated from their friends and become highly intoxicated. Some tourists are not use to being so intoxicated, and in addition, they are in

a foreign environment mixed with the “let-loose and party” mentality which often leads to unsafe situations.

Detectives further stated that the tourists many times do not realize that the alcohol concentration is higher in this city than in other states. So even though they are drinking the same amount of alcohol that they normally do, they are getting intoxicated more quickly. For this reason, detectives stated that many victims drug themselves. The mixture of adrenaline from vacation, partying, the lack of sleep, not eating or staying hydrated, on top of drinking heavily, creates the perfect mixture of leaving them vulnerable by drugging themselves. Detectives stated that many women feel that they were drugged but in reality it was an alcohol-related blackout. Individuals that are partying should also be careful who they trust. If they are going to be sexually involved with someone, they should make sure they can trust they will listen and respect their desires to stop or not go beyond their comfort zone.

Practice situational awareness. Detectives stressed the importance of being observant and cautious. Individuals should take interest in their own wellbeing. Do not have the “It can’t happen to me” attitude. Always take precautions. For example, instead of someone walking home late at night by themselves, they should get a cab. Individuals should also make eye contact briefly with people that pass them by when they are walking, such as in a parking lot. This will send the message of confidence and will let the person know their face was seen and can be identified. This may serve as a deterrent for someone contemplating an assault. According to detectives, typically offenders will look for women that seem vulnerable and weak.

At some point there is usually an indication of the person's intentions. The suspect may ask the victim to his room or try to get the person alone, or encourage them to drink more alcohol. Always have in mind these questions, "How would this look to a jury," or, "Will he be able to assault me if I go with him," or "Will I be able to defend myself if he tries to force himself on me." An individual should think of their actions and the consequences before they act. Just because a person goes to someone's house does not mean they deserve to be raped but if the person was drinking and flirting with the man prior to going to his house then the jury will have suspicion as to their intentions. A person should not put themselves in situations where doubt could be cast. Most detectives are not trying to blame the victims, but rather help protect them because many of the assaults are preventable if they just use caution.

Be Assertive/ Communicate. Detectives reported that some women do not know how to get out of a bad situation. Detectives felt that women are capable of stopping the interaction but many times they do not because they lack assertiveness. Many detectives felt that women are not taught to be strong and assertive, so they are not being held accountable. Many girls will tell the detectives that they did not want the man to do certain things but were too shy to say "no." Women must speak up and say "no" with confidence and assertiveness.

Detectives explained that individuals should express themselves properly and should not act hesitant. Detectives stated that individuals should not give the "porno no" in which they sound very hesitant and are acting as though they enjoy what is being done to them. Detectives felt that just saying "no" may not be sufficient because if the person is cooperating as the clothes are coming off, then this is not a sufficient "no." Detectives

also stated that many times people engage in high school acts such as the man will make an advance and then the girl will reject him, so the man tries again and the girl allows him a little further but then rejects him. The man will continue trying until he gets what he wants. They play this cat and mouse game. If a person really does not want their partner making advances, then they should sternly say “no” and leave the situation.

Individuals should be assertive when they say “no” and should mean it. Individuals must leave the situation or send a clear signal that they are not interested in sex. Detectives felt that many victims are afraid to make the suspect mad or too shy to say “no.” Detectives stated that society often views sex as a private matter and therefore should not be talked about so many victims will not speak up and say what they want or do not want. Detectives felt that there should be open communication between partners so each person knows where the sexual boundaries are. Detectives also stated that suspects will prey on women that seem weak and vulnerable so being assertive can prevent possible assaults.

Advice for Possible “Simple” Offenders

Much focus is placed on victims when discussing prevention strategies, but detectives also gave advice to individuals that could potentially be a “simple” offender. As mentioned previously, the term “simple” rape is used in the literature to describe sexual assault in which the victim knew the assailant and suffered no injuries. The term “simple” is not being used to downplay the seriousness of the assault, but rather it is used to distinguish between “simple” rape and “aggravated” rape (i.e., a victim is raped by a stranger and suffers injuries). Therefore, “simple” offenders are individuals that are known to the victim and did not inflict physical injuries. Detectives felt it futile to give

advice to aggravated offenders (i.e., stranger rape offenders) because they believe it will take more than advice to change the behaviors of aggravated offenders.

There are things individuals can do to prevent situations that could lead to someone feeling victimized. It was found in many “simple” rape cases that the man did not realize the girl felt uncomfortable or what he did was illegal. (The term “men” is being used since majority of cases involve men as the offenders and women as the victims. This is not to say that women cannot be the offenders or that men cannot be victims). For example, the case in which the boyfriend had sex with his girlfriend after 6 months of dating. The girl accused him of rape because when they started dated she said she did not want a sexual relationship. The boyfriend wrongly assumed the girl changed her mind because she did not say anything when he made an advance. Other examples were shared by the detectives where a man is accused of rape because he had sex with an intoxicated girl he just met. He did not think he was doing anything wrong because the girl seemed willing. These situations can be avoided.

Avoid uncertain situations & never assume. Detectives advised men to avoid uncertain situations (e.g., drunk sex) and never assume that a girl wants to have sex. Individuals should know the sexual assault laws in their state. It is never ok to have sex with someone that is passed out. Even if a girl is highly intoxicated (but not passed out) men should refrain from having sex with her. It was learned from the case examples that many women will report being raped when they were highly intoxicated. Men may feel the woman wanted to have sex when she was under the influence, but may later find himself accused of rape if the female felt she was taken advantage of. Never assume a person wants to have sex. Always be positive that the person’s answer is a confident

“yes.” If the person is under the influence of alcohol, then this is not considered a confident “yes.” Individuals should avoid any compromising situations where someone could accuse them of rape. This advice also applies to same sex relationships.

Detectives said that some girls may sound hesitant even though they really do not want any sexual activity but are too shy to say “no.” If a person felt pressured into something, they could then feel taken advantaged of and consider it rape. So if there is any doubt in the person’s willingness, then the partner should not proceed to have sex. If the sexual pursuer sees any hesitation, often they will keep pursuing. This should not be done. If a person says “no,” however hesitant it may sound, the person should not keep pursuing. Individuals should make it clear to their partner that they will only be sexually involved if the person is confident in their decision to be intimate. If there are any signs of hesitation, the person should not proceed. Many sexual assaults will be prevented if individuals avoid assuming their partner is willing and if the person clearly speaks up if they do not want to be intimate.

In summary, a person can protect themselves by avoiding risky behaviors, being assertive and communicating with their partner. Individuals should refrain from drug use and engaging in prostitution, as well as becoming too intoxicated which can leave a person vulnerable. They should also avoid sending the wrong signals and should make it clear if sexual activity is not wanted. Women should be assertive and confidently say “no” if someone is making unwanted advances. Couples should also communicate their sexual boundaries so that each person is aware of the limits. Men should also refrain from having sex with a girl that is intoxicated and should not continue to pursue a girl if she says “no,” despite how hesitant she may seem.

Detectives also offered advice to parents on how to protect their children from falling victim. They believe that parents cannot be too cautious when it comes to their children. This will be discussed next.

Advice for Parents to Protect their Children

One of a parent's worst nightmares is to have their child harmed. Child molestation is one of the most horrific crimes and yet happens all too often. How can parents protect their children from this crime? Unfortunately, there is no clear cut answer or sure sign of someone that is capable of such a heinous crime. What is known is that most often children are molested by someone that is trusted by the family. Although there is no sure sign if someone is a predator, there are, however, things parents can do to reduce the risk of their children falling victim to this type of assault. The following is a list of seven things detectives recommended parents can do to protect their children from this crime

Do not be too trusting. First, parents should be cautious who they trust since most offenders are close to the family. Child molestation predominantly occurs in the home and suspects come in all types. Offenders can be the dad, stepdad, uncle, step uncle, grandpa, cousin, sibling, neighbor, babysitter, coach, mom's boyfriend, religious leader, teacher, and so forth. Females can be offenders too but this is rare. The police department has seen an increase in male on male offenses and teenage boys molesting younger boys. According to detectives, many of these teenage male offenders were molested as young boys themselves.

Watch for signs of grooming. Second, parents should watch for signs of grooming. This is when the offender will try to slowly cross the boundaries and get the

child use to them. Grooming behaviors include playing with the kids often, wanting to babysit, offering to take kids to school or daycare (i.e., trying to get the child alone), anxious to have activities with the child, they may favor one child over the other or may give gifts to the children (sometimes even lavish gifts such as cell phones or jewelry).

Detectives stated that offenders will groom the mother as well if she is single. Offenders will give attention to the mother so she will allow him around her children. After the offender establishes a relationship with the single mother, then the offender may start to give more attention to the children or one child specifically. Offenders may also befriend an entire family, not just single mothers. Offenders will build the family's trust so they are allowed access and time alone with the children. Detectives stated that a parent should always think, "What are his intentions?"

Usually if the offender has offended multiple victims, they are all around the same age. Detectives stated that offenders will zero in on the shy kids because they want the kids that will not talk about it. If the offender thinks that a child may disclose then they will not choose this child. Offenders sense vulnerability, whether from mothers or children.

Have open communication. Third, detectives advised that parents have an open communication with their children. Detectives stated that often abuse goes undetected due to the lack of open communication with the child. Children, when asked why they did not say anything usually respond that they were scared. Sometimes they are scared to tell their parents because it is embarrassing and they are scared they will get in trouble. The child may also not have told anyone because they were threatened. The suspect may tell the child that it would be bad for them if the child tells. Especially if this is by an

adult figure, children are taught to obey so many times they listen to the offender and will not disclose.

Detectives stated that parents should start when the children are young and teach them about boundaries such as appropriate and not appropriate touch. Detectives advised parents to talk to their kids and let them know about body safety and about grooming. They recommended parents talk to their children often and educate them on boundaries and grooming behaviors. Parents should make sure that their child knows they can come to them and will not get in trouble. Kids have a voice and parents should teach them how to be assertive and use it. Parents can prepare their children to know what to do if someone ever tries to pass the boundaries. Detectives advised that parents use the correct terms for the body parts. Parents should not use nicknames for their anatomy such as calling their parts the “cookie jar” or saying “private parts” because this will increase shame.

Detectives advised parents that if their child does disclose that they should watch their reactions. If the parent starts crying hysterically or acts too strongly, the child will shut down. What parents should say is, “Then what happened?” Children do not want to be pitied because it is embarrassing to them. There are many cases in which the child did tell a parent but nothing was done so the teachers or other mandated reporters had to report it. This is why it is important for parents to listen and have an open communication with their kids.

Always supervise. Fourth, parents should always supervise their children. Many detectives felt that parents should not let their children spend the night, not even with family, because most offenders are family members. Detectives advised that parents

should especially watch their children at the gym and when they are swimming. The detectives have heard stories where the parents allowed their neighbor to take their kids on vacation and then were surprised when their child was molested. Lanning (2001) states that offenders will try to create a situation that the child has to change their clothes (e.g., water fight, swimming, spending the night). Lanning further states that “spending the night with the child is the best way for the sexual activity to progress” (p. 57). The detectives urged parents to keep close tabs on their children. Parents cannot be too trusting of others when it comes to their children. It is usually the people parents do not suspect that will abuse their children.

Do not be in denial. Fifth, detectives advised parents not to have the “It won’t happen to me” attitude. It can happen and it does happen. Often parents are in denial that it can happen to their children. Child sexual abuse is not isolated to one class or race of people. It can happen to anyone so detectives urge parents not to be naïve. Often parents will say they had a creepy vibe about the offender but yet they still let the person take their kid. Detectives advise parents not to be ignorant because it can happen to their child.

Do not be a naïve mother. Sixth, detectives advise mothers not to be naïve. According to detective, offenders will seek out broken homes and vulnerable weak single mothers. Offenders will use women as a means to an end. The detectives hear all too often of the mother that moved a man in her home with her children after just meeting him. They will also neglect to check if the man is a registered sex offender. Some mothers have knowledge that their boyfriend is a registered sex offender and yet they still move the man in with their children. Other mothers will be jealous of the child, or will

get mad at the child for disclosing to her. Some mothers value the offender more than their children, especially if they are the bread winner. This is so common that programs have been created for the non-offending parent when the mothers failed to protect their child and failed to report.

Detectives felt that many mothers will be clueless of the abuse because they are at work and will leave their child home alone with the offender. Detectives urge mothers not to trust strangers and men they just met with their children. They urge mothers to check their boyfriends on the sex registry list and listen to their child if they say something is going on. Also, detectives found it interesting that child abuse seems to be a generational thing. This means that they often see mothers that will be shocked it happened to their child because it happened to them and they thought they would be able to protect their children. Sometimes mothers who were abused will leave their children with the grandpa, the very man that abused the mother herself, and will be in denial that he would do it again.

Abstain from drugs, alcohol, and pornography. Lastly, an interesting point was made by the detectives. Technology is so advanced now that many offenders are using technology when they offend. They will use their phones to record the act or take pictures. They are making their own pornography. Some detectives felt that pornography could be a trigger for males to offend. Alcohol and drugs play a major role in child abuse cases and many offenders will blame their actions on the alcohol or drugs. Just as with adult sexual assault cases, alcohol and drugs are involved with child cases. One could safely assume that if people abstained from drugs and watched their alcohol consumption, then sexual assault rates would decline.

The detectives felt that offenders could be grouped into four types of categories. These categories are: 1) offenders that say their love and affection just got out of hand; 2) offenders that are sexually attracted to younger children; 3) offenders that are hypersexual and will use anything that is around them when they are sexually aroused; 4) juvenile offenders that abuse other juveniles. It has been seen that many of the juvenile offenders have been abused themselves or may suffer from a mental illness or come from a broken home.

According to Lanning (2001) offenders may have the following reactions upon discovery. They may be in denial and will act shocked, surprised, or even indignant about the allegation. They will try to minimize their actions by claiming it only happened one or two times or claim that they only caressed the victim. Others may try to justify their actions by claiming that what they did to the child was beneficial. Some offenders have lied about their actions and claimed they were only teaching the child about what is a good touch or bad touch. Offenders may also go on the offense and attack the reputation or motives of the officer, prosecutor, or witnesses. The detectives said that they have heard it all when it comes to excuses but that these are the more common reactions.

According to detectives, never has an offender (except for stranger offenders) wanted to hurt the child. Excuses that suspects give for their actions have been: I love her, I wanted to show her affection, it just got out of hand, she was so gorgeous, she was coming on to me, she was flirting with me, she enjoyed it, or lastly, I wanted to pleasure her. Other excuses given have been that they lost a loved one or have lost affection from their partner. Offenders may also blame their actions on alcohol or drugs as if this

excuses their behavior. Ultimately, parents cannot be too trusting of others because it can happen to any family. Following these seven tips for prevention may not be a guarantee that any harm will fall upon a family, but it can significantly reduce the opportunities predators may have to offend.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this study was to uncover why detectives are still being aggressive and insensitive towards victims when there has been a push since the seventies to alleviate this practice. The reasons why detectives use aggressive methods were shared and now the obstacles to victim sensitivity need to be reexamined with this information. After both sides of the issue (i.e., justifications for aggressive victim treatment versus damaging effects) are presented, the reasons will be examined and a discussion will follow answering the question: Are sexual assault detectives' aggressive interviewing methods justified? Theoretical applications of the findings from this study will also be presented. After the discussion, recommendations to improve victim treatment and the benefits of adopting victim sensitive interviewing methods will be given. This section will conclude with the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

Retraumatization

The findings from this study are consistent with research presented in the literature review outlining the issue of negative victim treatment. Prior research has revealed that victims often felt as though detectives were blaming them for the assault and that their stories were met with skepticism and disbelief (Ellison & Munro, 2009; Brown et al., 2007; Brown, Hamilton, O'Neill, 2007; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005). The findings from this study showed that these aggressive perspectives were being taken by many of the detectives from the participating police department. The aggressive detectives interviewed openly accused victims of lying and were insensitive towards the assault. These detectives stated their disbelief and

skepticism for the victims and reported that they felt acting aggressive was the best investigating method because most victims lie.

Literature stated that some victims reported being threatened that they would be cited for filing a false report (Jordan, 2001). This tactic was reported by detectives in this study. Due to the aggressive detectives' belief that most victims are lying, these detectives can be insensitive towards victims and will warn them they will be cited for filing a false report if they are caught lying, just as the literature stated. Furthermore, the literature stated that detectives would refuse to continue with the investigation because they either thought the victim was lying or the assault was not serious enough to prosecute. The aggressive detectives from this study reported placing blame on victims if they felt the victims' behaviors contributed to the assault and therefore would not submit the case to the District Attorney's office.

After a victim is sexually assaulted they are already in a vulnerable emotional state when they interact with the police. It is reported that victims are three times more likely to suffer from depression and six times more likely to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) than those of non-victims (RAINN, 2008). These effects of the assault are exacerbated by police when they treat victims aggressively. Maier (2008) found that most victims experience distress after their interactions with the police. Furthermore, victims whose cases were prosecuted were found to be less well-off psychologically than those victims whose cases were not prosecuted. In the study by Campbell et al. (1999) it was found that victims of non-stranger rape who experienced blaming attitudes from police showed significantly higher levels of PTSD symptoms.

Many victims will blame themselves once they experience these negative reactions and will not seek counseling because of the blame they felt (Patterson & Campbell, 2010).

Exacerbating victims' degree of depression and PTSD can significantly hinder their recovery and may even result in suicide. Due to their depression and PTSD, victims may struggle with their ability to cope and have a longer healing process if these symptoms are exacerbated. Victims may experience relationship issues, sleep disturbances, lack of enjoyment in life, intense phobias and fears, loss of job (because they struggle to fulfill their daily responsibilities), development of addiction with drugs and/or alcohol, and may have suicidal thoughts (Kennedy, 2009; Weeks & Hof, 1987). The effects of treating victims callously can be so dire that it would be hard to justify allowing such aggressive methods to continue.

In addition to negative psychological effects, aggressive interviewing methods can also have effects on case prosecution. Detectives are the gatekeepers to justice (Jordan, 2004). The majority of reported cases are dropped at the police level and never progress to the next stage (Brown, Hamilton, & O'Neill, 2007; Campbell, 2006; Frazier & Haney, 1996). Police are allowed a high level of discretion when closing cases. If a detective adheres to rape myths then they may drop a case if they feel the assault was not a "true" sexual assault even though by legal standards the incident would be deemed rape. A case may also be dropped if the detective feels the victim is lying, even if detectives do not have substantial evidence to support their assumption. If a detective uses aggressive interviewing methods then victims may become uncooperative and drop out of the investigative process. The filtering of cases out of the criminal justice system is happening as was evident from the high number of cases that were dropped due to

victim issues (36.5%) from the police department participating in this study (Pace, 2010). Even with such serious negative consequences from using callous and aggressive interviewing methods, detectives reported five main areas of justifications for continuing to rely on aggressive methods.

Justifications for Aggressive Methods

Advocates push for, and the general public expects, detectives to use sensitive interviewing methods with sexual assault victims. Adopting consistent victim sensitive strategies has, however, been met with resistance by law enforcement.

Even though research shows that aggressive interviewing methods can have serious and harmful psychological effects on victims, detectives justified their actions for five main reasons. First, they believe that majority of victims are lying. This belief is consistent with the literature in that studies have found an exaggerated expectation of false allegations among police officers (Kelly et al., 2005; Gregory & Lees, 1999). There existed among many of the detectives in this study a clear strong belief that victim allegations were usually false. Detectives reported estimates as high as 95-98% of victims lie. This rate was higher than expected; even some of the least aggressive detectives felt that half of all victims lie.

The second reason they use aggressive methods is because they feel it is a strategic technique to prevent victims from lying or to prompt a confession if they are lying. Since they feel that majority of victims are lying, they feel it is best to be stern and aggressive with victims to make it known that lying will not be tolerated. However, research shows that using a harsh interviewing method can have harmful effects such as an increase in depression and PTSD severity (Campbell et al., 1999; Maier, 2008).

Furthermore, Patterson (2011) found that victims will engage in a “self-protective behavior” by withholding details when they feel they are being judged or are receiving negative responses from detectives (p. 1368). This ultimately affects case prosecution because it affects the quality of the investigation, “Rape typically has no witnesses, and thus the successful prosecution of rape cases rests strongly on the information provided by victims during the investigation” (Patterson, 2011, p. 1365). Patterson (2011) states the importance of detectives receiving specialized training so they are able to build rapport with victims and improve the quality of investigations. The specialized training should distinguish between using a harsh method of interviewing, versus a gentle manner. This is important since the gentle manner of questioning victims “can help produce stronger victim statements and thus build stronger cases for prosecution” (p. 1349). The detectives in this study did not usually follow this line of thought of helping to support victim witnesses. Instead they actively adopted the role of defense attorney, challenging the victims and accusing them of being untruthful.

Thirdly, detectives use their aggressive tactics as a defense mechanism since their job can be emotionally wearing. Detectives reported encountering many hostile victims so they learn to put up a stern aggressive demeanor to prevent victims from emotionally wearing them down. They in essence block out their empathetic emotions to prevent becoming worn down emotionally so they can endure their job. However, by doing this, they are counter intuitively making their job more difficult. Aggressive methods will put victims on the defense and they will have more hostile victims to deal with than if they used nonaggressive interviewing methods. Constantly dealing with hostile victims is

more likely to emotionally wear the detectives down and lead to burnout. Therefore, it is in the detectives' best interest to adopt a nonaggressive interviewing style.

The fourth reason for using aggressive methods is underlying personalities. It was found that some detectives have a stern and aggressive personality so it is difficult for them to appear sensitive. The *predispositional* model postulates that police work attracts a certain type of personality; whereas, the *socialization* model proposes that police officers are socialized to adopt a certain personality after they become an officer due to their experiences (Gerber & Ward, 2011). It is possible that both models are correct; police work attracts a certain type of individual, and that individual is further influenced through experiences as a police officer. It is unknown what type of personality the detectives interviewed had prior to becoming a police officer, but the aggressive detectives did state how they became more cynical due to their encounters with victims.

Police officers may become cynical due to their experiences in dealing with people that break the law. Cynicism is defined as "a lack in the belief of the sincerity or goodness of human motives and actions" (Gerber & Ward, 2011, p. 424). Cynicism may bring about feelings of distrustfulness, doubt, contempt, and disbelief (Gerber & Ward, 2011). These traits were present among the aggressive detectives in this study. The detectives held a cynical outlook towards sexual assault victims in believing majority lie. Detectives were also cynical in their outlook in the "goodness of human motive and action" (Gerber & Ward, 2011, p. 424). They expressed a sense of defeat that they could not make a difference in people's lives because individuals are always going to make illogical decisions. They felt majority of victims made poor choices leaving them vulnerable which could have been avoided. Detectives are expected to uphold the law

and therefore “must anticipate that most people will break the law” (Gerber & Ward, 2011, p. 424). This was also seen among the aggressive detectives interviewed because they generalized that majority of victims lie; they anticipated victims to lie even before hearing their story. The nonaggressive detectives did not adopt a cynical outlook towards rape victims and therefore did not generalize that majority lie and are false victims.

Lastly, the fifth reason for using aggressive methods is due to police culture which includes the lack of oversight and the adherence to rape myths. Detectives are not required to change their aggressive ways when many of their superiors (not all superiors) use the same methods. Detectives are trained by fellow detectives or superiors. Often these detectives and superiors are not educated in the area of sexual assault and therefore pass down their biases and inaccurate assumptions. If the department does not see this issue as a problem (i.e., how they treat victims), then they are not going to require detectives to change their methods. Without proper oversight and training on the severity of this issue, aggressive interviewing methods will continue to be practiced.

Rape myths are beliefs about rape that are said to be inaccurate and biased towards women. Examples of rape myths include: It is the women’s fault for being raped; if there are no injuries then no harm was done; it is not really rape if the victim knew the assailant; and, women can bring rape upon themselves by how they dress (Bevacqua, 2000; Burt, 1980). Maier (2008) identified the concept of a “real” rape victim which is a victim who was raped by a stranger, suffered physical injuries, reported immediately and did not engage in behaviors that put the victim at risk (e.g., drinking, drug use, or acting promiscuous). Prior research has found that police officers did not have a belief of rape that was consistent with state law (Campbell & Johnson, 1997).

Officers were more likely to adhere to rape myths to determine if a situation was rape than to follow the legal definition of rape.

These same beliefs were observed among the aggressive detectives in this study. Much blame was placed on the victims if it was discovered that they were drinking, using drugs, acting promiscuous at the time of the assault, and assaulted by an acquaintance (e.g., someone they met at a bar). Detectives did not consider these types of victims to be “true” victims. Their definition of a “true” victim parallels what Maier (2008) called the “real” rape victim. The aggressive detectives in this study did not view sexual assault in terms of the state’s legal definition, but rather relied on their own assumptions and beliefs of rape to determine if a victim was indeed raped.

Advocates for the improvement of victim treatment by law enforcement claim that even if a person was involved in drug use, high alcohol consumption, or promiscuity, they can still be raped if they said “no” to sexual advances but the aggressor persisted (Caringella, 2009; Bevacqua, 2000; Campbell & Johnson, 1997). Legally speaking, this is an accurate assertion based on state law. The law does not state that an incident is not considered rape if a person was dressed provocatively while saying “no” to sexual advances. The aggressive detectives, however, place much blame on victims that engage in high risk behaviors that may have put them in danger. They are less likely to view these incidences as rape when they felt that the victim could have prevented it by altering their behavior. The analysis of rape myths in comparison to the beliefs of the aggressive detectives will be examined as it applies to the theoretical framework of this study.

Theoretical Application

Detectives may use aggressive methods for the reasons outlined above, but one of the main reasons they are aggressive is because they are frustrated and annoyed with victims who make poor decisions and do not take the responsibility for protecting themselves. Therefore, they do not consider majority of the victims to be legitimate victims.

The findings from this study parallel the expectations underlining the routine activities theory because detectives felt that victims made poor choices that led to their victimization which could have been prevented. Detectives often reported that they felt that victims could have prevented the assault by making better decisions. Routine activities theory takes a holistic approach encompassing the victim, the offender, and the context of violent crime (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2000). Felson (2008) defines routine activity theory on a micro level as, “ordinary crime emerges when a likely offender converges with a suitable crime target in the absence of a capable guardian against crime” (p. 70). A guardian can be a police officer, security guard, or anyone whose “presence or proximity discourages crime” (p. 71). This theory purports that victimization can occur based on the victims’ lifestyle habits which creates vulnerability and the opportunity for offenders to offend. Detectives did imply that they felt the victims made themselves into suitable targets through their behavior or they had personally dropped their guardianship by choosing to engage in high risk behavior.

Detectives also felt that victims that did not prevent the assault were not truly victims or the assault they described was not a criminal act. Aggressive detectives will often discount a victim if they were raped by someone known to them, but research

shows that both interpersonal violence and even other types of violent crimes are usually committed by someone known to the victim (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2000). The routine activities theory states that a victim may put themselves in contact with a potential offender due to their lifestyle choices (e.g., drug use, alcohol intoxication). Mustaine and Tewksbury further state that victims and offenders, “share significant characteristics and behaviors” and that, “victims and offenders are very similar” (p. 342). Adult sexual assault cases may involve victims and offenders of the same age and lifestyle habits. Research identifies the victim’s pursuit of recreational fun through drug and alcohol use as jeopardizing a person’s safety and providing opportunities for offenders (who also pursue recreational fun through drug and alcohol use) to offend (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2000).

Routine activities theory as previously applied to sexual assault asserts that victims put themselves at risk to be victimized by their lifestyle choices (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Females can be seen as a “suitable target” in the presence of motivated offenders without someone that represents a “guardian.” Victims may make themselves available to offenders that will victimize by attending places in which possible offenders would also attend (e.g., bars, clubs, parties). For example, a college girl that attends a fraternity party is possibly putting herself in contact with motivated offenders. If this girl becomes intoxicated, just as the many other party goers are, then she has become vulnerable and left without a guardian (e.g., a friend that is not intoxicated). Due to the girl’s lifestyle choices, in her pursuit for recreational fun, she made herself available to motivated offenders and left herself vulnerable with the absence of a guardian. The aggressive detectives in this study would be skeptical of the girl’s story if she reported

being victimized. For one, the detectives would feel that she was intoxicated and could have consented and it was not really rape if there were no physical injuries. Secondly, some detectives would not consider this scenario rape because they would feel that the girl made a poor decision and was taken advantage of but was not raped.

Although it may be true that the girl made choices that put her at risk, some would argue that it is still rape if she said “no” to sexual advances regardless of her location, appearance, or behaviors (drug and alcohol use). The detectives, however, find these cases difficult to prove non-consent when there is no evidence and when the victim’s actions cast doubt on her refusing sexual advances. Detectives would argue that her motives were to engage in sexual activity since she went to a party, became heavily intoxicated, and was seen flirting with the man she is accusing of rape. Some detectives may drop the case because they do not consider this rape, and others may drop the case because it is a weak case and almost impossible to prove non-consent. The feminist literature would argue that the detectives are giving into rape myths and denying justice to these women.

The feminist literature suggests that the issue of victim treatment stems from gender bias. Feminist theories assert that detectives are suppressing women’s rights by not affording them justice and instead protecting the men that victimize them (Burnett et al., 2009). By denying women justice, they are also denying women the right to guardianship and sexual autonomy over their own bodies. What the findings from this study show is that this feminist interpretation is not necessarily true or cannot be applied to every case. I say “necessarily” because it is possible that there are detectives that do have a derogatory view towards women; although, the most prominent theme that I heard

was not based on gender, but rather on the victims' behaviors. It mattered mostly what the victim did before, during, and after the assault than it did whether they were male or female. If a male victim engaged in high risk behaviors (e.g., drugs, alcohol, prostitution) then the detectives were less likely to have sympathy for them and more likely to be aggressive. The same was true for women.

If a woman was raped and the evidence was clear that she was raped, then the detectives are sympathetic towards the victim and work long hours on the case until the suspect is caught. They do want to see these men that are violating women punished and they do believe that women deserve justice if they have been victimized. The key word is "if" they have been victimized. The challenge for detectives is looking for proof that the victim was indeed sexually assaulted. It is also a challenge to prove that a victim was sexually assaulted when the detectives within the department are not consistent in their application of a definition of rape. Some detectives feel a victim may have been taken advantage of so there is no crime to continue with, whereas, other detectives felt the victim was raped. If the detective makes the snap judgment that victims were not victims of crime, they will have no reason to look for evidence of a crime.

Where the annoyance, frustration, and aggression come the most into play for detectives is when victims engage in high risk behaviors that put them in danger and they cannot provide any physical evidence of non-consent or they are missing details about the events leading up to the assault. Victims are portrayed by detectives as expecting the police to be miracle workers and find the accused with no name, no face, and no physical evidence of non-consent. Quite simply, detectives do not have sympathy or patience for these types of victims and the detectives in this study reported these types of cases are a

common occurrence. In fact, what was noticed with some of the detectives was a belief that can be described as a form of feminism. They believe that women should protect themselves and avoid risky behaviors (e.g., prostitution, promiscuity with acquaintances, drug use, alcohol intoxication, etc.) that may leave them vulnerable and at risk to being victimized. The detectives voiced concerns that sexual exploration is a risky behavior that may invite victimization parallels the feminist theories from the anti-pornography debate.

At a conference at Barnard College in 1982, a debate arose among feminists in which some advocated for embracing the pleasure of sexuality and others argued the dangers of sexual exploration (Basiliere, 2009). Basiliere (2009) states, “women who centered their discussions on sexuality of danger acknowledged the possibility of pleasure in sexual acts, but believed that the inherent dangers (rape, sexual assault, domestic violence) overshadowed any pleasure that could be gained” (p. 2). The detectives’ beliefs closely resemble those of the anti-pornography feminists in which they believe that women should not be overly promiscuous since this could have harmful consequences, such as sexual assault.

Whereas some feminist believe that it is women’s right to dress provocatively, drink as much as they want, have sex with whomever they want and however many they want, other feminists (such as the anti-pornography feminists) would believe that these behaviors would put a person in danger and keep women in their inferior state by allowing men the opportunity to sexually exploit them. Many detectives felt that women should take responsibility and protect themselves. They should not succumb to societies’ pressures to be promiscuous, especially with people they just met. Detectives felt that

individuals, both men and women, should not rely on anyone else but themselves to keep them safe and should be assertive and avoid being vulnerable.

The detectives did not feel that a woman deserved to be raped if she dresses provocatively or becomes intoxicated, but rather believes that it is unwise to engage in these behaviors as they may leave them vulnerable or send the wrong message. Some of the detectives were especially annoyed when a person did engage in high risk behaviors and then expected the police to “clean up their mess.” These detectives felt that if a person is going to engage in these risky behaviors then they should be aware of the consequences and deal with the consequences themselves instead of “crying” to the police. Due to this belief, these detectives do place much blame and responsibility on the victims who engage in risky behaviors because they feel the victims could have prevented it if they had made better decisions. It should be noted that although the detectives’ beliefs on preventing rape closely parallels that of the anti-pornography feminists, the idea of placing blame on victims for being raped is not consistent with this group of feminists.

Both theories (pro-sex and anti-porn) have the same end goals of women’s rights and liberation of women; yet, they go about it in different ways. The pro-sex feminist belief is that a person should do what they want because it is their body, which is in contrast to the detectives’ belief that a person should be assertive and protect themselves because it is their body (which is the anti-pornography feminist belief). The detectives place much emphasis on making wise decisions and avoiding the appearance of consent (e.g., flirting, acting promiscuous) if sexual activity is not wanted. Detectives also emphasize the importance of always staying in control of oneself to avoid becoming

vulnerable and allowing others the opportunity to take advantage of them. They believe that by women taking responsibility through avoiding vulnerable situations they are then able to gain autonomy by not allowing others to take advantage of them. By allowing others the opportunity to take advantage of them, it is possible they are further propelling women's subordination by allowing men the opportunity to their bodies.

Detectives encourage women to be assertive and not allow others to victimize them. Obviously, sometimes it is out of a person's control but detectives feel it is in the female's control to avoid putting herself in vulnerable situations. The detectives are mainly referring to the cases that could have been prevented. They do not place blame on women that avoided high risk behaviors (e.g., avoided intoxication, drug use, prostitution). Detectives felt that women should be in control of the situations they put themselves in. By doing this, women are then taking a stand and not allowing men the opportunity to victimize.

The anti-pornography feminists believe that individuals should take responsibility and control of one's body and the situations they put themselves in. On the other hand, the pro-sex feminists expect law enforcement to provide justice and ensure women their rights regardless of a victim's involvement in high risk behaviors. One is preventive and the other is reactive. The problem with the pro-sex feminist belief is that it is harder to build a case for prosecution when the victim engaged in high risk behaviors (e.g., alcohol intoxication, promiscuity, prostitution). Often victims cannot provide evidence if they were highly intoxicated or their behaviors suggested possible consent because they were acting promiscuous with the accused. Victims may have consented to one form of sexual activity, such as oral sex, but did not consent to vaginal sex. If the sexual partner forced

the victim to have vaginal sex regardless of the victim's refusal, then this is considered rape but it will be difficult to prove. From what is known, women cannot rely on law enforcement to provide justice and ensure their rights and equality, especially without any evidence. It is better to take preventive steps to avoid an assault in the first place than it is to engage in risky behaviors and become vulnerable to being victimized and have the case denied due to lack of evidence. Victims cannot always rely on law enforcement to provide them justice. This is where it can be concerning because a female really is at a disadvantage if she wants to report being sexually assaulted because it is so difficult to prove non-consent.

For example, the following scenario provides a situation in which a female was raped but would likely not be awarded justice because of the difficulty in proving non-consent. If a female goes to a man's house that she is newly dating and agrees to kiss him but no more, it is unlikely that justice will be served if the man chooses to force her beyond her boundaries. The female agreed to go out with the man, she agreed to go to his house, and she agreed to kiss him. Even though she clearly said "no" when the man tried to pass her boundaries, how will she prove non-consent if there are no injuries and her actions cast doubt on her motives? It is very possible that a man can rape a woman and inflict no injuries because of the innate strength of men that can make it easy to overpower a female. What the detectives and jury will be hearing is that the female had interest in the man because she was dating him and was kissing him. So how do detectives and the jury know she is not lying about agreeing to have sex when the man is saying it was consensual?

Most often detectives will err on the side of caution and protect the man that may be innocent from wrongly being convicted. They are less likely to err in caution on the side of the female that was possibly raped. They reported feeling that it is worse to put an innocent man in jail than to not pursue a case particularly when the victim appears to have no injuries so no harm done to her. Women need to be careful and understand that they have to do everything in their power to prevent any compromising situations that may put them in danger because it can be easy for a man to rape a female and easy for them to get away with it.

It should be highlighted that detectives place much of the responsibility on women protecting themselves to prevent being raped. They do not place much emphasis on preventing men from raping in the first place. From what I gathered from the interviews, this is because they feel that it is hopeless and impossible to try to change an individual that is capable of rape. They feel that the men capable of rape are not going to change their ways just because someone said “don’t rape” because they already know it is wrong, but still do it.

The detectives focus on the behavior of the victim because they perceive it to be the easiest way to prevent sexual assault. By making small changes to their behaviors, women can significantly decrease their risk of being sexually assaulted. However, even though detectives focus on the victims making better decisions, they also feel a sense of defeat in being able to influence individuals to make better decisions and protect themselves. Nonetheless, detectives feel women should protect themselves and avoid compromising situations that put them in danger because the detectives cannot help victims that cannot provide any evidence. While some detectives are frustrated they

cannot help victims that cannot provide any evidence (e.g., they were too intoxicated to remember details), some detectives do not have sympathy for these types of victims and do not consider the situation rape, as was mentioned in the four types of lies section.

From the findings, it was learned that detectives are not necessarily being aggressive due to gender bias. Rather, one of the main reasons they are aggressive is because of the high risk behaviors that women and men engage in. These behaviors put individuals at risk to become vulnerable and ultimately victimized. The detectives' beliefs parallel a form of feminism which is similar to those of the anti-pornography feminist who believe sexual exploration can have negative consequences. Detectives believe women and men should practice caution and avoid risky behaviors so they can avoid becoming a victim to sexual assault. This belief is also aligned with the routine activity theory which states how victims may put themselves in vulnerable compromising situations which allows offenders the opportunity to offend. Detectives feel that many sexual assaults can be avoided by victims protecting themselves and making better choices.

Are Aggressive Interviewing Methods Justified?

Are detectives' reasons for using aggressive interviewing methods justified? Or, are the interest groups justified in advocating for a more sensitive treatment of victims? This study shed light on the challenges that detectives face and the readers were given a better understanding for what detectives do and deal with every day. It can be understood why detectives may become short tempered, stern, frustrated, and aggressive. One cannot deny that they deal with many difficult people and that this would wear down the

patience of anyone. Despite understanding the source of frustration, allowing such aggressive, negative treatment of victims to continue can have dire consequences.

Research shows that if a victim has a negative experience upon reporting they have a longer and more difficult healing process (Campbell, 1999; Jordan, 2001). Research further shows these victims who had a negative experience are at a higher risk for PTSD and depression (Campbell, 1999; Jordan, 2001). The way a victim is treated can have profound effects on their lives. Detectives may only see victims for a few hours, so what impact can detectives truly have in that short amount of time? Yet, even in that short amount of time, victims will wear those scars for years after their experience with the detectives.

Detectives are hired to serve and protect the public. They have a duty to protect the community and should always practice caution when interacting with victims of crime. More value needs to be placed on protecting the innocent victims. What if the detectives were wrong about a victim? What if they really were raped? They do not deserve to be further traumatized by the people they trust to protect them.

By abandoning their harsh methods does not mean that innocent people will be sent to jail. The detectives that were sensitive and practiced caution (by staying neutral and unbiased) were still able to discern if a victim was lying to them. These detectives that used caution and sensitivity appeared to have better experiences with victims and were less agitated and annoyed with them. It is safe to assume that these detectives who practice caution are less likely to have issues with victims.

The aggressive detectives emphasize the importance of protecting the innocent that may be wrongly accused; yet, there is a legal system established to do just this. They

are essentially taking the victims' right to a public hearing of their victimization through the trial process away from them. These aggressive detectives are exercising considerable police discretion by closing cases based on their assumptions. Detectives repeatedly expressed concerns about protecting the accused but that role is traditionally fulfilled by the defense attorney. The credibility of the victim and the credibility of accused are assessed by judge and jury. These assumptions that accused assaulters need protection from weak claims of assault may be inaccurate and result in denying victims their chance to tell their side of the story and their access to justice.

The main reason why aggressive methods cannot be justified is because of the psychological damage it can have on victims. When better interviewing methods exist that are more effective and efficient, there should be no reason that justifies using aggressive methods when it can drastically affect a person's life. These methods can exacerbate symptoms of PTSD and depression to the point of suicide. In addition to the psychological damage, aggressive methods are not justified because it also negatively affects case prosecution. First, a high percentage of cases are dropped due to victim issues. These issues may stem from how victims are being treated. If detectives are aggressive towards victims, then victims may become hostile and belligerent and their case will be dropped due to victim issues. Second, a detective has much autonomy and discretion when closing cases. They may close a case based on their erroneous assumptions without investigating further to substantiate their assumptions. Judges and juries should be the ones to weigh all the facts and make the judgment call about credibility. Police are trying to be efficient by not sending weak cases forward but that

cost of efficiency has to be balanced against the human damage of the aggressive treatment of victims.

The far reaching negative consequence of officers making fast decisions about victim credibility was exemplified in one case shared by the detectives in this study. They told the story of a nine year old girl who said her sister's boyfriend tried to rape her. The nine year reported that her teenage sister's adult boyfriend had attempted to rape her annually. The sexual assault detectives went to the victim's home to take her statement. They were not forensically trained child investigators nor would the girl have been seen at the child assessment center because the alleged abuser did not live with the child. After the interview began, the child changed her statement to say that he had actually completed the rape. When the girl said that he had actually raped her annually, the detectives told the nine year old girl she was lying and that they did not believe her because she started the interview by saying that he had attempted to rape her annually. They ended the interview at that point and dropped the case because they felt they had proof of her lying with the inconsistency in her story from the initial report in the interview process. The detectives reported how the young girl was crying when she was confronted about lying and how they thought she was just mad at her mom and sister. How did it not cross the detectives' minds that the girl may have been embarrassed to admit the boyfriend raped her annually when she made the initial complaint? Furthermore, how was it possible that the detectives were allowed to close the case based purely on their assumption that she was lying because she was mad at her mom and sister? They did not recommend a physical exam or any other follow up. They did not have any evidence that the girl was mad at her mom and sister; that was their best guess for why a

child would lie about being assaulted. If the girl was mad perhaps it was consistent with the assault taking place and she was upset that they were not protecting her and instead were allowing a man to rape her. It will never be known if the young girl was truly raped because an investigation did not occur beyond taking her statement. If she was raped, then the detectives failed at their job to protect a nine year old girl being forced to engage in anal intercourse. In addition to not recommending treatment for this girl, the accused will never be interviewed or held accountable for his behavior.

Aggressive methods generate hostile victims which can lead to lawsuits against the department. Victims suing police departments for mistreatment is not uncommon and there are cases pending against the agency participating in this research resulting from aggressive treatment of sexual assault victims. Agency time and energy is spent on addressing complaints but victims who felt they were respected and listened to do not launch these types of cases. This creates a very inefficient legal process when detectives are taking time away from investigating to deal with angry victims and possible lawsuits. It is also an ineffective legal process when detectives are given the power to deny victims the right to a trial, especially when detectives drop cases due to their assumptions which are not supported with evidence.

Another cost or negative consequence to using aggressive methods is the negative toll that it can take on the detectives emotionally. Aggressive methods can cause hostile victims, and dealing with hostile victims can be emotionally draining for detectives. Detectives will likely experience burnout if they are constantly dealing with hostile people on a daily basis. Detectives will not be able to perform their job to the best of their abilities if they feel burnt out. Experiencing burnout can also perpetuate the abusive

cycle of aggressive methods because detectives are worn out and will have less patience for other victims which may then cause hostile victims. Hostile victims may further aggravate detectives which then lead to aggressive methods which lead to hostile victims, and the cycle continues. They may also generalize and develop a negative attitude towards all victims.

There is a better way of interviewing victims and many detectives are already putting these methods into practice. The government and interest groups have created training programs specifically for sexual assault detectives on interviewing victims and these trainings have shown to be effective (Kinney et al., 2008; Lonsway, 1996). States, such as Maryland, have mandated training on sexual assault for every detective because they acknowledge and recognize the harm that can be done from improper practices. There is no reason to justify hiring a sexual assault detective that is uneducated in the research pertaining to sexual assault. Sexual assault detectives should be skilled in their area of work and be required to have the proper training before interacting with victims. Detectives who lack the ability to control their emotions and refrain from making overgeneralizations and assumptions about victims should be transferred out of the area that involves working with victims.

Recommendations to Improve Victim Treatment

There are three groups of stakeholders involved when examining and addressing the issue of police aggression towards victims—Detectives/police departments, politicians, and victims. In order to improve victim treatment by law enforcement, all groups can contribute to reform efforts. Recommendations will be given to each group. Six main recommendations can be given to prevent detectives from using aggressive

methods towards victims of sexual assault: 1) reduce acceptance of rape myths among police culture, 2) screen detectives upon hiring, 3) educate and train detectives on the topic of sexual assault, 4) implement internal oversight, 5) reduce burnout, and 6) utilize victim advocates. Politicians can mandate training for sexual assault detectives upon being promoted to detective within the sex crimes unit and establish a regulatory board or ombudsman to ensure the proper treatment of victims. There are four main things victims can do to improve their experience with police: 1) do not lie, 2) do not be hostile towards detectives, 3) do not be pressured into reporting, and 4) know the services that are available to victims of sexual assault.

Detectives

Detectives can harm victims emotionally through their aggressive interviewing methods. It has been found that detectives using a nonaggressive approach are less cynical towards victims and stated having fewer issues with victims. Police departments can improve their response towards sexual assault victims by ensuring the following things.

Police culture. The overall attitude of rape needs to be changed from within the department as a whole. It was found that there was an acceptance of rape myths among many of the detectives. Rape myths include believing a victim was not truly raped if they were highly intoxicated. It was also not considered rape if the victim was acting promiscuously even if they were forced to do sexual acts against their consent (e.g., they consented to vaginal sex but were forced to have anal sex). Even though the legal definition includes any sexual act against someone's consent, many detectives will drop

cases based on their opinions of rape. This interpretation does not match the legal definition of sexual assault and needs to be revisited by police agencies.

These narrow interpretations of legitimately assaultive behavior could possibly have been passed down through the ranks, starting with the higher ranked officer who then trained the lower ranked officers. This study found a very cynical view of rape victims among the aggressive detectives. They believed that 95-98% of victims are lying and are not “true” victims. If the current treatment of victims does not meet the community’s expectations then this will create a conflict. To resolve this conflict, there needs to be shift in the beliefs among police officers about rape. The higher ranked officers need to set the standard of how victims should be treated by officers. This must start at the top with the Sheriff and then the Deputy, then the Assistant Sheriffs, and on down the ranks. The lower ranked officers will not change their views if this is the belief that is being taught to them or negative behaviors are being ignored by senior officers. The higher ranked officers must set the tone. This can be done through proper training.

Recruitment & Selection. The police department can screen applicants for sexual assault detectives by looking for important qualities such as personality, beliefs regarding women, views on sexual assault, and the applicant’s ability to be sensitive towards victims. The department should look for individuals that have an interest in helping others within the sex crimes area, versus those that merely see the position as a stepping stone to be promoted to another area. The applicant must have the desire to be a sexual assault detective. As with other positions within the department, every applicant should be required to take a written exam testing their knowledge of sexual assault. The oral exam should screen applicants for acceptance of rape myths, their desire for wanting

to be a sexual assault detective, and if they have the ability to be sensitive towards victims. Applicants should also be evaluated on their reasoning and critical thinking skills. Applicants should be able to stay unbiased and think objectively about cases.

Muir (1977) categorized types of police officers based on their passion and perspective. He defined a “good” police officer as one that has both passion and perspective. Although Muir’s model is not applied specifically to sexual assault detectives, his concepts of passion and perspective can still be applied to the participants of this study. Muir stated that officers who had perspective had intellectual objectivity. Instead of generalizing and becoming cynical, the officers in Muir’s study were able to understand there were varying degrees of good and evil in the world. They did not view mankind as purely evil. Muir called this type of officer the “professional” (Muir, 1977).

The nonaggressive detectives in this study would be categorized as the “professionals.” They have the intellectual objectivity to understand that even though it is possible for a victim to lie, they do not believe that all victims are lying. Although Muir describes passion as the ability to integrate coercion into morals, I would apply passion to the nonaggressive detectives to describe the desire they have to help others and serve justice. The nonaggressive detectives have a passion for making a difference in their area of work. When asked why they wanted to become a sexual assault detective, many nonaggressive detectives stated their desire to help others and make a difference within this area. Many of the aggressive detectives either could not give me an answer, they were not sure, or they simple saw it as a stepping stone to the next detective position in another area when asked why they had applied for this position. The aggressive

detectives lacked perspective and passion. They hold a cynical view of rape victims and generalize to believe that most victims are lying.

Muir's description of the "professional" is the type of detective that should be selected because they are able to maintain passion and perspective. They are officers that have intellectual objectivity because they are educated in the area of sexual assault, are able to avoid generalizations (e.g., all victims are lying), and can avoid forming cynical views of victims. They also have passion for wanting to be a sexual assault detective so that they can help others. One limitation to this idea of a professional is that the nonaggressive detectives may be the best type of detectives when interacting with victims, but it is unknown if their style is the best method when interacting with suspects. For this reason, future studies should be conducted on the best investigating methods used when interviewing suspects.

Training. Once an officer is promoted to detective they should then be formally educated on the topic of sex crimes. This would include utilizing academics to increase detective knowledge about the theory and scholarly research side of their work. Outside experts should be brought in to educate detectives on topics such as the psychological effects of rape and how to interact with a victim that is emotionally distraught. It is illogical to allow an individual to work as a sex crimes detective that has no education on sex crimes.

Detectives should be aligned with the legal definitions of sexual assault and not base case dismissals on their personal opinions of what constitutes as rape. Kinney et al. (2008) found training to be effective in improving skill levels, positively influence detectives' opinions towards women, broaden their perspectives on the different types of

rape, and lessen victim blaming perspectives. Furthermore, victims reported having a positive interaction with detectives that used the skills taught from the training. Training also showed an increase in victim cooperation (Kinney, 2008).

Training should include best practice methods for interviewing victims. Although Schwartz (2010) found there were no “best practice” methods among the detectives he interviewed, there were best practice methods found among some of the detectives interviewed for this study. The nonaggressive detectives exemplify what Muir (1977) calls the “professional” because these detectives have both passion and perspective and therefore use methods that are victim sensitive to reduce any possible further trauma to victims. Their methods were described in the findings section of this study and should be used to train incoming detectives. By teaching nonaggressive interviewing methods, this will also set the standard of acceptable and unacceptable interviewing methods. Some of the detectives felt the department would benefit from training on cultural competency as well.

Internal oversight. Internal oversight should be required. One of the main reasons why victim mistreatment remains a problem is because the department is not required to change their investigating methods. Detectives are given much autonomy when closing cases. They can drop a case based on their gut feelings and potentially incorrect assumptions. Detectives may choose to verify with a fellow detective that the case should be closed, but if both detectives adopt aggressive interviewing methods and adhere to rape myths, then cases may be unjustly closed. Internal oversight does not work if the detective or sergeant that is overseeing case closure adheres to rape myths and utilizes aggressive methods. This is why the previous recommendation is important so

that the sex crimes unit consists of professionals (as defined by Muir). A case should not be closed until certain investigating steps have been completed (such as follow up calls or interviews) and the sergeant reviews the evidence and determines that it can be closed at the police level (versus being submitted on to the District Attorney).

Part of internal oversight should include constant evaluation of performance standards. Victims should be able to voice their opinion about their experience and their opinions should be taken into consideration. If they have a complaint, the department needs to be listening to the public and be responsive to the people they are hired to serve. This can be done by allowing victims to give feedback about their experience through a survey link which can be accessed from the department's website. The link will only be useful if someone is monitoring the comments and providing recommendations to the department based on the feedback received. Obviously it is impossible to please every individual and given the sensitive nature of this area it is possible that some victims will be offended even by nonaggressive detectives, but the main point of the survey is to monitor for behaviors that do not meet department standards (once a professional standard of interviewing methods is established) and to be alerted to occurring offenses by any one detective in particular. Victims may also provide recommendations that personnel did not previously think of but are valid suggestions that can improve police response to victims.

Reduce burnout. Police officers have one of the most challenging and demanding careers. It has been stated that, "law enforcement has been recognized as one of the most stressful occupations worldwide" (Anshel, 2000, p. 375). The work they do would be considered emotional labor because they are expected to control their own

emotions as well as manage the emotions of others in emotionally driven situations (Sternross & Kleinman, 1989). Employees working in this type of work may experience burnout and become estranged from their feelings (Sternross & Kleinman, 1989). Furthermore, the effects of this stress can lead to, “high incidence of sickness, absenteeism, burnout, and premature retirement” (Anshel, 2000, p. 376).

The detectives from this study may be aggressive because they feel burnout from the emotional toll of their job working with victims. Experiencing burnout can lead to aggressive behaviors towards victims because the detectives become emotionally drained and therefore have less patience and tolerance towards victims. In addition to causing aggressive behaviors and harming victims, burnout can harm detectives as well. The failure to cope properly to these stresses can have serious effects such as, “increased rates of heart disease, stomach disorders, divorce, alcohol and drug abuse, and suicide” (Anshel, 2000, p. 376). Training on how to prevent burnout can help detectives better manage their feelings and control their desire to be impatient, aggressive, and callous towards victims. It can also help detectives physically and psychologically which will ultimately help the department as a whole by having healthy employees.

Utilize victim advocates. There are conflicting needs for detectives and victims which can lead to conflicts or problems during interviews. Victim advocates can help bridge this gap of conflicting needs. Victims need consoling, reassurance, and a feeling of safety; whereas, detectives need the facts. This disparity of needs can cause detectives to feel annoyed and frustrated with victims, and for victims to feel hurt and offended by detectives. Victim advocates can provide the consoling, validation, and reassurance that victims need. They can also educate victims on the legal process and caution the victims

that the detective's job is to get the facts and they will have to ask very personal and detailed questions.

The detectives do not see themselves as counselors so may estrange themselves from their emotions and ignore the emotional distress exhibited by victims. By doing so, however, victims may become hostile or even refuse to cooperate which ruins the chances of their case being prosecuted. Detectives are not expected to be counselors, but they are expected to be civil towards victims. Even if the detective feels the victim is lying, it is in the detective's best interest to stay civil, professional, and in control of their emotions. Confronting the victim can create a hostile situation and cause more stress, time, and work for the detective. They can conduct the interview, do their preliminary investigating, and then close the case if the evidence does not support the victim's story. In these cases, detectives should also be trained how to deliver "bad" news to victims (e.g., closing their case instead of submitting it for prosecution) so that victims are not further traumatized and so they do not become irate and complain to the department. Granted, some victims will complain regardless, but many complaints can be reduced by the diplomatic way in which detectives deliver bad news. When delivering bad news to victims, detectives can refer victims to rape crisis centers so that they are able to access resources available to them to help them through their recovery process, even if their case was dropped.

Politicians

Politicians are elected individuals responsible for serving the public and ensuring the welfare of their constituents. If necessary, they hold the power to mandate change to better serve the public. If individuals are being harmed, as many victims exposed to

detectives' aggressive methods are, politicians can take the appropriate steps to alleviate this harm. Just as many states require child sexual abuse detectives to be specially trained within this area before interviewing children, so should all detectives be trained on how to interact with victims of crime. Detectives can do much damage to victims if they lack the proper training to carry out their work. Politicians can also establish an external regulatory board to do two things, 1) ensure all detectives are properly trained, and 2) respond to complaints from the public regarding gross negligence and wrongdoing by detectives. Police departments should have their own internal oversight procedures, but there should also be an external oversight agency to ensure the complaints are being addressed and properly handled.

Maryland has been a pioneering state in improving their standards of response to victims by law enforcement. They are one of the few states that already mandated specialized training for all sexual assault detectives. The training is enforced by the Maryland Police Training and Correctional Commission. Police departments should learn from one another and adopt strategies and programs that prove to be effective. External agencies responsible for overseeing the proper treatment of victims can include grant management units, accreditation agencies, or state departments.

A recommendation that was given by detectives was to reduce the jail sentences for some types of offenders. Many detectives are unwilling to send a man to jail for 15 years to life when they feel the assault does not merit that type of punishment. They felt that more offenders would be prosecuted if there was a lighter sentence for "simple" offenders. The term simple has been used in the literature to describe offenders that are not seen as a violent threat to society. Simple offenders can be described as individuals

that took advantage of a situation, such as a female that was passed out or highly intoxicated. This is very controversial and further research should be conducted to gain an overall feel for the public's view of rape. There is controversy over what is considered rape versus what should be considered taken advantage of, as well as what should be the punishment, if any, for simple offenders. Some believe it is rape and they should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, and others feel that these offenders are not necessarily dangerous and the punishment, if any, should be lighter. This could possibly reduce the annoyance and aggression towards victims if detectives feel that the victims are not trying to put a "simple" offender away for twenty plus years. Again, this is a controversial point of view raised by the detectives interviewed and many would see this as minimizing the seriousness of sexual assault.

Victims

If someone has fallen victim to sexual assault, detectives gave advice on how to best endure the process of reporting the crime. This section is quite simple because all the detectives gave the same advice—do not lie. No matter what, detectives strongly urge the victims to tell the truth, even if they engaged in illegal activity or engaged in embarrassing behaviors. Whether the victim was prostituting, using drugs, performed sex acts they were embarrassed to admit to, cheating on their spouse or significant other—whatever the behaviors may be—the victim should not lie if they want their case to be prosecuted.

If a victim lies, they lose credibility and it weakens the case. Sexual assault is difficult to prove when there is little to no evidence and so often the success of prosecuting cases comes down to the credibility of the victim. If the victim is found

lying, however slight, they lose credibility and cast doubt on all of their statements.

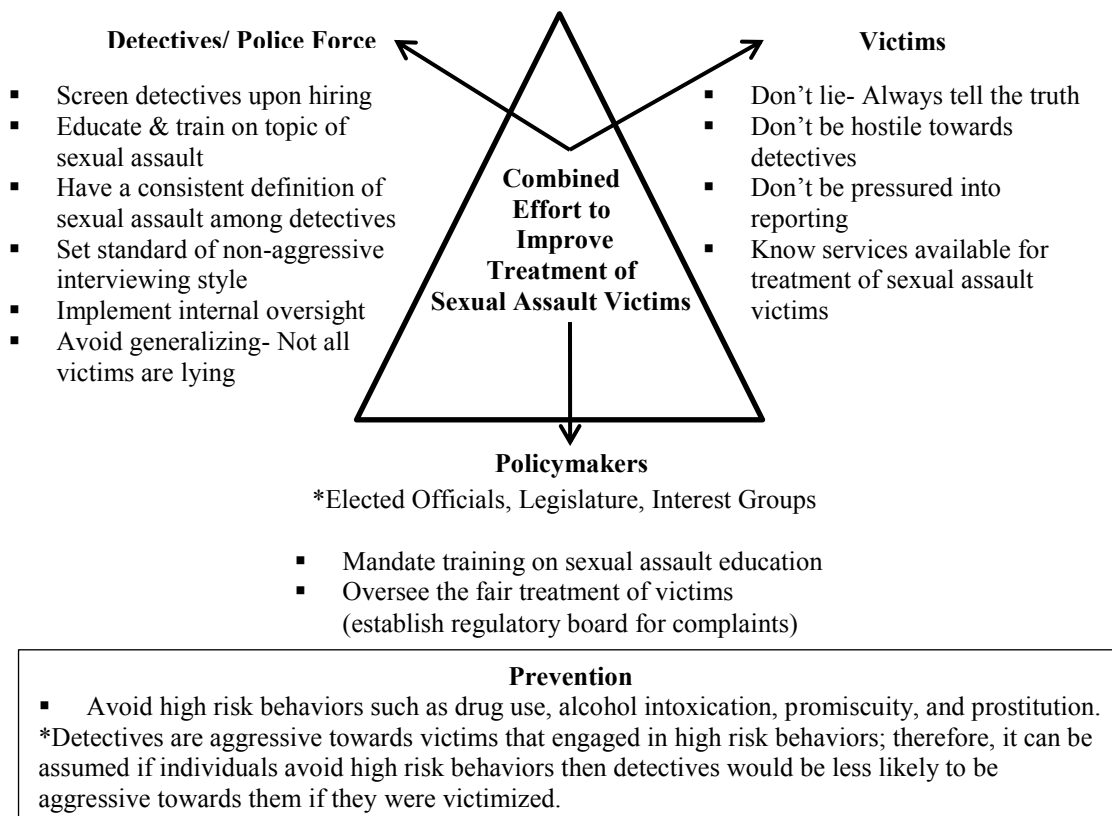
Detectives hold considerable power in the process of prosecuting cases. Most cases are dismissed at the police level. If the detective finds the victim to be lying or the victim is making their job harder (e.g., not cooperating, withholding information, giving false statements, sending detectives on a “wild-goose chase” for evidence that does not exist, or becoming hostile) then detectives are more likely to drop the case. Even if the victim was unequivocally raped but lied about details surrounding the assault, the detective can still dismiss the case if they choose to because the victim is not cooperating. This could explain one of the reasons why a high percentage of cases are dismissed due to victim issues.

Women should also be assertive if they feel they are being pushed to report by family or friends when they do not wish to. If they do not want to report, they do not have to. This is their choice. The criminal justice process is brutal and emotionally draining so if a victim does not want to report, their family and friends should respect their decision. Often time the reporting process can cause more damage to the victim and they may be better off emotionally if they do not report, especially if their case is a he said/she said case with no evidence of resistance. If the victim chooses not to report, there are still services available to them. Victims can choose to be a Jane Doe victim and not report but can still go to the hospital to be checked for injuries, infections, and be given the morning after pill. A rape advocate will also be there for support and counseling referrals. Victims can also go to their local health department to be checked for STDs at a low cost, and can buy the morning-after pill themselves over-the-counter.

If the victim cannot afford the morning-after pill then there are some nonprofit organizations that may provide it at reduced fee.

In summary, victims can do four things to improve their experience when reporting. First, do not lie however slight, embarrassing, or incriminating the information may seem. Second, do not be hostile or rude to the detectives (they are more likely to dismiss the case if a victim is rude and uncooperative). Third, do not be pressured into reporting—it is your choice and the system can be harmful to victims with a weak case. Lastly, know the services available to you. If a victim decides not to report, they should be sure to get the help they may need whether medically or emotionally.

Figure 5. Recommendations to improve victim treatment



Limitations & Future Research

A limitation of this study is that the findings are based on the detectives' opinions, which are based on their experience as sexual assault detectives. Their opinions do not necessarily match the underlining facts. For example, many detectives believed that majority of victims are lying. To claim that majority of victims are lying, as high as 95-98%, seems unrealistic. Many of the detectives also felt that majority of victims were engaging in alcohol and drug use, yet, the statistics analyzing the details of sexual assault reported for this department show otherwise (Pace, 2010). The main goal of this study was to identify the challenges of their job and to give the detectives a voice to express their views on this issue. To this end, their opinions were necessary to answer the research questions. So although this may be a limitation, this was the main goal of the study—to understand their beliefs and why they use certain interviewing methods. Interviews were the best method so that one could understand the detectives' beliefs and opinions of sexual assault, the challenges they face, and why they use certain methods.

A second limitation to this study is that it was necessary to be flexible when interviewing detectives. Although initially individual interviews were planned, two detectives preferred to be interviewed together, and one squad consisting of five detectives preferred to be interviewed together as a squad. Majority of detectives were interviewed individually (13 detectives) but the detectives that used the most aggressive investigating style (in comparison to the moderate and least aggressive detectives) were all part of the squad that preferred to be interviewed as a squad. It is possible that one or two strong personalities in the group drove the interview and other detectives did not feel

comfortable to disagree. To control for this, I asked detectives if they agreed or had anything else they would like to add so that each detective had an opportunity to speak. Although this is a limitation, I did however have the opportunity to interview three detectives from that squad individually during my ride-along prior to the group interview and their answers were consistent across the interviews.

For future research, it would be interesting to test the three main assumptions held by detectives. These assumptions include that the majority of victims engage in high risk behaviors, the majority of victims are lying, and about half of all child sexual assault cases are false due to custody disputes. Of course there would be difficulties with testing these assumptions because it is difficult to know if someone is lying or not; yet, detectives can make notes as to why they feel a victim is lying based on the four types of lies outlined in this study. This would be useful to better understand why detectives have these beliefs, especially when their beliefs seem to be overgeneralized. This would allow detectives to show what they feel is evidence of lying. Particularly since they have much authority and power to declare a victim to be lying and thus dismiss their case. The study would analyze what type of evidence they are basing their decisions on.

It would also be interesting to research why some bureaus of the police department hold more prestige than other areas. This was seen within the police department studied for this research project. The homicide detail was held with the highest prestige and the child sexual assault detectives were held in lesser prestige. The salary is the same, yet, the status is different. What creates this difference in prestige? The lower level of prestige could be attributed to the acceptance of rape myth beliefs among police officers. Police officers outside of the sexual assault unit also stated that

95% of rape victims are lying. The study could test if there is a correlation between how the sexual assault detectives believe they are perceived by their fellow officers and how they in turn treat their victims.

Research shows there has been a push for detectives to treat victims more sensitively, and yet, harsh practices still exist. What has not been documented are the number of victim complaints and lawsuits against police departments for wrongdoing. It is a possibility that the higher ranking officers are unaware of the wrongdoings by their subordinates and are actually not resistant to sensitivity interviewing methods. This still does not excuse the mistreatment of victims because higher ranking officers should be kept informed of possible wrongdoing, but nonetheless, it cannot be assumed that higher ranking officers are opposed to using victim sensitive interviewing methods. It would be a beneficial study to survey higher ranking officers on their knowledge of the problem and their willingness to ban aggressive methods. For those agencies that are open to suggestions for improvement, this study would help connect victim advocates with law enforcement so they can work together to improve victim treatment.

Lastly, it would be beneficial to understand what victims expect from the police. Do they expect them to fulfill a counselor role? This could be a reason for the hostile interaction between victims and detective because victims may have a preconceived expectation of the detectives. Once they realize the detectives are not meeting this expectation, they then might become hostile. It should also be studied what victims feel the punishment for the offenders should be? Detectives noted that once some victims learned that the offender would be locked up for most their life, they discontinued their participation in reporting because they did not want this for the offender.

Conclusion

Overall, it was concluded that although detectives may have a legitimate reason for becoming impatient and acting aggressively towards victims, it does not excuse their behavior. Their actions can have grave effects on the victims, even in that short amount of time they meet with them. Detectives should be educated in their field of practice and should avoid further traumatizing victims. They should also be careful not to overgeneralize that all or most victims are lying. The city and state governments should not allow such practices to exist and should oversee some form of external oversight to be sure that victims' needs are being met and to prevent further traumatization.

This issue may not be important to some because they feel it does not affect them, but to the many victims and their loved ones that have suffered the pain of the detectives' actions, this form of treatment needs to stop. Most people cannot fully comprehend the pain and sorrow this issue can cause until they themselves, or their loved ones, have experienced it. In the words of a loving father addressing the detectives, he states:

You may not realize the pain you're causing, but my wife and I suffered my daughter's pain for years. We watched her sweet innocent spirit change from her always cheerful self to a girl we hardly recognized. We felt helpless as we lost her to a journey of self-destruction as her depression worsened.

My daughter is one of the most tender, good hearted people you will ever meet and you almost took that away from me. She was too pure and innocent to reject the things you told her. She took to heart that it was her fault and somehow you convinced her that she was a bad person. Just a few months after reporting, my daughter fell deeper into depression and started to self-mutilate. In the month of December, I'll never forget the day I received a phone call informing me my daughter attempted to take her own life.

Your words may not mean anything to you, but they mean something to the people you tell them to. I felt robbed of my daughter and we were left to clean up your mess. You may not fully comprehend the impact you have on others, but someone needs to care. You do not have the right to rob us of our daughters and you do not have the right to take away their lives. I would never wish this on you and your families, so please stop inflicting it on ours. (Anonymous, 2012)

This father thought he was doing the right thing by reporting his young daughter's boyfriend to the authorities when she came home beaten one day after school. He never would have imagined that the real pain would come from the authorities themselves. They aggressively challenged her story, slandered her, and made her feel like it was her fault for being beaten and raped. They were rude, callous, unsympathetic, and treated the family like they were criminals. As the father pleaded for their help, they degraded even the father accusing him of raising a slut even though she was a virgin before her forcible assault. The detectives assumed motives for lying because his daughter was a teenager from a religious family. In their minds, the girl was lying to avoid getting in trouble with her parents. And to explain the bruises, the detectives told the parents that their daughter liked to be beat.

Sexual assault detectives have the potential to cause trauma and psychological damage to their victims which in the worst case scenario can ultimately result in suicide; yet, the government does not require any formal education pertaining to this area of practice. Even hair stylists, manicurists, and real estate agents are required by state laws to be educated and licensed in their area before they can practice their trade. Best practice methods should be modeled after the non-aggressive detectives in this study. They reported having fewer issues with victims and were able to stay unbiased during interviews. There has been a push from the public to change the way victims are treated but the government and police departments are unresponsive. How many victims have to suffer unjustly because police agencies are not required to care?

To those that have suffered unjustly

A Final Note:

I want to emphasize to the readers that the participating police department in this study has many wonderful detectives that I am confident victims are being treated fairly by. I have met with higher ranking officers who share this vision of improving victim treatment and are earnestly working towards this goal. There are a few detectives who openly admit to using aggressive interviewing methods, but ultimately, I am grateful for the opportunity they have allowed me to interview them and appreciate their honesty. It is with their honesty that efforts can be made to improve the system and help detectives overcome the challenges of their job.

Appendix A

Data Collection Instruments

Group Questions

1) Job

a) Hiring

- i) What is the hiring process for the position of a sexual assault detective
 - (1) Is there a written exam
 - (2) Who sits on the oral board
 - (a) What are the questions they ask on the oral board
 - (b) What are the requirements they look for when selecting candidates
 - (i) How do they know which person is best suited for the position
- ii) What type of experience do you need to become a detective

b) Training

- i) What type of training is provided once you're accepted into this position
- ii) Is there training offered pertaining to victims and the psychological effects of rape
 - (1) If yes, who offers the training? (e.g., police officer or researcher/psychologist)

c) Purpose/Function

- i) What is the role of the detective? Their purpose
- ii) Do sergeants conduct investigations

d) Investigating

- i) How does an investigation start
- ii) What is the process of investigating
 - (1) What forms are used
 - (2) How are case files stored
 - (3) How long are cases typically open for
 - (4) What is the average case load per detective
 - (5) Once the case is closed or submitted to the DA, then what happens
- iii) What are the categories for case disposition
 - (1) How do you determine which category to close a case out

e) Supervision/Oversight

- i) Do you work in pairs? Do you work with the same partner
- ii) Does someone oversee your cases? Approve your decision to close
- iii) Who handles victim complaints
 - (1) Is this a problem
 - (2) Is there a formal process
 - (3) Is there a reprimand process

f) Challenges

- i) What are the challenges of the job

g) Turnover

- i) On average, how long does someone work as a detective/sergeant
- ii) Where do detectives transfer after being a sexual assault detective

Detective Questions- Cases

2) Cases

a) Case examples

i) Different categories.

(1) Submitted to DA

(2) Closed due to victim issues

(a) What does victim issues entail

(b) Why do they become uncooperative

(c) Why do you feel victims report but then become uncooperative

(d) What methods do you use in response to these challenges

(3) Victim lying

(a) How do find out if the victim is lying

(b) For what reasons do you feel they are they lying

(c) Has anyone ever confessed to lying

(d) Have you ever had to cite a victim for filing false report

(e) What methods do you find useful to see if someone is lying

(i) Are these the methods the same with victims and suspects

(f) [If they feel most victims are lying] how did you learn or come to the realization that most victims are lying? (experience, training, etc.)

(g) If a victim's story is inconsistent, how would you respond?

(4) A sexual assault did not occur

(5) Cases where victim put themselves in danger

(6) Cases involving men

(7) Other categories

b) Decision Process

i) Explain why they took the steps they did

(1) *Examples of probing questions are found above under victim issues and victim lying.

(2) Probing Questions:

(a) How did you respond to this?

(b) What did you do next?

(c) Why do you think that is?

(d) For what reasons do you feel...

Detective Questions- Individual Interviews

3) Detectives

a) Background

- i) How did you get to this position of being a sexual assault detective and what made you want to be in this specific area?
- ii) How long have you been a detective/sergeant for?

b) Training

- i) Would you be interested, or find useful, further training on victims (e.g., effects of rape or how to interact with victims who are in a highly emotional state)?

c) Role/Function

- i) In your opinion, what makes a good detective?
- ii) What do you feel is the role of the detective?

d) Challenges and Methods

- i) I gave a few examples of challenges, in your experience, what challenges have you faced when working with victims?
 - (1) How do you respond to these challenges?
 - (2) How does this technique help?
 - (3) Can you give me an example of a specific case you worked on?

e) Desensitization

- i) Do you feel this position has affected in you in any way? (e.g., how you view other people, how trusting you are of others, etc.)
- ii) Do you feel this position has made you become desensitized or numb because of everything you hear?
- iii) Is this a way to stay detached from the situation to help cope with the stress of the job?
- iv) How do you handle the stress of the job so that it doesn't affect other areas of your life?

f) Victim Sensitive Interviewing Methods

- i) There's much literature emphasizing the need for detectives to use more victim sensitive investigating methods. What are your feelings towards this?
 - (1) Victim sensitive methods include: refraining from placing blame on the victim or downplaying the seriousness of their experience, refraining from using a harsh and aggressive tone of voice, allowing them to take a break from questioning, allowing advocates to assist with victim management, keeping the victim informed of the progress of the case.
- ii) Do you find rape victim advocates helpful?
 - (1) Has a victim advocate ever interfered with the investigation?

Sergeants Questions- Individual Interviews

4) Sergeants

a) Background

- i) How did you get to this position of sergeant and what made you want to be in this specific area?
- ii) Were you a sexual assault detective prior to being sergeant?
 - (1) If so, for how long?
- iii) How long have you been a sergeant?
 - (1) What are your responsibilities as a sergeant?
 - (a) Do you also respond to calls and have your own case load? Or, do you oversee the detectives and their cases?

b) Training

- i) In terms of training, what type of training do you feel is important for your detectives?
- ii) Would you be interested, or find useful, further training on victims (e.g., effects of rape or how to interact with victims who are in a highly emotional state)?

c) Role/Function

- i) In your opinion, what makes a good detective?
- ii) What do you feel is the role of the detective?

d) Challenges and Methods

- i) I gave a few examples of challenges, in your experience, what challenges have you faced when working with victims?
 - (1) How do you feel is the best way to respond to these challenges?
 - (2) What methods do you or the detectives find useful?
 - (3) Can you give me an example of a specific case you worked on?

e) Desensitization

- i) Do you feel this position has affected in you in any way? (e.g., how you view other people, how trusting you are of others, etc.)
- ii) Do you feel this position has made you become desensitized or numb because of everything you hear?
 - (1) Is this a way to stay detached from the situation to help cope with the stress of the job?
- iii) How do you handle the stress of the job so that it doesn't affect other areas of your life?

f) Victim Sensitive Interviewing Methods

- i) There's much literature emphasizing the need for detectives to use more victim sensitive investigating methods. What are your feelings towards this?
 - (1) Victim sensitive methods include: refraining from placing blame on the victim or downplaying the seriousness of their experience, refraining from using a harsh and aggressive tone of voice, allowing them to take a break from questioning, allowing advocates to assist with victim management, keeping the victim informed of the progress of the case.
- ii) Do you find rape victim advocates helpful?
 - (1) Has a victim advocate ever interfered with the investigation?

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University of Nevada, Las Vegas
- Master of Public Administration GPA 3.8 2007 - 2009
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- Bachelor of Human Services Counseling GPA 3.9 2005 - 2007
Minor in Family Studies
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
- Associate of Arts GPA 3.8 2003 - 2005
Community College of Southern Nevada

WORK EXPERIENCE

- UNLV Graduate Assistant 2007 - 2013
Research Assistant—Areas of research include nonprofits, social
corporate responsibility, victimization, and gaming
Program Assistant—Learning Community Program
*First year college success program
UNLV Undergraduate Part-time Instructor
- Rape Crisis Center On-call as needed 2007
Advocate
- Family to Family Connection Nonprofit 2006 - 2007
Program Director
- Robeign Salon 2004 - 2006
Cosmetologist
- Clark County Aquatics Seasonal 2000 - 2004
Water Safety Instructor (WSI)
Lifesaving Certificate and CPR Certified

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- GSC 100- First Year Experience Seminar (Section 1003) Spring 2013
In-Class Lecture
- GSC 100- First Year Experience Seminar (Section 1004) Spring 2013
In-Class Lecture
- GSC 100- First Year Experience Seminar (Section 1011) Fall 2012
In-Class Lecture
- GSC 100- First Year Experience Seminar (Section 1005) Fall 2012

In-Class Lecture	
• PUA 450- Policy for Public Administrators Webcampus (class offered online)	Summer 2012
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration In-Class Lecture	Spring 2012
• PUA 425- Public Budgeting and Finance Webcampus	Fall 2011
• PUA 450- Policy for Public Administrators Webcampus	Summer 2011
• PUA 450- Policy for Public Administrators Webcampus	Summer 2010
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration Webcampus	Summer 2010
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration In-Class Lecture	Spring 2010
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration In-Class Lecture	Fall 2009
• PUA 420- Public Personnel Administration Webcampus	Summer 2009
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration Webcampus	Summer 2009
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration (Section 2) In-Class Lecture	Spring 2009
• PUA 241- Survey of Public Administration (Section 1) In-Class Lecture	Spring 2009
• PUA 420- Public Personnel Administration Webcampus	Fall 2008
• PUA 410- Research Methods for Public Administration Webcampus	Fall 2008
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AREAS OF INTEREST

Public Policy, Criminal Justice Policy, Women's Studies, Program Evaluation, Human Resources, Nonprofit Organizations, Corporate Social Responsibility, First Year College Success Programs

PUBLICATIONS

Word, J. & Davis, S. (2012). "Nevada's Nonprofit Sector in Transition" in Dmitri Shalin, ed., Social Health of Nevada 2011: Leading Indicators and Quality of Life in the Silver State. UNLV: CDC Publications.

CONFERENCES

Group Facilitator at the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department's Symposium on Sexual Assault, held October 14, 2010.

COMMITTEES AND ASSOCIATIONS

- Southwest Social Science Association 2011 - 2012
- Phi Kappa Phi 2009 - 2010
- Graduate and Professional Student Association 2008 - 2009
Delegate for Department of Public Administration
- UNLV Community Service Committee 2008 - 2009
- Public Administration Graduate Association 2007 - 2009
- National Guardianship Association, Inc. 2007 - 2011
National Certified Guardian

VOLUNTEER WORK

- Family to Family Connection Nonprofit, Board Member
- Rape Crisis Center, Advocate
- Camp Make Believe, Therapy Groups for Children
- Take Back the Night, Sexual Assault Prevention Campaign
- Shade Tree, Nonprofit for Abused and Battered Women
- Spring Mountain Ranch State Park