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When Silence Screams: An Examination of Reporting Behaviors Among Sexual Assault Victims on HBCU Campuses

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WHEN SILENCE SCREAMS: AN EXAMINATION OF REPORTING BEHAVIORS
AMONG SEXUAL ASSAULT VICTIMS ON HBCU CAMPUSES

by

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B.A. May 2014, Norfolk State University

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ABSTRACT

WHEN SILENCE SCREAMS: AN EXAMINATION OF REPORTING BEHAVIORS AMONG SEXUAL ASSAULT VICTIMS ON HBCU CAMPUSES

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Old Dominion University, 2018
Director: Dr. Dianne Carmody

According to National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2015), 20% to 25% of college women experience a completed or attempted rape victimization during their college career, but less than 5% of college women file a report with law enforcement (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner 2000). Prior literature indicates that student characteristics/background, alcohol use, and affiliation with Greek life influence students' chances of being sexually assaulted as well as victim decisions to report. Current research on campus sexual assault victimization and students' decisions to report has neglected Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) but seem to show that minorities are less likely to report sexual assaults to police or college officials.

This thesis addresses this gap by examining sexual assault reporting on HBCU campuses. Examining survey data provided by 382 female victims of attempted/completed forced sexual assault on HBCU campuses (Krebs, et.al., 2011), the relationship between victim participation in Greek and/or sports teams, previous sexual assault victimizations prior to college, and Greek membership for the offender and victim reporting behaviors are examined. Findings and implications are discussed. By examining sexual assault on HBCU campuses, this study may provide a better understanding of the factors that influence a student's decision to report on an HBCU campus.

Key words: Rape culture, Sexual Assault, Reporting, HBCUs, PWIs, University Campuses

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to the Association of American Universities' Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct, 23.1 percent of undergraduate females and 5.4 percent of undergraduate males' experience nonconsensual sexual contact by force or incapacitation while enrolled at a college or university (Cantor et al., 2015). Unfortunately, additional national research reveals that less than 5 percent of college women report these assaults to law enforcement (Fisher, Cullen, and Turner, 2000). Students may not report victimization due to a perceived lack of support from friends, family, or the university (Spencer et al., 2017) or a widespread culture supportive of rape. According to a study conducted by Marshall University (2015)

Rape Culture is an environment in which rape is prevalent and in which sexual violence against women is normalized and excused in the media and popular culture. Rape culture is perpetuated using misogynistic language, the objectification of women's bodies, and the glamorization of sexual violence, thereby creating a society that disregards women's rights and safety.

Campus sexual assault prevention programs challenge attitudes that support victim blaming, slut shaming dress codes, sexually explicit jokes, rape myths and other aspects of rape culture (Burnett et al., 2009) This focus on prevention is important because rape culture impacts college campuses by increasing the risk factors related to sexual violence and victims' post-rape behavior (Burnett et al., 2009). Victim blaming increases if the victim consumed alcohol that day, or if the person has had sex before, especially with the attacker (Burnett et al., 2009). Some researchers have also noted that minority students face additional challenges (Broussard, 2013).

Additionally, black women have a set of stereotypes that encourage victim self-blame and reinforce negative images of black women.

Historically, black women have been viewed as primarily sexual products, destined to bring financial gain and pleasure to their white slave masters. Specific stereotypes were created concerning black women and their sexuality: Jezebel, The Mammy, and Sapphire are categorized as historical stereotypes since they were established in the slavery era. However, over the course of time, contemporary stereotypes started to form from the historical stereotypes. According to French (2013:36-37), the following stereotypes formed from the hegemony of the slave masters and mainstream media:

Jezebel labels black women as sexually promiscuous, insatiable, and incapable of rape

Diva, black women with middle-class values of social status who desires to be adored and places money and importance in traditional physical beauty.

Gold Digger, trades sex for economic rewards and view sex as their most powerful commodity.

Freak, sexually aggressive woman who loves sex without emotional attachment.

Dykes, women who not only exclude men from sexual interactions but decisively resist sexual overtures and are assumed to act out of bitterness toward men rather than genuine love for women

Gangster Bitch, embodies aggression and emotional strength in their struggle for survival and uses sex to prove loyalty. These women do not challenge patriarchy or sexism

Sister Savior, a woman who sexuality is demure and grounded in the Black church

Earth Mother, embody an Afrocentric political and spiritual consciousness, has a strong sense of self which is seen as intimidating by men, and rejects exploitation.

Baby Mama, woman is the mother of the male's child and nothing more and is at times seen manipulating pregnancy to create a bond with the child's father.

These sexual stereotypes attack black women's gender and racial identities. The location of the black woman may influence stereotypes. For example, black students may face the Jezebel stereotype more often at a Predominately White Institution (PWI) because of the cultural background of the stereotype and school. While black female students may face certain stereotypes, such as Gangster Bitch at an Historically Black College and University (HBCU) more often. In addition, students at HBCU campuses may face additional barriers when trying to report a sexual assault. These challenges hinder reporting of sexual assaults and may lead schools to mishandle sexual assault reports. According to Commodore (2014), HBCUs promote a campus culture where students are encouraged to see each other as brothers and sisters, fostering respect and ethical care between peers. This family atmosphere can become troublesome when it's time for young women to report sexual assaults. Not only do students have to worry about reinforcing sexual stereotypes, but they must also deal with the university culture that encourages a deep-rooted sense of protecting the black man. This may encourage the survivors to be the "strong Black woman" by dealing with it silently and alone.

These stereotypes also affect how society views women. Mainstream hegemony allows rape culture and stereotypes to stay alive. Hegemony helps us to understand how stereotypes work to oppress one group of people while serving the people in power. There are several theorists, such as Gramsci, that used hegemony to explain domination and control issues. According to Gramsci (2011), hegemony is a cultural leadership implemented by the ruling class

(282). This concept is especially present in predominantly male social groups, such as athletes and fraternities.

Bohmer and Parrot (1993) noted that college athletes, such as football and basketball players, were 38 percent more likely to have committed sexual assault than college men that were not involved in athletics. Burnett et. al., (2009) concluded that men's athletics encourages men to be dominant, especially physically, and often sends the message that athletes are above the rules if they're performing on the field. Hence, athletes may feel powerful when they treat women like objects. This allows the athletes to remain dominant off the field. This type of behavior is also encouraged by their peers. Social groups, such as fraternities and athletes, establish a brotherhood among themselves. This can sometimes be problematic and encourage rape culture because groups may cover up the deviant behavior of members to protect the reputation of the organization.

The current study examines sexual assault on Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States. The Higher Education Act of 1965 defines Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) as

“...any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation.”

In addition, the University of Nevada (2017) defined Greek, Fraternity, and Sorority as Greek: Any member of a Greek-letter organization.

Fraternity: The name that applies to all Greek organizations characterized by a ritual, badge and strong ties to friendship and moral principles. Informally, women's fraternities are called sororities.

Universities Greek organizations have several councils. However, majority of college campuses have at least National PanHellenic Council (NPC) and National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC). The University of Nevada, Las Vegas define National PanHellenic Conference and National Pan-Hellenic Council as:

NPC (National Panhellenic Conference): The umbrella organization for 26 women's fraternities. NPC supports its chapters by promoting values, education, leadership, friendship, cooperation, and citizenship.

NPHC (National Pan-Hellenic Council): A national organization composed of four sororities and five fraternities whose membership is historically African-American.

The majority of the Greek organizations on PWI campuses are within the National PanHellenic Conference. Most of the Greek organizations on HBCUs campuses are within the National Pan-Hellenic Council, which is also referred to as Divine 9 (D9) and Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO). HBCUs normally do not have National PanHellenic Conference Greek organizations on their campuses.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine sexual assault reporting on HBCU campuses. Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) have different campus cultures. Hence, aspects of rape culture, as well as rates of sexual assault victimization, and reporting are likely quite different. By examining sexual assault on HBCU campuses, this study may provide a better understanding of the factors that influence a student's

decision to report a sexual assault victimization on an HBCU campus. The study examines both official reporting (to law enforcement and/or college officials) and unofficial reporting (to friends and family). This research is guided by the following hypotheses:

1) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to college officials or law enforcement than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.

1b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to close friend or family than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.

2) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to report to college officials or law enforcement than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.

2b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to report to friends and family than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.

3) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less likely to report sexual assault incidents to college officials or law enforcement than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity

3b) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less

likely to report sexual assault incidents to friends and family than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Prior literature indicates that student characteristics/background, alcohol use, and being affiliated with Greek life increase students' chances of being sexually assaulted. Those factors also influence students' decision to report sexual assault incidents. Current research on campus sexual assault victimization and students' decisions to report has neglected Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). We do know that minorities are at high risk of sexual assault victimization but are also less likely to report the incident. This is an important factor because HBCU student populations mainly consist of racial and ethnic minorities. This study addresses this gap by examining sexual assault reporting on HBCU campuses. Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) have different campus cultures. Hence, aspects of rape culture, as well as rates of sexual assault victimization and reporting are likely quite different. By examining sexual assault on HBCU campuses, this study may provide a better understanding of the factors that influence a student's decision to report on an HBCU campus.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents an overview of current research on risk factors associated with sexual assaults and variables that influence victims' decisions to make official or unofficial reports. This research is key in expanding our knowledge related to sexual assault prevention programs on college campuses. The literature review is divided into three sections: First, risk factors associated with sexual assault on college campuses are examined. Then, variables that influence a victim's tendency to report a sexual assault are discussed. The final portion of the chapter includes a discussion of Intersectionality theory, the theoretical framework guiding this study. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the research questions that guide this study.

Research on sexual assault on college campuses is extensive, and has identified a variety of risk factors, including student demographic and background factors, alcohol use, Greek life, athletics, and campus climate (Krebs et al., 2007; Rosenthal, Smidt, and Freyd, 2016; Coulter and Rankin, 2017; Krebs, Lindquist, and Barrick, 2011; Presley, Meilman, and Cashin, 1995; Robbins and Florsheim, 2015; Ray, 2011; Kahn et al., 2003; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Spencer et al., 2015; Lindquist et al., 2013; Brown, Griffin-Fennell, and White-Johnson, 2013; West & Johnson, 2013; Banyard, Moynihan, and Crossman, 2009; Barone, Wolgemuth, and Linder, 2007; Canan, Jozkowski, and Crawford, 2016; Greenberg and Ruback, 1992; Sochting, Fairbrother, & Koch, 2004; Ritzer 2011). In this section, current research on these risk factors is examined.

RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SEXUAL ASSAULTS

This section presents research on how students' characteristics and backgrounds, alcohol/drug use, and Greek life influence sexual assault victimization risk on campus.

Student Characteristics and Prior Victimization

Previous studies have identified factors associated with various student demographics and prior sexual assault victimization history as related to risk of victimization. Krebs et al. (2007) examined sexual assaults amongst a sample of 6,821 male and female undergraduate students at two large public universities (5,446 undergraduate women and 1,375 undergraduate men). Krebs et al. (2007) revealed that the prevalence of sexual assault was higher among students since entering college (13.7 percent) than before entering college (11.3 percent). Nevertheless, students that experienced sexual victimization before entering college were more likely to experience that same type of sexual victimization during college (Krebs et al. 2007). In addition, previous studies show students that are classified as freshman and sophomores are more at risk than students that are juniors, seniors, and graduated seniors (Sochting et al. 2004). However, Krebs et al. (2007) discovered that 26.1% of seniors (368 women) reported experiencing attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college. Seniors were more likely to experience incapacitated sexual assault since entering college (16.0 percent) than physically forced sexual (7.0 percent) (Krebs et al. 2007). In addition, more than 50 percent of university sexual assaults occur during August, September, October, and November, and women are more at risk of sexual assault victimization than men (Krebs et al. 2011, Rosenthal, Smidt & Freyd, 2016). Krebs et al. (2007), also revealed that 6.1 percent of the students who reported experiencing attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college were males; 3.7

percent being victims of completed sexual assault. Among the victims that experienced completed sexual assault, incapacitated sexual assault was much more prevalent (3.4 percent) than physically forced sexual assault (0.7 percent) (Krebs et al. 2007).

Krebs et al. (2007) also revealed that several risk factors, such as race, sexual orientation, and being a woman, are differentially associated with experiencing physically forced and incapacitated sexual assault. Regarding race, Hispanic women, compared to their white counterparts, were more likely to be victims of physically forced sexual assault. Among perpetrators, Blacks were more likely to be involved with forced sexual assaults, and white perpetrators were more likely to be involved in incapacitated sexual assaults (Krebs et al. 2007). In addition, sexual assaults involving physical force were more likely to be perpetrated by a stranger, ex- dating partner, or ex-spouse, while incapacitated sexual assaults were more likely to be perpetrated by a friend or acquaintance (Krebs et al. 2007). Also, the number of dating partners was positively associated with experiencing physically forced sexual assault.

Regarding when incidents occur, incapacitated assaults were more likely to happen at a party and between midnight and 6 a.m., while forced sexual assaults were more likely to happen between noon and midnight (Krebs et al. 2007). Furthermore, Krebs et al. (2007) demonstrated that victims that experienced forced sexual assault were more likely to be injured and consider the incident to be rape. “Overall, victims of forced sexual assault were also more likely to make changes in their lives in reaction to the assault, such as dropping a class, moving, and changing majors, and were more likely to seek psychological counseling as a result of the victimization” (Krebs et al. 2007, 6-3).

Coulter and Rankin (2017) examined sexual assault on campuses with a sample of 2,384 students from 478 postsecondary higher education institutions and concluded that student

members of the LGBT community were more at risk of sexual assault victimization. They concluded that when compared to cisgender women and men, transgendered individuals are more at risk. Sexual assault rates were significantly higher for gay/lesbian and bisexual students than heterosexual students; 6.2 percent of sexual and gender minority students that experienced sexual assault had experienced sexual and gender minority harassment as well. (Coulter and Rankin 2017). Students who did not experience sexual or gender minority harassment were less likely to experience sexual assault. Even though research has established that gender identity and sexual orientation differences are associated with sexual assault victimization risk, there's little research focused on the specific reasons for this pattern on college campuses. (Coulter and Rankin 2017).

Alcohol/Drug Use and Sexual Assaults

Prior research suggests that the college student population drinks more frequently, and in larger quantities, than nonstudents. This section examines research comparing student drinking patterns at Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Predominantly White Institutions. This can be significant when analyzing sexual assault on college campuses. While there are multiple factors that increase college women's risk of sexually assault, most of the literature identifies alcohol consumption as a key contextual factor associated with sexual assaults. For example, Mohler-Kuo et al. (2004) notes that approximately half of all college sexual assault victims and many of the perpetrators have been drinking alcohol prior to the assault. Krebs, Lindquist, and Barrick (2011), examined sexual assaults among 3,951 students from four different HBCUs. Krebs et al. (2011) found that many victims of incapacitated sexual assault (41.9 percent) reported that the assailant had been drinking before the incident, whereas fewer

physically forced sexual assault victims (21.5 percent) reported that their assailant was drinking prior to the incident. In addition, most victims of incapacitated sexual assault (75.6 percent) had been drinking prior to the incident, compared to only 23.1 percent of victims of physically forced sexual assault (Krebs et al. 2011). Additionally, Krebs et al. (2011) stated that “compared with physically forced sexual assault victims, more victims of incapacitated sexual assault reported being drunk (12% and 65%, respectively), voluntarily using drugs before the incident (6% and 12%, respectively), and being given a drug without their knowledge or consent (1% and 5%, respectively)” (3649-3652). Krebs et al. (2011) noted that the rates of sexual assault were slightly lower among HBCU women than among their non-HBCU counterparts. In addition, Krebs et al. (2011) argued that black and white students at HBCUs consumed fewer alcoholic beverages during the week and were less likely to binge drink than their counterparts that attended Predominantly White Institutions (PWI). These different patterns of alcohol use likely influence the HBCU and non-HBCU rates of incapacitated sexual assault, which impacts overall prevalence rates on campus (Krebs et al. 2011).

Presley, Meilman, and Cashin (1995) also compared alcohol consumption between students that attend HBCUs and PWIs. Presley et al. (1995) matched 14 predominantly white colleges and universities with 14 sampled HBCUs to examine the drinking behavior of black and white students within both types of institutions. Students at HBCUs reported consuming 1.8 drinks per week, versus the 4.6 drinks per week average consumption among students at a PWIs. In addition, students that attended HBCUs were less likely to binge drink (22.3 percent), compared to students that attended PWIs (37.5 percent). Also, white students that attended HBCUs consumed fewer alcoholic beverages than the white students attending PWIs (Presley et al. 1995).

In a further examination of the role of alcohol and other drugs in sexual assaults on campus, Krebs et al. (2007), found that 7.8 percent of female sexual assault victims were assaulted after the victim voluntarily consumed alcohol and/or drugs (AOD-enabled assaulted), while .6 percent of victims experienced drug-facilitated sexual assault (DFSA). Also, 1.7 percent were victims of suspected drug-facilitated sexual assault (SDFSA). A majority of the male victims (2.7 percent) that experienced incapacitated sexual assault were classified as having experienced AOD-enabled sexual assault (Krebs et al. 2007). According to Krebs et al. (2007), victims that experienced AOD enabled sexual assault were more likely to have used marijuana. In addition, victims that experienced AOD enabled assaults, “more frequently attended fraternity parties, got drunk, had ever been given a drug without their consent, and were frequently drunk during sex since entering college” (Krebs et al. 2007:6-2).

Greek Organizations (Greek Life) and Sports

This section summarizes research linking Greek life with sexual assault victimization risk. When students attend college, many are encouraged to join clubs and organizations, such as Greek organizations, to network and form a sense of community/family on campus. Students associated with a Greek organization may face an increased risk of experiencing sexual assault victimization, or becoming a perpetrator (Canan, Jozkowski, and Crawford, 2016). Robbins and Florsheim (2015) went undercover to observe a sorority and then conducted focus groups amongst different Greek organizations. According to Robbins and Florsheim (2015), female students affiliated with a sorority are more likely to experience sexual assault than students not affiliated with sororities.

Studies have shown that students on HBCU and PWI campuses that are associated with Greek organizations are more likely to drink alcohol than students that are not associated with Greek organizations (Krebs et al. 2011). This is important because alcohol is associated with rape and sexual assault incidents on campus. Members of a sorority can be pressured into attending socials where they will be drinking with other members of Greek organizations. However, if sorority members do not want to participate in the socials, where they will most likely be drinking alcohol, they can be viewed as an outcast within the Greek community. In Robbins and Florsheim's (2015) interviews, a sorority member stated, "If you hook up with them, they'll like you, and that's what we want." That was the message the sorority sent," Morgan says. "They required us to go to all these fraternity events to 'support sororities.' If I didn't go, I wouldn't be 'bonding with the sisters'" (150).

"Interaction with fraternity brothers is a membership requirement on some campuses. On some college campuses, it was looked down upon if sorority members did not interact with fraternity members, especially the fraternity brothers of the sorority. Sororities, on certain campuses, even took it as far as making interaction with the fraternity brothers a requirement for membership. When Claire interviewed another sorority member at another university, she said, "At an Alabama school, sisters recently were fined \$15 for every hour of every Greek Week event paired with a fraternity that they missed" (Robbins and Florsheim 2015:150).

Robbins and Florsheim (2015) note that sororities may pressure their members to silence their voice on sexual issues on campus. The members of the sororities may even silence the other sorority members if they are involved in a sexual assault incident. Some alumnae sorority members who hold powerful positions maintain this power by silencing members who try to speak out. According to Robbins and Florsheim (2015), one of the sorority members they

interviewed wrote an article about the confusing message her Greek organization sends on sexual violence against women, and as a consequence, her regional director removed her from her chapter office position. Emma says, “After Kate, a senior in Virginia, told the media that sororities do not empower members to discuss sexual issues, her sorority’s alumnae leaders threatened to put her chapter on probation if any members voiced their opinions again (Robbins and Florsheim 2015:148).

According to Canan et al. (2016), members of fraternities commit rape more than students that are not affiliated with fraternities. Canan et al. (2016) conducted a study of 1,002 college students regarding rape-supportive attitudes and victimization by focusing on gender and Greek-life. The study, as well as Robins and Florsheim (2015) study, also indicates that female students that were associated with a sorority were less likely to report rape/ sexual assault as a result of pressure by the organization.

Many of these findings were developed from studies done on Predominately White Institutions campuses and Greek organizations from National PanHellenic Conference. However, Ray (2011) examined National Pan-Hellenic Council members by interviewing and observing 28 black fraternity men for a 9-month study at a PWI. These findings had a slightly different outlook on National Pan-Hellenic Council fraternities. Previous studies have identified black fraternity men as sophisticated practitioners who used strategized tactics to engage women romantically and sexually (Ray 2011). However, Ray stated that black fraternity members are more sexually aggressive than white fraternity members due to their limited status within the larger society (Ray 2011). On the other hand, Ray (2011) argues that these findings on black fraternities are limited by the small population of black men on PWI campuses. The studies done on fraternities within the National Pan-Hellenic council shows that the fraternity members

have structural conditions that hold men accountable for their treatment of women. When observed, black fraternity members spoke out against other men that openly disrespected women.

Ray (2011:640) states that

“In comparison to white fraternity men and black men who were not in fraternities, most black fraternity men were observed treating women respectfully, regardless of the relationship status or the status of the women in the social environment”

Even though Black fraternity members use romantic tactics to interact with women, some studies show that those actions can cause more damage than good. Romantic and sexual encounters with black fraternity members followed by limited social interactions may affect women’s self-esteem and stimulate feelings of unworthiness amongst the women (Ray 2011).

Ray (2011:655) concluded that

“the socialization process that black fraternity men undergo to be members holds black fraternity men accountable in ways that other black men are not. While there may be more opportunities to treat women disrespectfully and take advantage of their high status at HBCUs compared to PWIs, the findings here suggest that black fraternity men would objectify women less than black men who are not in fraternities and white fraternity men”

Regarding sexual victimization and sports, Burnett et. al., (2009) concluded that men’s athletics encourages men to be dominant, especially physically, and often sends the message that athletes are above the rules if they’re performing well on the field. Hence, athletes may feel powerful when they treat women like objects. In addition, Brackenridge and Cense (2001) note that females are more likely than males to be sexually assault by their coaches. Brackenridge and Cense (2001) conducted a survey study of 14 athletes that survived sexual abuse in sports. According to Brackenridge and Cense (2001), coaches have authority and power over the

athletes, parents, and administrators. The athletes', administrators', and parents' desire for success may lead them to tolerate abusive behavior from coaches. Therefore, the coaches' power is sustained through their ability to develop, enhance, and maintain a strong, successful reputation for the sport and school. The coaches' knowledge and behavior are not questioned, and this sets the stage for coaches to exploit their power (Brackenridge and Cense 2001). Clearly, in this environment, female athletes may be discouraged from reporting any by sexual victimization committed by the coaching staff, other athletes, or other students (Brackenridge and Cense 2001).

OFFENDER RACE AND OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING REPORTING BEHAVIOR

This section summarizes research that examines how race, relationship with the assaulter, and type of sexual assault may influence a survivor student's decision to report a sexual assault incident. Kahn et al. (2003) examined 89 rape cases to identify factors that contributed to a victim's decision to label their experience as rape. According to Kahn et al. (2003), victims that were less familiar with their assailant were more likely to identify their experience as rape. Also, factors such as the victim's relationship with the assaulter, setting of incidents, assailant behavior, victim behavior, aftermath, victim alcohol/drug use, assailant alcohol/drug use, emotional reactions, phrases used in description, later interaction with the assailant, reaction of the assailant, and presence of self-and assailant-blame, were all identified as factors that influenced reporting (Kahn et al. 2003). Also, Krebs et al. (2007), stated that victims of forced sexual assault were more likely to report the assault to friends or family, crisis centers, and law enforcement, but they were also less satisfied with how the report was handled and more likely

to regret reporting the assault than incapacitated sexual assault victims who reported their assaults.

Mohler-Kuo, Dowdell, Koss, and Wechsler (2004) surveyed college women that attended private and public universities in 1997 (8,567), 1999 (8,425) and 2001 (6,988). According to Mohler-Kuo et al. (2004), white women were less likely to report experiencing other forms of rape, which included physically forced rape and threats of force, than women of another race/ethnicity. Also, white undergraduate women were more likely to report experiencing rape when intoxicated than women of other races (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004). Krebs et al., (2011:3652) stated

these differences disappeared when adjusting for the lower frequency of alcohol consumption reported by black women (compared to their white counterparts), which suggests that the lower rates of sexual assault experienced by black university women may be due to lower levels of alcohol consumption.

To further add to the literature on report, Spencer et al. (2017) analyzed factors that contribute to students' decision to make a formal report, an informal disclosure, or not tell anyone about the sexual assault by sampling 266 survivors of sexual assault from a large southern university. They concluded that students that experienced sexual assaults were more likely to formally report if they had received training on university policies and procedures surrounding sexual assault. It was shown that when students received training on university policies and procedures surrounding sexual assault, they were more likely to perceive the overall campus climate as positive. Hence, increasing the likelihood of reporting formally. However, students' likelihood of formally reporting decreased when the perpetrator was an acquaintance or dating partner. Regarding students disclosing informally, Spencer et al., (2017) found that

racial/ethnic minorities were less likely to informally disclose. In addition, racial/ethnic minorities were less likely to informally disclose if the perpetrator was a significant other or acquaintance.

Similarly, Lindquist et al., (2013) examined 358 sexual assault survivors on HBCU campuses and found that most physically forced and incapacitated survivors (55 percent) reported that they knew the offender well or very well. In addition, regarding physically forced survivors, the perpetrators were dating partners/ spouses or ex-spouses/ex dating partners (38.4 percent), peers/classmates (36.7 percent), and acquaintances (21.7 percent) (Lindquist et al., 2013). Regarding incapacitated sexual assault survivors, the perpetrators were peers/classmates (35.1 percent), and acquaintances (28.6 percent), and friends (26 percent) (Lindquist et al., 2013). Lindquist et al. (2013) found that 21.4 percent of physically forced survivors and 14.5 percent of incapacitated assault survivors were on a date with their assaulter at the time of the assault. Additionally, incapacitated survivors (17 percent) reported being assaulted by a fraternity member than physically forced survivors (12.8 percent) (Lindquist et al., 2013). Lindquist et al. (2013) found that even though black victims in his study were less likely to report sexual assaults than white victims, black women had higher rates of reporting physically forced sexual assaults than white women. In addition, offenders tend to be the same race as victims. On a positive note, studies have suggested that if students have a positive campus climate and believe the university would handle the report appropriately, then the likelihood of them formally reporting increases (Spencer et al. 2017).

Prior literature shows that although most sexual assault survivors tell someone they know about the incident or incidents, extremely few report the incident to law enforcement (Spencer et al. 2017). Krebs et al. (2007) found that survivors of physically forced sexual assault

were more likely to contact mental health services and law enforcement after the incident than survivors of incapacitated sexual assault. In, addition, students who experienced physically forced sexual assault were more likely to deal with rape/sexual assault incident by avoiding the assailant through dropping a class, moving residence halls, and even seeking psychological counseling.

The finding that black sexual assault victims are less likely to report their victimization than their white counterparts may be due to cultural sensitivities to sexual assault among black women. Studies have suggested that black women develop a protective culture of dissemblance (Broussard, 2013). black women learn at a young age to mask their vulnerability and enduring emotional distress in silence.

“Within this culture, being necessarily selective in help-seeking, demonstrating racial/cultural solidarity, or enduring emotional trauma with silence were valuable tools for survival of institutionalized or state sanctioned violence” (Lindquist et al., 2013:2456).

In addition, black women may be worried about other challenges that may arise if reporting incidents that their white counterparts might not have to face. Specifically, black women may have to endure racism when dealing with the police, rape myths that encourage survivors to self-blame, and the negative stereotypical image of black women. Brown, Griffin-Fennell, and White-Johnson (2013) examined 249 African Americans via online questionnaire concerning the endorsement of modern depictions of the Jezebel, as well as the relationship between racial-ethnic esteem and endorsement of this sexualized image.

Brown, Griffin-Fennell, and White-Johnson (2013:525) argued that

“the racist and sexist beliefs of the slavery era systematically assaulted African American women’s self-image and often resulted in them being subjected to sexual exploitation and victimization as a means of dehumanizing and justifying their enslavement.”

Therefore, Brown et al. (2013) argue that the treatment black women endured during the slavery era influenced their self-perceptions and societal views of black women that continue even today. Similarly, West and Johnson (2013) note that cultural expectations of black women promote that survivors should be “strong black women” who are able to handle trauma without assistance or becoming vulnerable. Nevertheless, research has demonstrated that while survivors on HBCU and PWI campuses may receive assistance from support groups, the survivors’ reports suggest that professionals express victim-blaming attitudes when survivors officially report the incidents. This may contribute to students’ low reporting rates when it comes to rape and sexual assault incidents, especially for black women.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Intersectionality theory guides this research. According to Ritzer (2011),

“The central issue for intersectionality theory is the understanding that women experience oppression in varying configurations and in varying degrees of intensity. The explanation for that variation is that while all women potentially experience oppression on the basis of gender, women are, nevertheless, differentially oppressed by the varied intersections of other arrangements of social inequality. These vectors of oppression and privilege (or, in Patricia Hill Collins’s phrase, “the matrix of domination” [1990]) include not only gender but also class, race, global location, sexual preference, and age “(Ritzer, 2011:481).

Intersectionality theory guides our examination of the role of black women at HBCUs, specifically black victims of sexual assault. This study examines the factors that influence the victim's decision to disclose the victimization and seeks to identify factors that encourage silence. This theory acknowledges how the dominant group uses ideology and power to create subordinates within marginalized groups. This normalizes gender oppression and makes it difficult to recognize in society. Therefore, traditional claims of gender objectivity must be challenged, as they will likely reveal the self-interests of the dominant (male) groups.

Hence, discrimination against women involves the intersections of their identities, and supports and reinforces the interests of the dominant group. Lastly, when challenging policies, practices, and eliminating gender injustice affecting women, one must consider the historical context, social justice platforms, and social justice practices. This theory provides a perspective conceptualizing the relations between systems of oppression by recognizing individuals have multiple identities that are complex. Therefore, addressing intersecting systems of oppression, and how that affects their hierarchies of power and privilege within institutions and society. This theory will enhance our understanding of the topic and be useful for this study.

SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE OF THE LITERATURE

Based on the research presented, several themes emerged when examining factors that contribute to sexual assaults, including demographics (gender, race, class standing), prior sexual assault victimization, alcohol/drug abuse, membership in Greek organizations, and a campus culture supportive of rape culture

Students that attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities had a lower alcohol consumption rate than students that attended Predominantly White Institutions. However, with

less frequent alcohol consumption by black students, than their white counterparts, Krebs (2013), concluded that the relationship between sexual assault and alcohol use for HBCU undergraduate women is unclear (Krebs et al. 2013).

Next, research suggests that the campus climate can influence reporting decisions. (Spencer et al. 2017). Additionally, whether the victim or offender is affiliated with Greek life may influence reporting. According to Canan et al. (2016), members of fraternities commit rape more than students that are not affiliated with fraternities. Studies also indicate that female students that were associated with a sorority were less likely to report rape/ sexual assault as a result of pressure by the organization (Robins and Florsheim 2015).

In addition, race may influence reporting decisions (West and Johnson 2013). Minorities may have additional stereotypes that affect why they may not report (West and Johnson, 2013). Historically, black women have been viewed as sexual products to bring financial gain and pleasure to their white slave masters. That stereotype still affects black women when they are sexually assaulted by white men. In addition, black women may also face additional pressure to protect a black offender under a deep-rooted culture designed to protect black men (Commodore, 2014).

LIMITATIONS

The current literature on campus sexual assault does have some limitations. Few studies examine male victims of assault and the vast majority of studies involve students that attend Predominantly White Institutions. Relatively few explore sexual assault on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. This could be problematic when researchers try to extend findings generated from PWIs to HBCUs. We don't know, for example, the extent to which the findings

for black women that attend PWIs are similar to black women at HBCUs, primarily because of the small number of racial and ethnic minorities represented in these non-HBCU samples. In addition, the study is focused on physically forced sexual assault victims, but additional research is finding that incapacitated sexual assault is prevalence on college campuses. Lastly, secondary data relies on available questions. For example, there were no measures of students' campus climate prior to the incident, or knowledge on university policies and procedures surrounding sexual assaults.

This study seeks to provide a better understanding of the factors that influence a student's decision to report sexual assault victimization on an HBCU campus. Outlined below are the research questions that will guide the current research project.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to college officials or law enforcement than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.
 - 1b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to close friend or family than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.
- 2) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to report to college officials or law enforcement than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.

- 2b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to friends and family than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.
- 3) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less likely to report sexual assault incidents to college officials or law enforcement than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity
- 3b) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less likely to report sexual assault incidents to friends and family than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE

This study explores sexual assaults on HBCU campuses. The data utilized were collected by Krebs, et.al. (2011) as part of a study of the prevalence, nature, consequences and reporting of various types of sexual assault. Krebs, et.al. (2011) collected data at four Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) that included both public and private institutions. All four institutions provided residential housing and roughly half of the student population at each institution was female. The study surveyed 3,951 undergraduate women from four HBCUs that were enrolled in the Fall 2008 semester. Within the sample, half of the students were under the age of 21, and nearly half of the women lived on campus (49.1 percent) (Krebs et al. 2011). While 32.4 percent lived within driving distance and 10.7 percent from walking distance. When asked if the participant would choose to attend their university if they had to do it all over again, 53.1 percent indicated yes and 30.8 percent put maybe, while 15.9 percent would not choose to attend their university if they had to do it all over again (Krebs et al. 2011). A small percentage of the participants belonged to a sports team (10 percent) and/or sorority (7.2 percent). In addition, 75.6 percent of the women had at least one dating partner, or sexual partner (72.8 percent) (Krebs et al. 2011). When looking at substance use once a month, 80.3 percent reported using alcohol, but only 26.4 percent reported getting drunk and 18.6 percent reported binge drinking. Marijuana was used by 33.6 percent of the participants, and 5.3 percent used illicit drugs. Lastly, 20.6 percent had accepted drinks from strangers and 5.3 percent said that they had still consumed a drink after leaving the beverage unattended (Krebs et al. 2011).

The survey's primary goal was to measure the prevalence of various types of sexual assault on HBCU campuses, identifying risk and protective factors, the context in which the assault occurred, reporting and nonreporting, and attitudes about sexual assault and criminal justice system response to sexual assault among HBCU students (Krebs et al. 2011). The generation of prevalence estimates involved the following five levels of classification: nature of the sexual assault, whether the assault was completed, incidents occurring before and after entering college, seriousness of the sexual assault, and Alcohol and other drug (AOD)-enabled sexual assaults, Drug-Facilitated Sexual Assaults, (DFSA), and other incapacitated sexual assault. The first level of classification addressed the nature of sexual assault by examining physical forced and incapacitated sexual assault. The second level focused on whether the assault was completed. The third level pertains to if the participant incident occurred before or entering college. The fourth level of classification examined the seriousness of the sexual assault. The last level of classification focused only on incapacitated sexual assault but emphasized the difference between AOD-enabled sexual assault, DFSA, and other incapacitated assaults. Regarding post-assault actions and consequences, the researchers took two subsamples: physically forced sexual assault victims and incapacitated assault victims and examined unofficial and official reporting, victims' willingness to seek help from university or off campus organizations, and mental health (Krebs et al. 2011).

For the current study, the data were obtained in a restricted SPSS file from ICPSR in January, 2018. Approval of the ODU Institutional Review Board was obtained and a Confidential Security Protocol was established in order to protect the data. Although the full sample of 3951 was obtained from ICPSR, the focus of the current study is on reporting behavior among victims of attempted/completed forced sexual assault (n=382). Table 1 provides a

comparison of descriptive statistics for demographic and key variables for the total sample (n=3951) and victims of forced attempted/completed sexual assault since entering college (n=382).

VARIABLES IN STUDY

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is reporting behavior regarding sexual assault victimization. This variable is measured by three survey questions:

- 1) After (the incident/ any of the incidents) did you tell someone close to you such as a family member, friend, roommate, boyfriend/girlfriend, or spouse? Yes/No
- 2) After (the incident/any of the incidents) did you contact someone at a victim's, crisis, or health care center? Yes/No
- 3) After (the incident/any of the incidents), did you report it to a law enforcement agency such as the police or campus security? Yes/No

The dependent variable was computed by combining these three variables into one ordinal variable where 0 = no report; 1=informal report to friends/family; 2=formal report to healthcare/law enforcement.

Among the 382 respondents, 127 (33.2 %) respondents stated that they reported to no one; 217 (56.8 %) reported informally to friends and family and 38 (9.9 %) of the victims indicated that they formally reported the incident to a victim's, crisis, or health care center, or to law enforcement. It is not surprising that most of the sexual assault victims indicated that they reported the incident to "someone close to you". While this informal reporting is obviously

much more common, it is also much less likely to result in criminal charges or any attempt by the institution to hold the perpetrator accountable.

Independent Variables

Prior Victimization

Hypothesis 1 examines the role of prior victimization on the reporting behavior of victims of college sexual assaults. This variable was measured with three questions. Respondents were asked if they had experienced 1) an attempted sexual assault, 2) a completed sexual assault before to entering college, or 3) an attempted/ completed sexual assault before college. These items were combined into one variable. In this sample, 158 women indicated that they had experienced an attempted and/or completed sexual assault prior to entering college, while 224 stated that they had not experienced any sexual victimization prior to college.

Greek Organization/ Sports Team and Fraternity Offender Affiliation

Hypotheses 2 and 3 relate to Greek organizations. Hypothesis 3 states that women who are sexually assaulted by a fraternity member will be less likely to report the assault than those assaulted by an offender not affiliated with a fraternity. This variable was measured by the question, "Was the offender a member of a fraternity?". In this sample, 54 of the victims indicated that their attackers were fraternity members. Hypothesis 2 involves victim affiliation with Greek organizations and/or sports teams. Specifically, it predicts that victims associated with sororities and/or sports will be less likely to report a sexual assault. These were measured with the questions, "Do you participate in Greek life?" and "Do you participate in sports?". In this sample, 43 of the victims participated with a Greek organization while 37 participated with sports.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This purpose of this study was to examine sexual assault reporting behavior on HBCU campuses. Past research has shown that sexual victimization is prevalent on college campuses (Mohler-Kuo et al. 2004). The current study utilized data from Krebs et.al. (2011) study. The study surveyed 3,951 undergraduate women from four different Historically Black Colleges and Universities that were enrolled in the Fall 2008 semester. The primary focus in this analysis was to observe students that experienced attempted/completed sexual victimization after entering college. The victim sub-sample was restricted to female students that experienced forced attempted/completed sexual assaults after entering college (n=382).

Table 1 displays a comparison of the victim sub-sample of sexual assault victims (n=382) with the original larger sample of students surveyed by Krebs, et.al. (2011) (n=3951). Both the victim sub- sample (81.9%) and the larger sample (86.4%) are predominantly black. The victim sample does appear to be slightly older than the larger sample. This may be due to the surveys being conducted in the Fall semester. Therefore, students that are seniors are reporting incidents that happened to them throughout their college years, while the freshmen may have only attended the university for a short period of time when completed the survey. Even though the cumulative prevalence estimates of sexual assault are understandably highest among seniors, the past- 12- month prevalence estimates of sexual assault are higher for freshman and sophomores (Krebs et al., 2011:5-1).

Of particular interest is the variable related to sexual assault victimization prior to college. While 8.2% of the larger sample experienced attempted or completed sexual assault

prior to entering college, the rate among the victim sample was 58.6%. Therefore, more than half of the students who experienced an attempted or completed forced sexual assault during college had also experienced a sexual assault prior to college.

Within both samples, roughly 10 percent were involved in sports. In addition, 7.4 percent of the large sample were involved with Greek life, while 11.3 percent of the victims were involved with Greek life. Lastly, fifty-four incidents had fraternity members as the offender.

Table 1: Comparison of Descriptive Statistics for Demographic and Key Variables for Total Sample (n=3951) and Victims of Forced Attempted/Completed Sexual Assault Since Entering College (n=382).

| Variable | Total Sample | | Victim Sample | |
|------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| | 3,951 | | 382 | |
| Age | | | | |
| 18 | 668 | 16.9 | 47 | 12.3 |
| 19 | 840 | 21.3 | 79 | 20.7 |
| 20 | 690 | 17.5 | 54 | 14.1 |
| 21 | 632 | 16.0 | 66 | 17.3 |
| 22-24 | 631 | 16.0 | 82 | 21.5 |
| 25-29 | 237 | 6.0 | 39 | 10.2 |
| 30-39 | 154 | 3.9 | 11 | 2.9 |
| 40+ | 99 | 2.5 | 4 | 1.0 |
| College Class | | | | |
| Freshman | 985 | 24.9 | 67 | 17.5 |
| Sophomore | 860 | 21.8 | 88 | 23.0 |
| Junior | 985 | 24.9 | 91 | 23.8 |
| Senior | 1008 | 25.5 | 120 | 31.4 |
| Other | 103 | 2.6 | 15 | 3.9 |
| Missing | 10 | 0.3 | 1 | .3 |
| Race | | | | |
| Black | 3415 | 86.4 | 313 | 81.9 |
| White | 97 | 2.5 | 9 | 2.4 |
| Hispanic | 33 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Other | 92 | 2.3 | 9 | 2.4 |
| Multi-racial | 309 | 7.8 | 49 | 12.8 |
| Missing | 5 | .1 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Participated in Sports | | | | |
| Yes | 412 | 10.4 | 37 | 9.7 |
| No | 3539 | 89.6 | 345 | 90.3 |

Table 1: Continued.

| Variable | Total Sample | | Victim Sample | |
|---|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| | 3,951 | | 382 | |
| Participated in Greek Life | | | | |
| Yes | 292 | 7.4 | 43 | 11.3 |
| No | 3659 | 92.6 | 339 | 88.7 |
| Experienced attempted/completed sexual assault (SA) before college? | | | | |
| Yes | 739 | 8.2 | 158 | 41.4 |
| No | 3938 | 91.8 | 224 | 58.6 |
| Missing | 13 | 0.4 | | |
| Offender was a member of a Fraternity? | | | | |
| Yes | 36 | 0.9 | 54 | 14.1 |
| No | 347 | 8.8 | 328 | 85.9 |
| Don't Know | 5 | 0.1 | | |
| Missing | 3563 | 90.2 | | |

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VARIABLES

*Correlations***Table 2: Correlations of Key Variables (n=382).**

| | Victim Reporting Behaviors | Greek or Sport Members | Fraternity Offender | Prior Victimization |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Victim Reporting Behaviors | 1.00 | | | |
| Greek or Sport Members | -.153** | 1.00 | | |
| Fraternity Offenders | -.042 | .137** | 1.00 | |
| Prior Victimization | -.028 | -.099 | -.005 | 1.00 |

**** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level**

Table 2 presents the correlation between the key variables: victim reporting behavior, Greek or sport members, fraternity offenders, and prior victimization. Being a member of a sports team or a Greek organization is negatively associated with reporting behavior among this sample of sexual assault victims, with a correlation coefficient of $-.153$ ($p < .01$). This appears consistent with Hypothesis 2.

In addition, a strong, positive association exists between being a member of a sports team or Greek organization and identifying the sexual assault offender as a fraternity member ($.137$, $p < .01$).

Crosstabulations and Testing Hypotheses

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Prior Victimization by Reporting Behavior among Current Victims of Forced Attempted/Completed Sexual Assault at HBCUs (n=382).

p=.716

| Victim Reporting Behavior | Attempted/Completed SA Before College | | Total |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Report | 71 (31.7%) | 56 (35.4%) | 127 |
| Unofficial Report | 131 (58.5%) | 86 (54.4%) | 217 |
| Official Report | 22 (9.8%) | 16 (10.1%) | 38 |
| | 100% | 99.9% | |
| Total | 224 | 158 | 382 |

Hypotheses 1 and 1b

1) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to college officials or law enforcement than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.

1b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who also experienced attempted or completed sexual assault prior to entering college are less likely to report the college assault to close friend or family than women without a history of prior sexual assault victimization.

Table 3 displays results of chi-square analysis of prior victimization before entering college and reporting behavior among victims of campus sexual assault. Among the 382 victims, 224 victims did not experience prior victimization while 158 did. In addition, overall, 127 of the victims did not report their incident, 217 reported unofficially, and 38 officially reported the

incident. Comparing the victims with and without prior victimization experiences the reporting patterns are very similar. In both groups, approximately half of the respondents reported the assault informally, to friends or family. Also, in both groups, approximately one third of the women reported to no one while approximately 10% of the women reported to health officials or law enforcement. The chi-square value was .668, ($p > .05$). This association is not statistically significant. Therefore, hypotheses 1 and 1b are not supported.

Table 4: Crosstabulation of Participation in Greek and/or Sports Organizations by Reporting Behavior among Current Victims of Forced Attempted/Completed Sexual Assault at HBCUs (n=382)

$p = .006$

| Victim Reporting Behavior | Greek Life/ Sports | | Total |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------|-------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Report | 90 (29.4%) | 37 (48.7%) | 127 |
| Unofficial Report | 183 (59.8%) | 34 (44.7%) | 217 |
| Official Report | 33 (10.8%) | 5 (6.6%) | 38 |
| | 100% | 100% | |
| Total | 306 | 76 | 382 |

Hypotheses 2 and 2b

- 2) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to report to college officials or law enforcement than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.

2b) Among victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women affiliated with Greek life and/or sports are less likely to friends and family than women not affiliated with Greek life and/or sports.

Table 4 displays results of the crosstabulation of participation in Greek organization and/or sports and victims' reporting behaviors. Among the 382 victims, 76 were members of Greek or sports organizations. Table 4 shows that while 29.4% of nonmembers chose not to report their victimization to anyone, nearly half (48.7%) of the victims who were members of Greek or sports organizations did not report to anyone. Following a similar pattern, victims who participated in Greek/sports organizations were less likely (6.6% vs. 10.8%) to report to college officials or law enforcement. This pattern is in the direction predicted by hypotheses 2 and 2b. And the chi-square value of 10.317 ($p < .05$) is statistically significant. Therefore, hypotheses 2 and 2b are supported.

Table 5: Crosstabulation of Perpetrator in a Fraternity by Reporting Behavior among Current Victims of Forced Attempted/Completed Sexual Assault at HBCUs (n=382).

$p = .507$

| Victim Reporting Behavior | Perpetrator in Fraternity | | Total |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Report | 108 (32.9%) | 19 (35.2%) | 127 |
| Unofficial Report | 185 (56.4%) | 32 (59.3%) | 217 |
| Official Report | 35 (10.7%) | 3 (5.6%) | 38 |
| | 100% | 100.1% | |
| Total | 328 | 54 | 382 |

Hypotheses 3 and 3b

3) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less likely to report sexual assault incidents to college officials or law enforcement than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity

3b) Among women who are victims of attempted or completed sexual assault since entering college, women who are victimized by a member of a fraternity are less likely to report sexual assault incidents to friends and family than those who are not victimized by a member of a fraternity.

Table 5 displays the results of the crosstabulation examining the relationship between the status of the offender (fraternity member/nonmember) and victim reporting behavior. Among the 382 victims in this sample, 54 (14.1%) indicated that the offender was a member of a fraternity. Examination of the cell distributions does show that cases involving fraternity offenders were more likely to result in unofficial reports to friends/family, less likely to lead to official reports to police, and slightly more likely to result in no report at all. While the pattern is in the expected direction, the chi-square value = 1.357 ($p > .05$) shows this relationship is not statistically significant. Therefore, hypotheses 3 and 3b are not supported.

*Multinomial Regression***Table 6: Regression for Unofficial and Official Reporting Behavior among Current Victims of Forced Attempted/Completed Sexual Assault at HBCUs (n=382).**

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|------------|----|------|--------|------------------------|--------------|
| | | | | | | # of obs = 382 | |
| | | | | | | LR chi2= 12.595 | |
| | | | | | | Prob> chi2=0.000 | |
| | | | | | | Pseudo R2= .018 | |
| | | | | | | Log likelihood= 58.950 | |
| Victim Reporting Behavior | Coef. | Std. Error | df | Sig. | Exp(B) | 95% conf. interval | |
| Unofficial | | | | | | Low | Upper |
| Intercept | -.176 | .375 | 1 | .640 | | | |
| Prior Victimization | .262 | .231 | 1 | .256 | 1.300 | .826 | 2.044 |
| Greek life and/or sports | .844 | .276 | 1 | .002 | 2.325 | 1.354 | 3.993 |
| Fraternity Offender | -.117 | .323 | 1 | .717 | .890 | .473 | 1.674 |
| | | | | | | | |
| Official | | | | | | | |
| Intercept | -2.576 | .773 | 1 | .001 | | | |
| Prior Victimization | .164 | .378 | 1 | .664 | 1.179 | .561 | 2.475 |
| Greek life and/or sports | .965 | .524 | 1 | .065 | 2.624 | .940 | 7.323 |
| Fraternity Offender | .570 | .658 | 1 | .386 | 1.769 | .487 | 6.420 |

Table 6 displays the multinomial logit estimate for prior victimization, Greek life or sports, and fraternity offender relative to unofficial and official reporting. The referent group is no report.

Unofficial Reporting

Prior Victimization: A literal interpretation of the B parameter estimate is that preferring unofficial reporting to not reporting is $-.176$. The odds ratio for prior victimization is 1.300 . With each unit increase in the prior victimization score, the odds for unofficially reporting would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.3 . Therefore, A person with prior victimization experience is 1.3 times more likely to report than not report.

Greek life or sports: The odds ratio for Greek life and/or sports is 2.325 . With each increase in the Greek life and/or sports score by one unit, the odds for unofficially reporting would be expected to increase by a factor of 2.325 . Therefore, A person affiliated with Greek/sports is 2.325 times more likely to unofficially report than not report.

Fraternity offender: The odds ratio for fraternity offender is $.890$. For each increase in the fraternity offender score by one unit, the odds for unofficially reporting would be expected to decrease by a factor of $.890$. Therefore, a person with a fraternity offender is $.89$ less likely to unofficially report than to not report.

Official Reporting

Prior Victimization: A literal interpretation of the B parameter estimate is that preferring official reporting to not reporting is -2.576 . The odds ratio for prior victimization is 1.179 . If we were to increase the prior victimization score by one unit, the odds for officially reporting to would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.179 . Therefore, a person with a prior victimization experience is 1.179 times more likely to officially report than not report.

Greek life or sports: The odds ratio for Greek life and/or sports is 2.624 . With each unit increase in the Greek life and/or sports score, the odds for officially reporting would be expected

to increase by a factor of 2.624. Therefore, A person affiliated with Greek/sports is 2.624 times more likely to officially report than not report.

Fraternity offender: The odds ratio for fraternity offender is 1.769. Therefore, with each increase in the fraternity offender score by one unit, the odds for officially reporting would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.769. Therefore, a person with a fraternity offender is 1.769 times more likely to officially report than not report.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Using data collected from Krebs, et. al. (2011) survey, this study examines reporting behaviors amongst sexual assault victims on HBCU campuses. This study specifically focuses on victims that experienced physically forced sexual assaults (n=382). Before moving into the discussion of the implications of the findings, it is important to note limitations associated with the current study. One of the clearest limitations relates to the exclusion of victims of incapacitated sexual assault from the analysis. The Krebs, et.al. (2011) study did identify victims of incapacitated sexual assault, but unfortunately did not collect data on official and unofficial reporting from these victims. Inclusion of the victims of incapacitation sexual assaults would clearly improve this study and allow important comparisons between the two groups.

Earlier studies indicate that black women are more likely to report physically forced sexual assaults than incapacitated assaults (Spencer et al., 2017; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Krebs et al., 2007). In addition, victims of physically forced sexual assault may be more likely to contact mental health services and law enforcement than victims of incapacitated sexual assaults (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Krebs et al., 2007). Also, this study only examines female victims. We don't know if similar findings would result from an analysis of male victims' reporting behaviors. Finally, it would be interesting to examine the role of HBCU sexual assault policies and resources, as well as students' awareness of these services.

The results of this study indicate that participating in Greek life and/or sports may influence reporting behaviors among victims of forced attempted/completed sexual assault on HBCU campuses. In the bivariate analyses, those victims affiliated with Greek organizations

and/or sports teams were less likely to report either officially or unofficially. This finding is consistent with Canan et al. (2016) who found that female students that are affiliated with a sorority are less likely to report sexual assault to the police. In addition, the results also reflect Robbins and Florshein (2015) study that indicates that members of the sororities silence the other sorority members if they are involved in a sexual assault incident. It is interesting to note, however, that in the multivariate regression model, this relationship did not remain consistent.

At the bivariate level, the current study also found a correlation between fraternity offenders and Greek or sports team memberships among victims. According to Canan et al., (2016) fraternity members commit rape more than individuals not affiliated with a fraternity. Also, Burnett et. al., (2009) concluded that men's athletic organizations encourage men to be dominant, especially physically, and often sends the message that athletes are above the rules as long as they perform on the field. These findings are consistent with previous studies that explain how sorority members are forced to associate with fraternity member (Robbins and Florshein, 2015).

Sorority members may be more likely to be sexually assaulted, and fraternity members may be more likely to commit sexual assault. In addition, prior research links sexual assault victimization and perpetration rates among Greek organizations to the traditionally high level of alcohol consumption in many Greek organizations (Canan et al., 20016; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Presley et al. 1995). At the bivariate level, the current study found that members of Greek organizations were less likely to report sexual assault victimization, both officially and unofficially, and this relationship was statistically significant.

Even though the current study didn't reveal a statistically significant relationship between sexual assault victimization prior to college and reporting behavior amongst the current victims

in the study, more than half of the students who experienced an attempted/ completed forced sexual assault during college had also experienced sexual victimization before entering college (58.6 percent). This pattern is clearly consistent with prior literature that indicates that students that experience sexual assault prior to entering college are more likely to experience sexual victimization after entering college (Fisher et al., 2000; Krebs 2007).

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR HBCU CAMPUSES

Prior literature indicates that age, race, sexual orientation, sex, and prior victimization before entering college may influence the likelihood of experiencing sexual assault victimization in college. In addition, the current study shows that affiliation in Greek/ sport organizations and being assaulted by a member of a fraternity and Greek and sport affiliation may affect reporting behaviors. These findings suggest that HBCU may benefit from programs designed to educate students about the risk of sexual assault. Mandatory sessions should address the risks associated with substance use, factors that increase the likelihood of being sexually assaulted, and the universities policies on sexual assault for all incoming students. Also, the university should provide additional sessions for students affiliated with Greek organization and sports. If Greek/sports organizations fail to complete the additional sessions, then, the organizations should receive consequences such as being fined and suspended from campus.

In addition to the mandatory sessions focused on sexual assault, a broader emphasis on gender equality in the overall curriculum would address the rape culture on campus. This may be accomplished through expanded offerings from the Women's Studies programs, and even a requirement that each student complete two Women's Studies classes. "Women's Studies is a multi- and interdisciplinary field of study that examines gender in historical and contemporary

contexts with an emphasis on women's lives and perspectives. The department values the complex intersections of gender, race, class, sexuality, ability, nation, and other identities" (ODU 2015). The Women's studies classes address rape culture, politics, theory, literature, history, sociology, and psychology, all with a feminist perspective. These classes encourage to discover and ask questions that society normally doesn't challenge them with: How have women been portrayed in the media and religion? In what ways do gender stereotypes within our society affect the treatment of women? These courses emphasize community safety, rape culture/ sexual assault awareness, and allowing people to see that objectifying individuals' bodies is not tolerated and is unethical.

Lastly, the institution should conduct prevention and bystanders' intervention programs. Students may be unaware of the factors that may increase risk of sexual assault, the trauma associated with sexual victimization, and the consequences for someone who committed the assault. Increasing campus programs and mandatory training on these issues may result in increased reporting by victims. Also, because student victims are more likely to report unofficially to friends and family than to formally report to police, these programs would provide students who receive reports with important tools and knowledge, thus helping them appropriately and effectively respond if a friend reports a victimization experience to them. Victims of sexual assault may report confidentially, anonymously, or both. Hence, providing a better campus climate revolving around sexual assault and reporting. Prior studies have suggested a positive campus climate may increase sexual assault reporting (Spencer et al. 2017).

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research is necessary to examine additional variables that may influence official and unofficial reporting among victims of both forced and incapacitated sexual assault on HBCU campuses. Some studies suggest that a positive campus climate and knowledge of policies and programs can increase formal reporting (Spencer et al. 2017). Additional research is also needed to address stereotypes and stigma surrounding black women and sexual assaults. Black women have developed a protective culture of dissemblance and may not report due to cultural sensitivities among black women (Broussard 2013). It is imperative that we continue to dig beneath the surface when dealing with sexual assaults, especially throughout marginalized communities.

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Discussion Facilitator (August 2015- May 2017)

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- Lead the class in group discussion on selected readings for that week
- Prepare an outline of guiding questions and key points.
- Guide the class through the questions and arguments raised by the readings and how it's relevant for Women's Studies
- Facilitate and oversee approximately 10-15 undergraduate and graduate students

Teacher Assistant (August 2015-August 2016)

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- Assist faculty members with classroom instruction, exams, record keeping, and other miscellaneous projects
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- Virginia Social Science Association
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Robinson, N. (2018, June). *When Silence Screams: An Examination of Reporting Behaviors Among Sexual Assault Victims on HBCU campuses*. Paper presented at the annual Global Studies Association of North America/Howard University Conference, Richmond, Virginia

Robinson, N. (2018, April). *When Silence Screams: An Examination of Reporting Behaviors Among Sexual Assault Victims on HBCU campuses*. Paper presented at the annual Virginia Social Science Association Conference, Richmond, Virginia