

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PREVALENCE, RESPONSE TO, AND
REPRESENTATION OF MALE RAPE

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by

Joanna Jamel BA (Hons) (Cork), MA (Keele), MSc (Liverpool)

Department of Psychology – Forensic Section
University of Leicester

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the under-researched subject of male rape from a social constructionist perspective across a variety of contexts. First, the three studies which were conducted are contextualised by providing a critical review of the available literature on male rape; from the embryonic stages of male rape research within penal institutions through to its evolution from clinical to community- based studies. Second, the findings of the study on the specialist police response, (particularly that of the Sexual Offences Investigative Technique Officers) to male and female rape victims is explored using a thematic analysis. Few male rape cases were reported to the police but those that were suggested that more training is required about the complexities of male rape in relation to the psychological sequelae; and its impact on the survivors' masculinity. These factors may influence the male survivor's behaviour on reporting, and affect the police response received. It was also noted that male and female rape myths were pervasive in the police responses and influenced survivors' decision to report. Third, the incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers is investigated by employing an adapted form of grounded theory. It was found that in contrast with female sex work, sexual violence within the commercial male sex industry is reported to be rare. Fourth, whether the print media provided a gender-biased representation of rape victims as identified by the journalistic tone and the influence of the gender of the journalist and/or rape victim were investigated. It was found that contrary to the historical myth-laden and victim-blaming portrayal of female rape victims in the press (circa thirty years ago which would parallel the current time frame regarding the awareness of male rape), a sympathetic tone is evidenced in the male rape cases reported.

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1.1 Introduction

The subject of male rape appears to be a taboo subject which may contribute to it being under-reported (Coxell, Mezey, & Kell, 2000) by the general public and heavily under-researched by the academic community (Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2008; Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2006). Most of the prior research has been conducted in the United States and Australian. Whereas in the UK, the academic community is gradually recognising that more research is needed, particularly regarding the different contexts in which male rape occurs.

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 provides a literature review that contextualises the current study by examining the paradigmatic shifts within criminology that resulted in the evolution of victimology; and its political impact on victim policy and ensuing responsibilities of the police service response to victims of crime (the focus here being male rape victims). This chapter discusses (i) its prevalence and historical origins, (ii) related myths and misconceptions, and (iii) provides a critical review of clinical and community research on male-on-male rape victimisation.

Chapter 2 evaluates the specialist response provided by the London Metropolitan Police Service's Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers to male rape survivors (on reporting to the police) using a comparative thematic analysis of data from SOIT officers and from male and female rape survivors.

Chapter 3 continues with the theme of male rape with an investigation of the prevalence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers within the commercial sex industry (predominantly from within the UK). The impetus for this study was to examine whether this type of sexual violence against male sex workers was as frequent as it is within female sex work.

Chapter 4 takes an alternative approach and examines the international print media representation of male and female rape victims. Furthermore, it explores whether there is a gendered portrayal of the rape victim. This research evolved from the declining attention being given to the powerful medium of the '*newspaper*' and particularly the neglect of male rape victims within the limited research on the print media coverage of sex crimes.

Chapter 5 provides an overall discussion of the various perspectives taken in the preceding chapters relating to male rape and provides suggested directions for further research.

1.1.1 Reflexive Statement

My initial interest in researching male rape victimisation evolved from researching a victimology seminar question '*Can men be victims?*' while undertaking my Master of Arts Degree in Criminology. The more I read the available literature the more I realised how understudied the subject of male rape was in the U.K and that research had not investigated the police response to, or the incidence of, male rape across contexts such as sex work, and its representation in the print media. I subsequently began researching it from feminist perspectives for my Master of Arts . dissertation, and later conducted gender comparative research for my dissertation which formed part of my Master of Science Degree in Investigative Psychology focusing on whether the crime scene actions differentiated between male and female

rape victims. When conducting the above studies a number of questions emerged (about reporting practices and needs-directed services) which I stored away for future reference; and on deciding to undertake a PhD in Psychology these research questions came to the fore once more: (i) Do the London Metropolitan Police's Chaperone Officers (these were superseded by specialist Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers) provide a gendered service response to rape victims (Laurent's (1993) article "Male Rape" was seminal to the development of this question); (ii) Is the client-perpetrated rape of sex workers as pervasive within the commercial male sex industry as it appears to be within female sex work? West & de Villiers (1993) text "*Male Prostitution*" was particularly influential to the development of this question); and (iii) Is there a gender-bias in the print media representation of rape victims? (this question evolved from reading Scarce's (1997) text "*Male on male rape: The hidden toll of stigma and shame*" where he referred to evidence of gendered print media representation such as an emphasis on the physical build of male rape victims). It was therefore felt that a social constructionist perspective was appropriate to investigate male rape victimisation and its representation across these varying contexts with regard to the influence of dominant male hegemony inherent in the patriarchal power structures within heterosexist society.

The aims of the original research presented in this thesis are to (i) instigate practical changes where feasible to improve services for male rape survivors by making recommendations to relevant agencies involved in policy-making decisions, and (ii) to increase public awareness of the phenomenon of male rape during the course of these studies. In accordance with the core aims of action research, the

findings will be disseminated back to respondents through the agencies which have facilitated the current research.

1.2 The Legal Definition of Male Rape and Relevant Legislation

Prior to 1994 male rape did not exist according to the law in England and Wales which only recognised non-consensual buggery. Unlike in female rape cases, there was no provision of anonymity or maximum sentence of life (instead ten years was the most severe sentence). However, the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1992 addressed the discrepancy regarding the anonymity provision so that male victims of buggery and indecent assault were subsequently provided with the same protection as female rape victims (Alderson, 1992). Male rape was criminalised in England and Wales under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) section 142 1 (1) and (2) which made rape gender neutral by its amendment of the Sexual Offences Act (1956). This Act also provided anonymity for male rape victims by amending the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act (1976). The definition now includes the non-consensual penetration of the anus as well as the vagina of a person. Equating male rape with female rape implies that it is being taken a little more seriously, and the profile of male rape has thus been raised. The classification of rape became even more inclusive under the Sexual Offences Act (2003) which included coerced penile-oral penetration in the definition of rape. A problem exists, as despite the limitations placed on cross-examination with regard to the complainant's sexual history under section 2 (1) Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act (1976), defence counsel may also use the fact that some victims ejaculate during the assault to argue consent (Morgan-Taylor & Rumney, 1994).

In contrast, in Victoria, Australia, under s. 35 (1) of the Crimes Act (1958), rape is defined as the non-consensual penetration of the victim's anus or vagina by a

penis, finger or object or by the penetration of the mouth by the penis (Crome, McCabe, & Ford, 1999). This is quite a progressive law considering its date and how long it took European countries to follow suit and amend their laws on rape to ensure they were gender neutral. In New South Wales, Australia, gender neutral legislation was enacted in 1981. While, in the United States, prior to the 1960s, rape victims were perceived to be female only and the assailants solely male. However, in the 1970s, the legislation in the United States was reformed to recognise male rape and by 1999, 37 states had enacted gender neutral legislation on sexual assault regarding both offenders and victims (Crome et al., 1999). In Sweden, sexual assault legislation became gender neutral under the Swedish Penal Code Chapter 6 s.1 1984 (Interpol, 2003), whereas in Ireland rape legislation was enacted under the Criminal Law (Rape) (Amendment) Act 1990 (Quinn, 1988); and similar amendments to law were made more recently in Germany, the Netherlands and Canada (see Lees, 1997). By contrast, in Finland in 1971, rape was defined according to the level of force used irrespective of consent and could only be perpetrated against women; this legislation was amended in 1999 when rape became gender neutral (Honkatukia, 2001). In Northern Ireland male rape is recognised under the Criminal Justice (Northern Ireland) Order 2003, but Scotland still fails to legally recognise this crime (FPA, 2006).

Rochman (1991) discussed male rape in relation to its incidence and how it is dealt with under the legislation in a number of American states. For example, in Georgia, the law is gender specific in that rape involves the ‘... *forcible penetration of the female sex organ by the male sex organ*’ (p. 40). Interestingly, oral and anal penetration are both defined as sodomy, and irrespective of whether these acts are consensual or coerced, they are illegal. The penalty for forced sodomy is a life sentence or a maximum of 20 years in prison; but consensual sodomy is treated

equally as severely, as the sentence could extend to twenty years in prison. In Los Angeles, rape and sodomy are legislated as distinctive acts but have the same sentences (see Rochman, 1991). The terms of '*rape*' and '*sodomy*' in New Jersey's criminal legislation have been superseded by gender neutral definitions of '*assault*'. There, all sex crimes are encapsulated under four legal categories, (i) *aggravated sexual assault*, (ii) *sexual assault*, (iii) *aggravated criminal sexual contact* and (iv) *criminal sexual contact* (Rochman, 1991). The aforementioned illustrates the variation in legislation from state to state as well as from country to country.

In the first case under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) in England and Wales which criminalised non-consensual anal intercourse between males (*R v Richards*), the assailant was sentenced to life. This was probably due to a number of factors including the range of degrading and humiliating acts enforced on the victim together with the impact of similar fact evidence (Rumney & Morgan-Taylor, 1996). According to the Sentencing Advisory Panel, there were only nine offenders sentenced for rape of a male (sixteen years and older) in 1999 (Sentencing Advisory Panel, 2003). In the United Kingdom, rape is supposed to be treated as a level one crime, only out-ranked by murder.

Reporting may be inhibited by the facts that male rape has only been legally recognised in recent years and the low sentencing rate. In addition, the apprehension that male rape victims feel regarding the possibility of their sexual history being made public may also act as a deterrent. This is despite Rape Shield Laws which are "... *statutes that encourage the reporting and successful prosecution of rape by limiting embarrassing and inflammatory testimony about the victim's sexual history*" (Kramer, 1998, p. 299). The first Rape Shield Law was introduced in Michigan in 1974; the majority of the other states in the USA followed suit. Nonetheless, these

laws are only variations on a theme. The only constant is that they all deny the historic automatic admissibility of evidence of the complainants' unchaste behaviour. But, not all USA legislation views rape as a gender neutral crime; that which does, has adapted Rape Shield Laws to protect male complainants in same-sex rape cases. Nevertheless, the Rape Shield Laws were originally passed to protect female complainants; the terminology used was not gender specific which enabled its more flexible interpretation. Kramer (1998) recommends that Rape Shield Laws should be interpreted and applied to male same sex rape cases to '*shield*' against the introduction of sexual history and sexual orientation evidence, which could prejudice the case against the victim due to the power of '*anti-gay bias*'.

The crime itself is usually perceived as a '*homosexual crime*', despite evidence (for example, Groth, 1979, to be discussed below) which stated that a third of the offenders were heterosexual, a quarter were bisexual, and two to seven percent were homosexual (information unavailable for 32% of offenders). However, the sexual history of the complainant may have little probative value unless the previous sexual encounters were with the defendant; by the same token, evidence of sexual orientation should only be introduced if the survivor denies he is gay, when he is homosexually active. Another policy, which underlies these statutes, states that the promiscuity of the victim should not negatively affect the assumed veracity of his evidence. Kramer (1998) concluded that the implementation of Rape Shield Laws in male same sex rape cases has led to an increase in reporting.

England and Wales have similar legislation to the aforementioned Rape Shield Laws via the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (1999). Under this Act, there are limits placed on the admissibility of previous sexual history evidence in cases of male rape. Firstly, the trial judge must grant '*leave*' to the defence in order to

introduce this type of evidence through a line of questioning, for example. Nevertheless, this protocol is not always strictly imposed, which has parallels with the discretionary implementation of the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1976 (regarding the maintenance of complainants' anonymity in rape cases). Secondly, the use of sexual history evidence must be in accordance with the *Morgan* ruling which related to a defence statement that the accused possessed a genuine belief of consent. Rumney (2001) suggests that in cases where the complainant was acquainted with their assailant, the extension of limitations on sexual history evidence to include the defendant himself may be favourable to male complainants.

Rumney (2001) analysed trial transcripts of interviews with two male rape complainants. One of the cases involved the complainant being raped by a work colleague after a party in 1998; he reported the matter within hours of the assault. However, in the second case, the complainant was raped in 1997 by an assailant with whom he was barely acquainted; however, he waited two days before reporting it to the police. Both defendants were convicted. The time frame of reporting in each of these cases is important, as, according to Rumney (2001), it is a common defence tactic to draw on *misconceptions* and *rape myths* pertaining to the reactions of a '*real*' rape victim. It is assumed that a '*real*' rape victim would not have waited two days to report the matter. Another issue, which will be elaborated upon below, is that many of the offenders documented in the research get the victim to ejaculate, which is used by the defence to imply consent by the victim or at least '*muddy the waters*' regarding the belief of the defendant ('*mens rea*') that the victim was consenting to anal intercourse (Morgan-Taylor & Rumney, 1994, p. 1490). Rumney (2001) supports this by drawing on the case of *Armstrong* where evidence of an erection of the victim resulted in the acquittal of the defendant due to "*not sufficient evidence* of the

complainant's non-consent" (p. 208). Another factor which may be used by the defence to suggest consent is the victim asking the assailant to wear a condom (Scarce, 1997). Although, in parts of the United States this line of questioning has been legislated against, but, the situation is less clear in the United Kingdom.

Many of the factors discussed here should also be borne in mind when reading Chapter 2, especially with regard to how they may influence the reporting practices of male rape victims.

1.3 The History of Male Rape

Donaldson (as cited in Dynes, 1990) stated:

In antiquity, the rape of males was more widely recognised. In Greek mythology, Zeus, the king of the gods, abducted Ganymede for sexual purposes. In the Oedipus myth, Laius, King of Thebes and Oedipus' father, abducted Chrysippus, son of his host, King Pelops; the boy killed himself out of shame, occasioning Pelops' curse on Laius that he should be slain by his own son (p. 1094).

Male rape appears within a number of contexts from initiation rites within the marines (see Goyer & Eddleman, 1984) to the ultimate conquest over the enemy during battle. The gang rape of males was also the chosen form of punishment by the Romans for adultery and by the Iranians for the violation of the sanctity of the harem according to Donaldson (as cited in Dynes, 1990). Furthermore, "[d]uring the 1980s the Panamanian authorities used male rape as a form of punishment for political dissent" (see Dynes, 1990, p. 1373). Media coverage was also provided of British soldiers raped by Croat soldiers. "*Senior British military officers say male-on-male sexual assault played an important and unexplored part in the Balkan conflict, where*

it appears to have been used against prisoners as an ultimate means of humiliation”
(Borger, 1996, pp. 1 and 3).

The media coverage of male rape is minimal when compared with the coverage of female rape, unless the story involves celebrities such as Michael Barrymore or other individuals whose connections make them newsworthy, such as George Smith who was Prince Charles’ valet. This latter case attracted heightened media attention due to the fact that the alleged rapist was also a member of the royal staff, “...male rape has not had such a high profile since T.E. Lawrence’s account of his violation by the Turkish Governor of Deraa in 1916” (Seaton, 2002, p. 8). Although these high profile cases raise some public awareness, there continues to be numerous myths and misnomers concerning the term ‘male rape’. The media reinforces these misconceptions when they describe male rape as homosexual rape. A more comprehensive discussion of the print media representation of rape is provided in Chapter 4.

1.4 Masculinity

The subject of male rape could not be examined without considering the key role which masculinity plays both in the possible motivations of the offender and the exacerbating effect it can have on the trauma experienced by the victim (these will be discussed later in this chapter).

Socialisation theory describes a crucial process which instils society’s expectations of the male role. This is defined by Thompson and Pleck (1986) as “...social norms that prescribe and proscribe what men should feel and do” (p. 531). Sex role theory also provides an explanation of sex role norms which according to Pleck (1981), are universally held principles regarding what the sexes ‘should be’. It needs to be highlighted that there will always be a discrepancy between the socially

constructed sex roles which define masculinity and the extent to which this masculinity can be achieved. Masculinity is an ideal that is aspired to, and, by virtue of this fact, is therefore unattainable. However, masculinity is not a homogenous category but a heterogeneous one composed of many masculinities. The discrepancy between the aspiration, and masculine status achieved is described by Pleck (1981) as “*sex role strain*”. This results in low self esteem. In addition, attempts to adhere to ascribed masculine characteristics may result in negative psychological effects (e.g., repression of emotion) (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). This sex role strain may influence the motivation of certain types of male offenders to commit male rape in order to re-affirm their masculinity.

Parsons and Bales (1956) developed sex role theory that is now described as gender role theory. In brief, there are gender role norms which society dictates must be adhered to. For example, males are expected to possess characteristics such as being stoic, invulnerable, strong and aggressive, whereas females are expected to be emotional, passive, sensitive and maternal. Socialisation theory treats gender formation as the attainment and internalisation of social norms. A certain compatibility between the theory of socialisation and sex role theory is evident according to Connell (1987), who stated that “*the social prescriptions are often called ‘norms’ and the process of social learning is often called ‘role learning’, ‘role acquisition’, or ‘sex role socialisation’*” (p. 192). Nevertheless, individuals who do not conform to these norms (such as gay and lesbian individuals) are defined as deviants who are not considered within classic socialisation theory. Thus, socialisation theory is flawed in terms of gender identity. (Class and race differences are also overlooked.)

Freud’s (1925/89) Oedipal complex could also be used as a framework to understand male rape. During the phallic stage boys become attracted to their mother,

girls to their father. Boys notice that they have a penis and that girls do not. Thus, boys become fearful/suffer castration anxiety but girls experience penis envy. These effects are reduced by the boy identifying with his father, which allows him sexual satisfaction, and transforms all hostility towards his father into admiration. Thus, a possible Freudian explanation for male rape could be that males become jealous of the freedom of emotional expression which they perceive homosexual men as possessing. This contrasts with the socially coerced repression of emotions which facilitates the presentation of heterosexual male invulnerability. Thus, the act of male rape may be an attempt at expressing a variety of emotions (such as anxiety and frustration) which these men are unable to distinguish between and experience as anger [this process has been described as the “*male emotional funnel*” (Stordeur & Stille, 1989, p. 39)]. Other psychodynamic theorists, including Melanie Klein (1971) (whose theoretical perspectives were not developed to provide an explanation of sexually violent behaviour) but, can be used to explain possible psychological motivations of the rapist who particularly targets suspected gay males.

Melanie Klein’s revisionist work and other Object Relations theorists’ perspectives can also be employed regarding “... *the importance of relational defence mechanisms (such as ‘splitting’ off unwanted ‘bad’ parts of the self and ‘projecting’ them into others, where they can be disowned . . . (cf. Rustin, 1991, 1995))*” (Jefferson, 1997, p. 540). Thus, applying this concept to male rape, the offender projects his latent homosexual tendencies onto his victims; whereby the act of rape has a cathartic effect. The act of rape is therefore an attempt to compensate for the perceived defects in the rapist’s sense of his male identity. These inadequacies result in frustration due to his failure to meet the socially defined concept of ‘*masculinity*’. Thus, failing to cope with the conflicts and pressures experienced in his attempts to be in control of

his life (Groth & Burgess, 1977a), he commits rape. However, other theorists take a more structurally informed approach (e.g. Connell, 1987, 1995) as opposed to those in the more individualistic Freudian and Kleinian models.

Connell (1987) stated that:

... [regarding] the concept of hegemonic masculinity, hegemony means (as in Gramsci's analyses of class relations in Italy from which the term is borrowed) a social ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organisation of private life and cultural processes (p. 184).

Within such a framework male rape can be examined in terms of the continuous pressure under which aspiring dominant hegemonic males function in order to repress emotions that are considered feminine resulting in the victimisation of those males perceived as possessing "*subordinate masculinities*" (such as members of the gay community) (see Connell, 1987). A further consequence of this dominant form of masculinity is when the male rape victim turns to his friends within his social network for support, which subsequently dissipates in the face of any real emotions being displayed. The impact of criminal victimisation as interpreted through a male perspective is described here:

...as male victims of crime. Their experience will be directly mediated by their views of themselves as men, their socially located understanding of what men are, and the consequences of the experience may well be visible in a changed understanding of self (Newburn & Stanko, 1994, p. 164).

In other words, to apply this to the context of the sexual victimisation of males, who may suffer from psychological sequelae (see Chapter 2), and they are forced to

reconceptualise their identity as '*men*'. Thus, male victims' perceived invulnerability is at the core of their maleness which pervades every act they perform and, has been severely damaged. This can affect their social relationships with other men which have to be more carefully negotiated and, those with women are perceived as more intimidating as they see themselves as unable to fulfil their socially ascribed heterosexual role within society. The social norms pertaining to masculinity pervade every aspect of society and the legal system is no exception with regard to its gradual recognition of male rape.

Hegemonic masculinity is sustained through violence perpetrated against women and other '*subordinate*' or marginalized groups (Lees, 1997). Furthermore, men raping men or women facilitates the maintenance of '*hegemonic heterosexuality*' in society (Chapleau, et al., 2008). This reinforcement of hegemonic masculinity is therefore ironic considering the nature of the act of male rape used by assailants to deny their homosexual feelings and re-affirm their sense of maleness (Lees, 1997).

In relation to the incidence of male rape where the assailants are heterosexual, and the motivations underlying the act are '*power*' and '*anger*' (Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977b), then every male could be considered vulnerable to this crime. It is therefore interesting to note, "*...for men, there are no tips about personal safety in crime prevention handbooks. It is assumed that men either know about avoiding dimly-lit alley ways and bus stops, or they are able to protect themselves*" (Stanko, 1990, p. 109). This contradicts the fact that on examination of British crime statistics and victim surveys, young men are more at risk of general criminal victimisation than young women. Men do not even consider they are at risk of sexual violence except within the context of imprisonment. This may well be the result of the socialisation process which instils a sense of invulnerability in males which could exacerbate male

rape victimisation. Stanko and Hobdell (1993) suggest that men perceive their victimisation through a “*male frame*” and as victims are considered ‘*weak and helpless*’ which is at odds with their sense of ‘*invulnerability*’, an inherently male characteristic (fundamental to the masculine sense of self) this further debilitates their recovery process. Male victims repress their emotions in order to maintain their sense of masculinity and self-esteem the results of which increase their isolation and inability to seek help. Good, Wallace, and Borst (1994) state that the phrase “*masculine role conflict*” refers to certain “...*characteristics of masculinity ideology* [which] *are believed to be detrimental to men’s psychosocial and/or bio-medical functioning*” (p. 4). The pervasive impact of this conflict on the male victim’s masculinity should not be underestimated when addressing male rape victimisation and, the survivor’s recovery process. Myers (1989) found that all of the men studied as a result of being victims of sexual assault suffered damage to their sense of maleness or masculinity.

From a cultural perspective Mezey and King (2000a) did raise another interesting point with regard to males’ inability to identify what could be termed as ‘*risky situations*’, which women would tend to avoid. This may be the result of the constant reaffirmation by social influences (such as the media) of how vulnerable women are whenever they are out alone. The importance of being aware and avoiding dangerous situations is instilled from an early age via the female socialisation processes (Parsons & Bales, 1956). “*Sex role socialization may [thus] contribute to the reservations many men have in acknowledging and expressing feelings of distress and vulnerability, because such feelings are equated with weakness and inadequacy*” (Mezey & King, 2000b, p. 142). This could subsequently lead to inhibited help-

seeking behaviour which may be further exacerbated by “*non-responsive service provisions*” (Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996, p. 448).

1.5 Male Rape Myths and Misconceptions

Male rape myths are pervasive within popular culture, and include assertions that ‘*real men*’ cannot be raped, and that male rape is a ‘*homosexual crime*’, where rapists are ‘*predatory homosexuals*’. Mitchell, Hirschman, and Nagayma-Hall (1999) confirmed these misperceptions of male rape when they studied the attributions of victim responsibility, pleasure, and trauma in male rape. They found that American undergraduates believed that male victims were partially responsible for their victimisation. Victim sexual orientation further influenced the male participants’ beliefs, in that homosexual victims were held more responsible than heterosexual victims. This finding was mirrored in relation to homosexual victims being believed to experience pleasure, and less trauma than heterosexual victims. However, the significance and symbolism of anal penetration as an act of demonstration of intimacy and love between homosexual men makes this rape equally traumatic for gay men (Lees, 1997). To return to Mitchell et al.’s (1999) study, another interesting finding was that male participants were as likely to hold male victims responsible for their sexual victimisation as female victims, thus, exhibiting a lack of empathy for the male rape victim despite being of the same gender (see also Chapleau et al., 2008; Davies & McCartney, 2003)

Due to male rape being perceived as a homosexually-motivated offence (McMullen, 1990), and, the antagonistic undertones of heterosexist society’s treatment of members of the gay community (despite its acceptance on some levels); it is not surprising that victims are silent regarding their victimisation. Assailants are probably aware that the likelihood of their crime being reported is quite low. While,

the cost to the victims of reporting their sexual victimisation may be too much; they may fear the stigma, shame, the reactions of friends and family, disbelief of the police, and their sexual orientation being questioned. Thus, social and political considerations influence the decision whether to report their criminal victimisation to the police (Peel, 1999). Against this background, they also have to contend with the emotional and psychological sequelae of the assault and the physical injuries. The Metropolitan Police refer male rape victims to Survivors UK (who offer specialist counselling), an organisation that is referred to as a national resource in the MPA (Metropolitan Police Authority) Scrutiny Report (2002), the HMCPSI (Her Majesty's Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate), and HMIC (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary) Report (2002).

The next section examines the varied contexts in which male rape research has been conducted and the limitations of these studies.

1.6 Different Contexts of Research

1.6.1 Penal Research

There is a paucity of literature available on the topic of male rape (when compared with the volumes on female rape) and initial research was dominated by research conducted within penal institutions in the U.S. (e.g. Davis, 1968; Lipscomb, Muram, & Speck, 1992; Scacco, 1975; Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, Rucker, Bumby, & Donaldson, 1996; Wooden & Parker, 1982). Brownmiller (1975) summarises the act of rape in prison as *"the need of some men to prove their mastery through physical and sexual assault, and to establish most strikingly within the special crucible of the male-violent, a coercive hierarchy of the strong on top of the weak"* (p. 267). Lipscomb et al. (1992) compared eighty incarcerated males who had been sexually victimised, with nineteen non-incarcerated males (all of the participants

had been identified via a Sexual Assault Resource Centre in the community). This study focused on both victims and assailants (where identified), the history of victimisation, the presence of self-identified mental illness, weapon use, the phenomenology of assault. The number of assailants was also recorded. Lipscomb et al. found that there were no significance differences between the two samples with the exception of weapon use (which would be expected due to one sample's incarceration) and the age of victims (the inmates were younger). The latter finding would reflect the young age of the general prison population.

Lipscomb et al.'s (1992) sample could be criticised for the fact that many of the reports may have been involuntary, as patients may have been mandated for treatment or report for their own protection while incarcerated. Another weakness is the size differential of the two samples. Yet another is while there appeared to be a connection between mental illness and repeat victimisation, this may not be a robust finding due to mental illness being self-identified. This study demonstrated some of the methodological problems inherent in penal research on male rape.

It is noteworthy that recent research in the UK has investigated the incidence of sexual violence in prisons with contrasting results. O'Donnell and Edgar (1998) suggested that the rape of males in English prisons is rare (see also O'Donnell, 2004) which sharply contrasts with the pandemic experienced within the US penal system (see Human Rights Watch, 2001). Contrasting with O'Donnell and Edgar's research, Banbury's (2004) study of recently released male and female inmates in the UK, stated that just because rape is not reported does not mean that it is not happening.

1.6.2 Clinical Research

Other research has been conducted on clinical samples (see Groth, 1979; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Groth et al., 1977a, b; Goyer & Eddleman, 1984; Huckle, 1995; Stermac, Sheridan, Davidson, & Dunn, 1996). However, a limitation of these samples is their composition of psychiatric clinic referrals. Their results are not easily generalisable to male victims of rape within the community.

The majority of this type of research has been performed in the United States. Groth (1979), in his study of twenty (16 incarcerated and 4 community) offenders, and seven (6 incarcerated and 1 community) victims, found that the sexual assaults were intraracial, stranger attacks (victim and offender were not known to each other), that multiple sexual acts were perpetrated, and that the victims ejaculated. The most common sexual act perpetrated was sodomy and the second most frequent was fellatio. Groth's (1979) work on male rape resulted in the development of a typology of rapists composed of five motivational components consisting of '*Conquest and Control*', '*Revenge and Retaliation*', '*Conflict and Counteraction*', '*Sadism and Degradation*', and '*Status and Affiliation*'. These typologies will now be described.

The *Conquest and Control* category of rapist is said to use the act of rape to sexually conquer, possess, and exploit the victim in order to reaffirm his own strength and power to compensate for his feelings of inadequacy and vulnerability. The supreme power is evidenced through the control of the sexual responses of his victim and his body without his consent culminating in the victim's ejaculation.

In contrast with *Revenge and Retaliation* rapists' underlying motivation is anger and the perpetration of the rape is an act of retaliation, where the rapist perceives a slight was directed against him by the victim which precipitates the assault and minimises the offender's responsibility.

While, the *Sadism and Degradation* rapist typology is where the assailant's aggression becomes eroticised and the sexual abuse and humiliation of the victim increases the assailant's excitement and gratification. Groth (1979) suggested that sexual sadism may be demonstrated through "*bondage, ritualistic torture and coprophilic acts*" (p. 128).

The *Conflict and Counteraction* rapist is said to have unresolved and conflicting sexual interests (Groth, 1979). Homophobic hate crimes would also be encompassed within this category, where the offender projects his latent homosexual tendencies onto the victim who may be a male prostitute or chosen because he was in a gay identified area.

The *Status and Affiliation* rapist type usually involves multiple offenders where the act of rape may be perpetrated as an initiation rite. Offenders may be coerced into committing the rape in order to maintain their status and membership of the peer group. There is also a diffusion of responsibility as a result of the mutual participation and validation of the act by one's co-defendants. The social bond among the assailants is thus reinforced (Groth, 1979). In prison rapes of this type the act also serves to confirm the offender's superiority and masculinity.

Thus, the above research demonstrates that the underlying core motives of power and anger are evidenced in these stranger rapes which serve as vehicles for their expression.

Methodological limitations as a consequence of varied sample sizes, and contexts within the clinical research on male rape result in conflicting findings. Nevertheless, these studies still contribute knowledge to the available literature. For example, Burgess and Holmstrom (1979), in their detailed study of six male victims found there was a minimal level of physical trauma either reported or observed by

hospital medical staff. Kaufman, Divasto, Jackson, Voorhees, & Christy's (1980) research on male and female rape victims who attended an Emergency Room found males were less likely to report genital trauma compared with females. However, male victims were subject to more multiple attacks and sexual assaults by multiple offenders than female victims. There was a limited generalisability of the findings due to the context of the study (victims may be more likely to be suffering from extreme injuries, hence their attendance at an Emergency Room). Kaufman et al. (1980) also neglected to examine the sexual orientation of the victims in any detail and did not identify the victim-offender relationships.

Goyer and Eddleman's (1984) study as with most of the research on male rape, had a limited sample size, but, it is unique as the sample was composed of members of the military and the assaults occurred within this occupational context. Some of the sexual assaults documented in this study were described in terms of a '*blanket party*' whereby the victim was wrapped in a blanket so that he could not see his assailants and was gang raped as well as being physically assaulted. '*Greasing*' also took place where the victim was stripped naked, massaged in grease (used to oil machinery) and then, in some cases, a tube was forced through his anus and into his rectum which was then used to pump grease into the victim (Goyer & Eddleman, 1984). The number of participants was thirteen, identified on presentation at a psychiatric clinic for stress-related illnesses. Reasons given for non-reporting of the incident were fear of being labelled a '*homosexual*' and of their peer group's reaction.

A summary of the clinical research is provided in Table 1, highlighting pertinent factors such as the sample size, demographics, and crime scene factors for ease of cross-comparisons.

Summary of Key Clinical Research Studies of Male Rape.

| Research Study | No. of Participants | Offenders' Sexual Orientation | Victims | Victim Gender | Offender Age | Victim Age | Sex acts | No. of Offenders | Phenomenology of Offence | Methods of Control | Victim-Offender Relationship |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|------------------------------|
| Groth (1979) (USA) | 16 (incarcerated) offenders | 27% heterosexual (community) | | male | mean age 24 (incarcerated) | | 22% committed sodomy on the victim | 80% raped in prison by multiple assailants | 67% of assaults occurred outdoors | 11% entrapped through intoxication | 56% strangers |
| | 4 (community) offenders | 32% bisexual (community) | | | 19% of offenders sodomised victims who were then also forced to fellate and perform annilingus on offenders | | 44% threatened with a weapon | | | 33% acquaintances | |
| | 1 (incarcerated) victim | 9% homosexual (community) | | | | | 44% employed the blitz attack by suddenly striking the victim | | | | |
| | 6 (community) victims | 60% heterosexual (incarcerated) | | | | | 15% fellated the victim - the majority included multiple sex acts | | | | |
| Groth and Burgess (1980) (USA) | 16 offenders | polysexual | 50% heterosexual | male | mean age | mean age | 45% sodomised | | outdoors | 75% of offenders used entrapment, intimidation and/ or physical force | 50% strangers |
| | 6 victims | 50% married | 17% bisexual | | 24 | 22 | 32% fellatio of victim by offender | | | | |
| | | 38% bisexual | 17% homosexual | | 45% of cases - multiple sex acts carried out | | | | | | |
| | | remainder homosexual | 7% sexually inactive prior to rape post attack adopted homosexual lifestyle | | | 50% of cases involved attempted ejaculation of victim by offender | | | | | |
| Goyer and Eddleman (1984) (USA) | 13 victims | | 85% heterosexual | male | | mean age 21 | | 30% raped by 3 offenders 30% raped by 4 offenders | occupational context: the military 30% of rapes were on board ship | | |

Table 1.

Summary of Key Clinical Research Studies of Male Rape.

| Research Study | No. of Participants | Offenders | Victims | Victim Gender | Offender Age | Victim Age | Sex Acts | No. of Offenders | Phenomenology of Offence | Methods of Control | Victim-Offender Relationship |
|---|---------------------|--|--|---------------|--------------|---|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Myers (1989) (Canada) | | 57% homosexual 29% heterosexual 7% bisexual 7% self-described asexual | | male | 28.7 years | 42.8% sexually assaulted in childhood and adulthood 21% were raped when they were adults | | | | | 7% strangers 93% acquaintances |
| Stermac, Sheridan, Davidson, and Dunn (1996) (Canada) Note: minority of assaults suggestive of hate crime Reticence to present for medical treatment for genital trauma | 29 | 3% female assailants 86% male assailants sexual orientation not reported | majority homosexual (exact figure not reported) 21% suffered from cognitive disabilities 14% had physical disabilities | male | | mean age 27 | 54% anal intercourse performed on victim 43% coerced fellatio of assailant 48% subjected to multiple assaults | 21% (2) assailants 11% (3) assailants 11% (4) assailants | 43% victim/assailant's house 14% occurred in private vehicles | 21% emotional coercion 11% psychological (kicking, and slapping etc.) coercion 39% restrained or confined 21% involved weapon use | 50% acquaintance 50% stranger |

Table 1 contd.

Summary of Key Clinical Research Studies of Male Rape.

| Research Study | No. of Participants | Offenders | Victims | Victim Gender | Offender Age | Victim Age | Sex Acts | No. of Offenders | Phenomenology of Offence | Methods of Control | Victim-Offender Relationship |
|--|---|--|--|---------------|--------------|----------------|--|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| <p>Huckle (1995) (UK)</p> <p>Note: 28% reported to police</p> <p>Of those 14% of the assailants charged with indecent assault</p> <p>41% suffering from PTSD</p> | <p>22 victims</p> <p>41% were adult victims (focused upon here)</p> | <p>heterogeneous in sexual orientation</p> <p>32% heterosexual</p> <p>32% bisexual</p> <p>18% homosexual</p> | <p>86% self-defined heterosexuals</p> <p>9% bisexual</p> <p>4% homosexual</p> <p>(victims were also offenders the majority having committed physical assault only one having committed a sexual offence)</p> | male | | 44% aged 16-20 | <p>86% of cases involved attempted or completed anal intercourse</p> | <p>73% of total sample raped by lone offenders</p> <p>27% of total sample gang raped</p> | outdoors | 18% involved weapon use | <p>32% stranger</p> <p>68% of offenders were known to the victim to varying degrees</p> |

PTSD – Post Traumatic Disorder.

Table 1 contd.

Summary of Key Community-Based Research Studies of Male Rape.

| Research Study | No. of Participants | Sexual Orientation of Offenders | Victims | Victim Gender | Victim Age | Sex Acts | No. of Offenders | Phenomenology of Offence | Methods of Control | Victim-Offender Relationship |
|--|--|--|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--|--|---|
| Kaufman, DiVasto, Jackson, Voorhees, and Christy (1980) (USA) Recruited via hospital emergency room | 100 females 14 males | | 57% of males raped by multiple assaults compared to 12% of female victims male victims unaffiliated to the gay community males less likely to seek help for genital trauma than females and suffered more physical trauma | male and female | males younger than females | 100% of the male victims subject to coerced anal intercourse 64% of male victims forced to perform fellatio 57% of males assaulted multiple times compared to 12% of females | 50% of male victims raped by multiple offenders 23% of female victims gang raped | males held in captivity longer than females | | |
| Hickson, Davies, Hunt, Weatherburn, McManus, and Coxon (1994) (UK) Recruited via clubs, pubs & gay press | 930 results relate to 219 detailed cases | heterogeneous group heterosexually identified offenders used anti-gay language | 11% of cases involved repeat sexual victimisation | male | mean age 23yrs | 45% coerced anal penetration of the victim 6% coerced oral penetration of the victim | 11% multiple assailants (excl.) family members | | | majority acquaintances as only 16% were strangers to the victim |
| Hickson, Henderson, and Davies (1997) (UK) Recruited via Lesbian and Gay Pride Festival & three postal surveys to 282 sexual health & GUM clinics | 46 | of these incidents, 3 were female assailants and two had a male accomplice | 60 instances of sexual assault (multiple assaults by the same offender considered as a single incident) reported 65% were gay or bisexual 22% repeat sexual victimisation | male | 66% of victims aged < 26yrs | 78% - 1 assault 15% - 2 assaults 4% - 3 assaults 2% - 4 assaults 81% of victims subject to coerced anal penetration | 33% multiple offenders (more common in blitz attack than any other type) | 75% indoors 25% outdoors | 13% of assaults involved the use of weapons (knives) | 50 single occasion assaults (10% acquaintances of assailant) remainder encountered offender mins/hrs before assault |
| Hillman, O'Mara, Taylor-Robinson, and Harris (1990) recruited via Survivors UK, government & charity agencies (UK) | 100 self-referrals | 72% heterosexual 16% homosexual 12% bisexual | 51% homosexual 75% repeatedly victimised | male | sample age mid -20s | 5% of victims subject to coerced anal intercourse 61% subject to several enforced sexual acts 88% of offenders and 53% of victims ejaculated | 43% had multiple ssailants | indoors 32% victim's house 47% assailant's house | | 72% knew their assailants |

Table 2.

Summary of key community-based research studies of male rape.

| Research Study | No .of Participants | Sexual Orientation of Offenders | Victims | Victim Gender | Offender Age | Sex Acts | No. of Offenders | Phenomenology of Offence | Methods Of Control | Victim-Offender Relationship |
|--|---|--|---|---------------|--|--|--|--|--------------------|---|
| Mezey and King (1989) (UK) Recruitment via G.Ps and gay print media | 22 | 50% homosexual 14% heterosexual 14% bisexual | 45% homosexual 18% bisexual 36% heterosexual | male | | 77% of victims subject to coerced anal intercourse 50% of victims subjected to other types of assault which usually included fellatio | 4% subject to assault by multiple offenders | 40% occurred in the assailant's home 22% in the victim's home 27% outdoors | | 18% stranger 27% and 22% acquaintances well-known to less well-known respectively |
| Hodge and Canter (1998) (UK) Recruited through police and self-reports | 83 self-reports 35 police reports | 45% heterosexual (self-report) 43% bisexual (self-report) 33% homosexual (self-report) 22% heterosexual (police report) | 35% heterosexual (self-report) 60% heterosexual (police report) | male | 40% aged 22-30 (self-report) 42% aged 22-30 (police report) | | combined results (self-reports and police reports) 64% lone offenders 34% gang rapes (17% of these anti-gay/hate crimes) | 57% outdoors 43% indoors | | 22% stranger (self-report) 51% acquaintance (self report) 39% stranger (police report) 25% acquaintances (police report) |
| Coxell, King, Mezey, and Gordon (1999) (UK) Recruitment via GP surgeries Note: MSM are six times more likely to be at risk of rape | 2474 (2.9% adult victims of non-consensual sex) | 57% male assailants 46% female assailants (these figures are for the total sample) | 3.15% (identified as gay or bisexual (occasionally having sex with men) the majority self-identified as heterosexual | | | 19% of the men who had non-consensual sex with men were identified as having been raped | | | | |

Table 2 contd.

MSM – Men who have sex with men.

*Offender age not provided in studies in Table 2.

***Methods of control not provided in studies in Table 2 contd.

1.6.3 Community Research

Other studies (Hickson et al., 1994; Hillman et al., 1990; Hodge & Canter 1998; Kaufman et al., 1980; Mezey & King 2000a) were conducted on samples within the community. However, their methodologies were also subject to limitations as a result of data collection methods. For example, some studies accessed participants through the print media and gay periodicals (e.g., Mezey & King, 1989) and thus found higher rates of acquaintance rape. Mezey and King's (1989) study also found that a number of men began to question their sexual orientation in the aftermath of the rape.

The sample sizes within community-based research were also limited with the exception of the Coxell et al. (1999) and Hillman et al. (1990) studies. The small sample sizes may be due to the sensitivity of the research and should not necessarily detract from the contribution that these studies have made in facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of this complex area.

Hickson et al.'s (1994) study is quite similar to that of Mezey and King's (1989) research regarding the predominance of homosexually active men in both samples. Hickson et al.'s sample was gay-identified and their study highlighted that male rape was predominantly committed by assailants against victims both of whom were homosexually active. Furthermore, in over a third of first assaults, the victim knew their offender and had previously engaged in consensual sexual activities with them. Thus, these researchers suggest that there was a sexual motive to the act of male rape. However, Hickson et al. found that heterosexual assailants as perceived by victims (due to the following characteristics, the use of anti-gay verbal abuse and the presence of multiple offenders) were also in evidence. These studies highlighted a range of victim-offender relationships and demonstrate that the variability of the sample's characteristics can radically alter the findings.

Hickson et al. (1997), in their study of male rape victims recruited through legal, medical, psychosocial service, and non-service sources; they found that one of the serial assaults involved a lone female assailant; and the other nine could be confined to one of three categories such as *'the abuse of authority'*, *'in gay partnerships'* and *'all-male institutions'* (e.g., prison or armed forces). It was also noted that training provided by the Metropolitan Police's Forensic Science Laboratory regarding the medical examination of sexual assault victims did not encompass male victims (Hickson et al., 1997). Their findings regarding the police service response will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The assaults where the offender was a stranger to the victim (to varying degrees) included assaults on sex workers (excluding non-payment for services) which involved physical assaults and coerced sexual acts. (Further research on client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers is discussed in Chapter 3.) Three assaults were perpetrated by female offenders (two of whom committed the offence with a male co-offender).

In Hickson et al.'s (1997) study, there were also assaults perpetrated (i) within a casual sexual encounter (where the victim had previously engaged in consensual sex with the victim), (ii) stranger assaults where the assailants met their victims just prior to the assault (within a number of contexts e.g., hitchhiking, parties, on a beach, viewing a flat, door-to-door sales and sleeping rough), and (iii) the blitz attack. Only 5% of the assaults were attempted rapes. In this study over 33% of the rapes involved excessive use of violence (that is disproportionate to gaining the submission of the victim). Hickson et al. also found that multiple assailants were more violent than lone offenders. In just under 33% of the assaults, the victims sustained genital trauma, generally to the anus. Physical injury was the most common in the more violent assaults. The trauma experienced by the men did not vary according to their sexual

orientation as those who were homosexually active did not deal with the trauma in a more positive manner than other men. This finding contrasts with the beliefs of the male participants in Mitchell et al.'s (1999) study. In Hickson et al.'s prevalence survey, where the sample size was 1,137 and composed of men who self-identified as gay or bisexual, they found that 8.6% had been raped as adults. Hickson et al. (1997) also highlighted some issues in relation to psycho-social services (of the 40 Rape Crisis Centres (RCC) identified), in that, only 15% offered services to male sexual assault victims (the majority of these having been victimised in childhood as opposed to adulthood).

Lees' (1997) study of both victim reports (85) and police reports (81) of male rape and sexual assaults found that the offenders were perceived as being heterosexual more often than homosexual. The study also found (from the police reports) that over 50% of the assailants had sexual relationships with women and a quarter of the known suspects were either married or cohabiting at the time of the offence. Lees suggested that the motivation for rape was the result of the fear of their homoerotic feelings, which supported Groth's (1979) "*conflict and counteraction*" motivational component. This study also found that victims' reaction to the attack, involved either freezing or submitting. This may be why according to the results of the study of the police reports that extreme violence was used even though it was not required to perpetrate such rapes. Lees (1997) found that while in a quarter of the cases weapons were used, and in half of the cases, both weapons and physical violence (such as punching and kicking) were utilised; although the threat of violence was normally sufficient to execute the rape. Weapons were used in 28% of stranger rapes as opposed to 17% of acquaintance rapes. However, with acquaintance rapes the offender was found to be more likely to threaten to kill and there were more actual injuries incurred.

Hodge and Canter's (1998) study, based on 36 cases from police reports and 83 cases from self-report questionnaires, found that stranger rapes were more likely to be reported to the police whereas there was a higher prevalence of acquaintance rapes identified in the self-reports. The majority of the gang rapes were committed by heterosexual offenders, which could support Groth's (1979) "*status and affiliation*" motivational component of male rape. There also appeared to be a difference regarding the severity of the injuries in relation to sexual orientation. For example, the homosexual victims (45%) suffered more serious injuries than heterosexual victims (36%). Hodge and Canter concluded that sexual assault by heterosexual offenders was slightly more prevalent than those carried out by homosexual offenders.

Walker, Archer, and Davies (2005) found that in addition to anal rape committed by the perpetrator that 55% of the victims were also orally penetrated, 50% of the victims were masturbated (a minority of those were required to reciprocate), and in six cases victims were subjected to penetration with an object.

1.7 Gender Comparative Research

Groth and Burgess (1980), in their comparative study of female and male rape victims, found support for Groth's (1979) finding that males are at an increased risk of rape when engaged in outdoor pursuits (such as hitch-hiking, swimming at a beach and hiking). Sodomy was found to be the most frequently perpetrated sexual act, while oral penetration was the second most common act; and half of the cases involved attempted ejaculation of the victim. Their research supported the fact that males are reluctant to report rape because of their perception of what the societal response will be, in that questions would be raised regarding their inability to defend themselves, their sexual orientation, and the associated embarrassment and shame related to this type of victimisation. Offenders in this sample were of a '*polysexual*' orientation, as indicated

by their failure to discriminate between the gender and age of the victim. It should be noted that the offenders in Groth and Burgess' (1980) study were less likely to identify themselves as homosexuals and therefore male rapists studied outside of the clinical context in different environments via alternative methodologies may show quite different characteristics. It was also highlighted in this study that there were similarities between male and female rape assaults regarding the age of the offenders, the type of approach, and the offenders' success in bringing the victims to orgasm to assert ultimate control over their victims' bodies confirming offenders' fantasies that the victims actually enjoyed the encounter (Groth & Burgess, 1980). King (1990) in his English study supported the work of Groth et al. (1977b) that rape was not a sexual act and men were as vulnerable as women to attack and the methods of control used such as the blitz attack, alcohol or drug facilitated rape, the use of weapons, and physical or emotional coercion.

Lacey and Roberts' (1991) British study of a clinical sample of 13 men and 1,200 females found that multiple assailants were more common in male rape cases (23%) than female (6%), which supports Kaufman et al.'s (1980) findings. Lacey and Roberts also documented forced oral penetration as being more prevalent in male (53.8%) than female (27%) sexual assaults. There was also a higher incidence in the use of weapons in the sexual victimisation of males (23%) than females (10.6%). Although, they concluded that male rape was similar to female rape regarding assault characteristics, motive and subsequent psychological sequelae, thus supporting Groth and Burgess' (1980) findings. Lacey and Roberts' study also provided additional details regarding sexually assaulted men. They found that 54% were heterosexual, 23% were homosexual, and 23% were confused regarding their sexual orientation. The most common form of assault was anal intercourse (68%) and in 23% of cases the victim

was orally penetrated. In this study, the stranger victim-offender relationship was predominant (62%) compared with that of acquaintance (38%).

The methods of control used included force (61.5%), intimidation (15%), and use of weapons (knives) in (23%). In 23% of the attacks, multiple assaults were more common against men. The location of the assaults was predominantly indoors, as 53.8% were assaulted in their own or the assailant's residence. This finding in relation to the location of rapes, conflicts with other research, such as Groth's (1979) study, where if the assailant was a stranger then the location of the attack was usually outdoors. Although, in 7.6% of the incidents the assault was carried out while the victim was captive.

Frazier's (1993) comparative study in the U.S. was on male (74) and female (1,380) rape victims over an eight-year period (1981-1989). The location of this study was a sexual assault referral centre. The sexual assaults included oral, anal, and vaginal penetration. No individuals were aged under seventeen years and the assault must have occurred within 72 hours of the rape to be included. The male and female victims were quite young, Caucasian (males) 52% and (females) 33%; there was also an increased likelihood of these female victims having been raped previously. Sixty-nine percent of the males were sexually assaulted by lone offenders as were 81% of the females. Regarding the victim/offender relationship, 50% were acquainted with their assailants. There was also a high rate of weapon use with 50% of the assaults involving weapons. In addition, Frazier emphasised that 58% of women were "*physically harmed e.g., bruises, scratches, more severe injuries requiring treatment*" (Frazier, 1993, p. 68) compared with 40% of males. Both genders reported fearing for their lives. Victims typically had not used drugs or alcohol in the pre-assault period. However, a number of male victims reported being raped once before (41%). Nonetheless, men were more

likely to have been attacked by multiple assailants than women but less likely to have been “*physically harmed*”. Frazier also found that males experienced higher levels of depression post-assault than women. This latter finding was supported by Elliot, Mok, and Briere (2004) in their gender comparative study of adult male sexual assault.

Stermac, del Bove, and Addison (2004) in their study of rape victims found that (i) males were subject to attack by multiple assailants more frequently than females; (ii) male victims were subject to more coerced anal and/or fellatio assaults than females; (iii) weapons were more likely to be involved in male stranger attacks whereas alcohol was used more often to debilitate victims in male acquaintance rape.

McLean, Balding, and White (2005) in their gender comparative research found that male rape victims are still not as familiar with directed services as women despite increasing reporting rates. There was found to be no significant difference between male and female victims regarding the use of weapons or violence (excepting that of the sexual assault). More acquaintance rapes, and more multiple assaults against males than females were found. However, no statistical significant difference in male and female police referrals was identified. Males were less likely to opt for counselling than females post medical examinations.

The next section focuses on the research on the psychological and emotional symptoms experienced by male and female rape survivors post-assault.

1.8 The Aftermath of the Rape

Early research suggested that homosexual rape victims may become homophobic post-assault, perceiving their assailant as being gay (Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990). The following section discusses the physical and emotional trauma which may be experienced by male rape victims after the incident.

The Physical and Emotional State of the Victim:

Rape Trauma Syndrome (RTS) encompassed behavioural, somatic, and psychological reactions of a severe stress-related response to a life-threatening situation (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974). Male sexual assault victims were found to experience RTS symptoms similar to their female counterparts, including (i) an acute phase (disorganisation) in the immediate hours post-assault, two emotional styles, (i) expressive (crying, fear, and anxiety) and (ii) controlled (repressed feelings and a calm demeanour presented), and (ii) the long-term phase (re-organisation) two to three weeks after the rape were (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974, 1979, Becker, 1982). However, the generalisability of these findings is limited as the rape victims in the above research presented at a hospital emergency department and thus were likely to have experienced severe physical injuries.

Difficulties in engaging in sexually healthy relationships due to experiencing sexual dysfunction (Calderwood, 1987; King, 1990) were found, as well as confusion, or a crisis of sexual identity post-assault (see also Myers, 1989; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). Male rape victims experienced long-term psychological sequelae which included the “...development of phobic avoidance of going out, other men, or any mention of the place of the assault” (Mezey & King, 2000b; p. 3) and intrusive thoughts, fear of being alone, suicidal ideation and self-harming post-attack

(Walker et al., 2005). Thus, professionals in the area needed to be cognisant of potentially latent trauma.

However, the male rape literature as discussed above does not clearly distinguish between the psychological sequelae of Acute Stress Disorder (ASD) that can occur between two days and four weeks following a trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) the symptoms of which may be experienced within three months; however, there can also be a delayed onset of months or years according to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (DSM-IV-TR*; American Psychiatric Association, 1994) after being raped. Nevertheless, within the clinical literature Bryant, Harvey, Dang and Sackville (1998) differentiated between these two disorders below:

The major difference between the criteria for ASD and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is the former's emphasis on dissociative symptoms. Specifically, to satisfy criteria for a diagnosis of ASD, one must experience a stressor and respond with fear or helplessness (Criterion A), have at least three of five dissociative symptoms (Criterion B), at least one reexperiencing symptom (Criterion C), marked avoidance (Criterion D), and marked arousal (Criterion E) (p. 215).

Nevertheless, there are diagnostic problems in identifying ASD (due to its short-lived and responsive nature) when assessed during the month post-trauma (see Harvey & Bryant, 1999). Rothbaum, Riggs, Murdock, & Walsh (1992) in their longitudinal study found that respondents met PTSD criteria one week, four weeks and 12 weeks post-rape, of the majority of victims who initially experienced PTSD, half of whom had improved in terms of PTSD symptoms by three months post-rape. There

are thus conflicting findings as other studies suggest that the symptoms experienced initially are those of ASD and that PTSD criteria are experienced several months and longer post-assault.

Although, Bryant, Harvey, Guthrie, and Moulds (2000) found that the majority of female trauma survivors who met ASD criteria also suffered PTSD six-months post-trauma. In addition, Tolin and Foa (2008) found that women and girls were more likely (due to their increased likelihood of experiencing sexual assault and abuse) than boys to exhibit PTSD symptoms. In other words, females were more likely to experience rape and child abuse but less likely to experience post-traumatic events such as accidents, physical assaults, witnessing deaths, fire, and war. However, this gender differential was eliminated when annual as opposed to lifetime prevalence was assessed. Furthermore, Tolin and Foa (2008) failed to acknowledge that males exhibiting less fear than females in their self-reports may be the result of socialisation processes regarding gender normative behaviour. Prior psychiatric, behavioural difficulties or substance use may also have had a bearing on the onset of ASD and PTSD and these were not considered by Tolin and Foa.

Other limitations of the research on ASD and PTSD include the differing definitions of 'trauma' employed which will affect the transferability of the findings. It is also noteworthy that all male victims may not suffer similar levels of psychological trauma as there are a number of factors which are influential. For example, reactions may be influenced, firstly, by the coping strategies of the victim (Olf, Langeland, Draijer, & Gersons, 2007) and, secondly, (their social support network (Ozer, Best, Lipsey, & Weiss, 2008)). Female rape survivors were found to be reluctant to seek help due to avoiding confronting memories of the sexual assault, this reticence in help-seeking behaviour may also affect male rape survivors thus negatively affecting

reporting rates (Rothbaum & Foa, 1992). If male rape victims do decide to report their sexual victimisation to the police their behaviour (depending on the severity of the psychological sequelae experienced) may affect the credibility of their case.

Fattah (1979) stated the victim's prior and post-event behaviour (for example, addictions, sexual behaviour, and relationship with the offender), socio-demographic (age, gender, sexuality, class) and personality characteristics (the extent of distress etc.) influence each stage of the criminal justice process, affecting the final outcome of the case. Furthermore, Campbell and colleagues on examination of cases with a low criminal justice response such as attrition or discontinuance of the case also resulted in increased PTSD symptomatology (Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001; Campbell & Raja, 2005). PTSD research has been increasing, but the experiences of male rape victims in this regard need to be addressed (Rogers, 1997); progress has been made but further research is still required. Thus, whether RTS, ASD or PTSD symptoms are presented (depending on the time period after the rape) they may affect the victims' behaviour affecting their decision-making process on whether to report the sexual attack to the police. If they decide to report and are experiencing any of the above symptoms this is also problematic as their demeanour may be scrutinised by the police. Thus, investigating officers may misread male victims' behaviour and thus perceive that the crime was less serious than reported, especially when a calm exterior is exhibited by the male victim.

1.9 Summary

The research presented above illustrate the often contradictory findings on this topic which indicate the complexity of male rape, there are different types; such as stranger rape and acquaintance rape (which parallels heterosexual date rape). Some research such as Hickson et al.'s (1994) study suggested there was a sexual component while other researchers disagree (Ellis, 2002; Groth et al., 1977a, b; Groth & Burgess, 1980; Goyer & Eddleman, 1984), stating that the underlying motives were anger or power. But, there have been some constants in the research about the average age of the victims being in the mid-20s and the location of the offence, predominantly being outdoors. While acquaintance rapes were more likely to be perpetrated indoors. Anal intercourse was the most common coerced sexual act.

Attempts were made to cause the victim to ejaculate in many of the reported cases. Ejaculation of the victim is influential in inhibiting victims from reporting, because it can result in the victim's confusion about their sexual identity (McMullen, 1990). In addition, they may be afraid that the rape might be perceived as a consensual act despite research findings which suggested it was a physiological response to heightened emotional states (such as anger or fear) (see Sarrel & Master, 1982). As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the defence may try to use the fact that the victim ejaculated to argue that this was an indication of consent. Thus, awareness needs to be raised not only among male rape victims but also among professionals involved in the judicial process regarding the act of anal intercourse, "*The act of anal penetration stimulates the prostate gland and an erection in such cases is automatic*" (Lees, 1997, p. 97). This fact, if disseminated may help dispel some of the confusion surrounding this issue.

The methods of control by the offender were the same as those used when perpetrating female rape, that is, entrapment, intimidation and/or physical force. The element of surprise may therefore be sufficient to perpetrate male rape, as men unlike women are not socialised to be aware of their potential vulnerability to rape. Finally, concerning the number of offenders, there seemed to be an increased number of male victims of gang rape in contrast with female victims in the gender comparative research. But, multiple offenders were also in evidence in the summary of male rape research in Tables 1 and 2. The dynamics within this type of rape are different from that of the lone rapist. *“In group sex homoerotic desire is simultaneously indulged, degraded and extruded from the group...The expulsion and degradation of the victim both brings a momentary end to urges that would divide the men...”* (Sanday, 1990, p. 12-13). Although, in this instance, Sanday is referring to the gang rape of a female, this comment may be equally applicable to the male rape victim as gender is irrelevant when the sexual act of rape is a vessel for the expression of latent emotions, feared by these offenders.

The results of Hillman et al.'s (1990) study parallel Amir's (1971) findings regarding female rape, where 48% of the victims were acquainted with their offenders, and the rape was more likely to occur indoors (see Mezey & King, 2000a; Stermac, et al., 1996; Huckle, 1995). In 15% of the cases the assailants included women and in 12% of these their co-offenders were men. Medical attention was only sought in 17% of cases, which again supports the findings of previous studies regarding male victims' reluctance to seek treatment. An assertion of power and aggression was evident, supporting Groth et al.'s (1977b) study.

In the next chapter a multi-disciplinary approach composed of criminological, victimological, and social psychological perspectives on the subject of male rape is

provided. Particular focal points are the victimisation of males, influences on the reporting practices of male rape victims, the police and their investigation practices, and the services available to male victims of non-consensual sexual assault.

1.10 Aims of the Thesis

This thesis aims to investigate the topic of male rape across a number of different contexts from a social constructionist perspective using a variety of different methodologies considered appropriate for qualitative analysis. The contexts examined include in Chapter 2, the specialist police response to male rape victims to evaluate whether the gender of the victim influences the response provided. The study discussed in Chapter 3 investigates whether client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers is prevalent within the commercial male sex industry or whether this is a gendered construct of the female sex industry. Finally, Chapter 4 examines the print media's representation of male rape victims and explores whether the patriarchal gender and power structures of heterosexist society are reinforced by this medium which may influence male rape survivors' self-identity and impact upon their help-seeking behaviour. Thus, across these three different contexts the self-identity of the male rape victim encompassing their gender and sexual orientation is constructed through discourse and behavioural interactions between the male rape victim and the specialist police officer; the client/rapist, and the journalist across these varied social contexts. The importance of this research is the unique contribution being made to the available male rape literature, and its provision of recommendations to relevant service providers to inform policy making decisions and facilitate better needs-directed services for male rape victims. In addition to which public awareness of this crime is increased through subsequent publication of the findings discussed in this thesis.

An Employment of Criminological, Victimological, and Psychological Perspectives in a Multi-Disciplinary Investigation of the Specialist Police Response to Male Rape Victims.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the neglect of male rape victims by criminology and victimology. Paradigmatic shifts within these disciplines have indirectly influenced the criminal justice system and the response provided by its agents to offenders and victims are explored. The definition of '*crime*' and its analysis by the discipline of criminology subsequently led to the increased awareness regarding the neglect of victims. The resultant evolution of victimology, to redress the balance by recognising the victim and their role in their criminal victimisation, is subsequently considered. The gender of the victim referred to by these disciplines was predominantly female; as the male was not perceived as being vulnerable (exceptions being elderly men and male children) to victimisation (highlighting the perception that a male '*victim*' is an oxymoron). The terms '*victim*' and '*survivor*' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis as neither are without inherent problems concerning their conceptualisation. Furthermore, Kelly and Reagan (2001) state '*victim*' and '*survivor*' should not be treated as distinct from each other since:

it results in the neglect of coping and survival strategies at the time of the assault and immediately afterwards; it fails to recognize survival as a minimal goal; and it suggests a necessary complete resolution in order to "qualify" as a survivor, which fails to address the

variation in the impacts and consequences of sexual violence for individuals (p. 61).

However, as no alternatives have yet been provided, joint usage of these terms encapsulates the negative emotions the victim may experience while also recognising their ability to become empowered and to regain control.

The aim of this work is to evaluate the London Metropolitan Police response to male rape victims; as within the United Kingdom, this police force is regarded as being at the forefront of police service provisions to rape and sexual assault victims.

The various stages of service provision are thus examined from reporting, through to preceding, and post-trial periods drawing on a range of theoretical perspectives. The police-victim interaction is analysed and the symbiotic role of the survivor is considered.

2.2 Criminology

Criminology is composed of a corpus of disparate knowledge incorporating elements of the disciplines of psychology (for example, personality theories), sociology (social ecology, class and sub-cultural theories), medicine (positivism) and law (radical criminology). Classical criminologists' primary concern was the reform of criminal law with particular attention being given to the mode of criminal punishment. The term '*crime*' is commonly used and conveys a variety of meanings. It is important to provide the definition used as the conceptual basis for this research.

...For a crime to occur four ingredients must be necessary: motive, means, opportunity and lack of control. There must be a motivated offender with the means to commit the crime, the opportunity presented by a vulnerable victim, and the offence must not be prevented by either external controls – police security, etc, - or internalised controls, i.e.

conscience – what the psychologist Hans Eysenck graphically called the “inner police man” Reiner (as cited in Wilson, Ashton, & Sharp, 2001, p. 50).

Crimes were considered to be the result of rational choices (Cornish & Clark, 1987), as opposed to opportunistic impulses. In other words, the offender does not happen upon a victim who was alone and suddenly decide to rape because the opportunity presented itself. Instead, it may be suggested according to the ‘*rational choice*’ perspective that the offender has decided to commit rape, and then consciously seeks out a victim; for example, picks a man up at a gay bar, brings him to his apartment, plies him with drink, and rapes him.

However, according to classical criminological theory, society was governed through its members’ entry into a social contract; infringements of which must therefore be punished in order to deter future criminal behaviour. Beccaria (1764) is heavily associated with this school of thought, whose essay “*Dei delitti e delle pene*” (Of crimes and of punishment) was influential despite being descriptive rather than prescriptive. According to advocates of the Classical School, the ‘*punishment should fit the crime*’ (therefore the type of crime dictated the sentence). This ideology influenced Bentham (1780), hence his panoptican design to facilitate the imprisonment of offenders and the study of their behaviour, in order to attempt to understand their criminality. “*The Panoptican was designed in such a way that prisoners were under constant surveillance by inspectors in a central observation tower*” (Cavadino & Dignan, 1997, p. 47). This structure provided a practical mode for the medicalisation perspective of criminology, from which positivist theories were developed.

The origins of modern criminology therefore lie in the theoretical underpinnings of the Italian School, which came to prominence at the end of the

nineteenth century. Two of the prevailing features of the positivist approach are the quest to identify the causal elements of criminal behaviour and this was effected through the utilisation of scientific methodology. Cesare Lombroso (1876) described the '*criminal*' (as a result of drawing on Darwin's Theory of evolution) as being an evolutionary throwback in his book "*L'uomo delinquent*" (The Criminal Man). Lombroso theorised that certain individuals are predetermined to commit crimes. A clear paradigmatic shift can be ascertained at this juncture, from the punishment fitting the crime to it being tailored to fit the criminal. Numerous other theories were espoused in order to explain why crime is committed, such as those pertaining to personality, social ecology, class and sub-culture. Although each of these played a part in the subsequent development of radical criminology, they only merit being referred to here to outline the evolution of criminology.

The predominant figure associated with the innovative school of thought known as Radical Criminology popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s was Jock Young. It was at this time that the ideology of the positivist tradition in criminology was criticised for its narrow focus on causation within the individual. Young (1988) described this occurrence as a crucial stage in the etiology of criminal behaviour. The resultant paradigmatic shift resulted in the concentration on the social construction of crime. The basis of radical criminology being Marxist Theory (which basically stated that once capitalism was quashed, and the underprivileged prevailed resulting in equal opportunities for all; then crime rates would decrease), which was one of this approach's major weaknesses.

Radical criminology focused "...on the criminal while his victim [was] ignored" (Schichor, 1980, p. 7). It was also emphasised that official statistics should be treated with caution as they did not reflect the true extent of criminal victimisation due

to the high level of under-reporting, known as the '*dark figure*' of crime (Coleman & Moynihan, 2002). The underlying reason for under-reporting being the lack of confidence in the police, for example, rape victims feared a negative response on reporting the matter. Placing victims centre stage and focusing on them rather than the offender led to the evolution of Victimology, the aim of which was to address the role of the victim in their own criminal victimisation.

2.3 Victimology

The term '*victim*' as used by victimologists has been criticised because "*...just as all women cannot be constructed as 'victims', so all men cannot be constructed as aggressors or offenders, and as indifferent to their own vulnerability and victimisation*" (Goodey, 2005, p. 123). The influence of this term shall be discussed in greater detail, below, with regard to how it can affect the response of the police to victims of crime. Mendelsohn (1947) coined the term '*victimology*', and Karmen (1990) justified the victimological approach. For example:

Karmen (1990) states that the conservative tendency within victimology defines the discipline in four ways. First, it focuses on crime as a problem with particular attention being paid to victims of street crime, secondly, it is concerned to render people accountable for their actions; thirdly it encourages self-reliance; and finally it focuses on the notion of retributive justice (Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 8).

The focus of criminology can be criticised for its lack of recognition of crimes of rape, and other forms of abuse which are frequently perpetrated within the confines of individuals' homes. Criminology therefore neglected victimisation which occurred within the private sphere, and instead focused solely on those whose victimisation was firmly within the public domain. Resultant theories attempted to identify factors which

make one individual more prone to victimisation than another, examples of which are the Lifestyle Theory (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978), Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine Activities Theory, and Cornish and Clarke's (1987) Rational Choice Theory. The theme central to these theories is that one's residential location, route to work, and social activities can increase the likelihood of criminal victimisation.

An exploration of the relationship between the victim and the offender was a key focus of victimologists such as von Hentig (1948) who emphasised the concept of '*victim proneness*' (influenced by such factors as age and intellectual capacity), whereas Mendelsohn's (1956) culpability factors illustrated the extent to which the victim can be held responsible for their victimisation. Mendelsohn developed six types of victim along a sliding scale from the "*most innocent victim*" to the "*most guilty victim*" (Walklate, 1989). Wolfgang in his empirical (contrasting with the aforementioned speculative approaches) research on homicide developed the term '*victim precipitation*', which he defined as:

...The victim is a direct, positive precipitator in the crime. ...Victim precipitated cases are those in which the victim was the first to show and use a deadly weapon, to strike a blow in an altercation – in short, the first to commence the interplay or resort to physical force (as cited in Laub, 1997 p. 18).

Fattah also makes a valid point in that there is a propensity to interpret the victim behaviours engaged in during the victimisation incident purely within the context of the resultant outcome (as cited in Laub, 1997). Therefore, the sequencing of events should also be borne in mind, as the victim may be reacting in self-defence rather than precipitating the crime.

Amir (1971) implied victim-blaming through his adaptation of Wolfgang's (1958) victim precipitation perspective employed in his comprehensive examination of female rape in *'The Philadelphia Study'*. Elements of this conceptualisation of the contributing role of the victim in their own criminal victimisation still pervade the police response. A reaction against victimology's lack of influence within the political arena resulted in the materialisation of the Victim Movement in the 1980s to lobby the government and raise awareness regarding victim's rights. Although, referred to as a *'victim's movement'*, it was not a single co-ordinated body but an eclectic collection of victim groups, which have specific victim rights-related foci. While, Victim Support is the predominant force and have rejected their previously neutral political stance in favour of a victims' rights-based approach to victims' needs (Goodey, 2005). The police were quite often subject to pressure from the *'victims' movement'* regarding their treatment of victims of crime.

2.4 The Victim's Charter

The pressure exerted by the 'Victim Movement' led to the creation of the Victim's Charter published in 1990. The Charter outlined for the first time what services victims of crime could expect and recommended how criminal justice agencies could improve their treatment of victims. This Charter crystallized the Government's commitment to change its approach to victims' needs and rights. According to the Charter, the responsibilities of the police lie in their prompt response to reported crimes and being courteous to victims. It also emphasised the accessibility of the police to answer any questions that may arise concerning the victim's case. The police were also considered a source of information about how the investigation is conducted and what occurs once the offender has been detained (Home Office, 1990a). The Home Office (1990b) Circular 60 covers inter-agency relationships and the need

for police to provide victims with details of other agencies through which they might receive help. Under the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime it was stated that the police service must maintain regular contact with victims, keeping them informed about (i) the progression of the case, (ii) bail updates, (iii) the present location of the offender and (iv) details of court appearances (Office for Criminal Justice and Reform, 2005). The police are obliged to offer information on voluntary and statutory agencies that can provide specialist support [such as Survivors UK (a voluntary group which provides support and resources for men who have been subjected to sexual violence), and ethnic, or sexual minority groups] to the victim regardless of whether criminal proceedings are pursued or not.

Problems with the referral system operated by the police to Victim Support schemes were identified by Mawby and Gill (1987) who stated that *“the role of officers in charge, their apparent reluctance to refer cases to schemes and the inaccuracy of information provided in some cases, cast a shadow on the efficiency and the effectiveness of many schemes”* (p. 164). The consequences of this are that victims do not receive the support when required if at all, due to incorrect addresses being forwarded to Victim Support.

In adherence to the circulars mentioned above, the police distribute a leaflet called *‘Victims of Crime’*, which informs the victim about relevant support and contact information. This leaflet also includes that the police will refer the victim’s details to Victim Support unless this contradicts their wishes. A police officer with special training can also be made available on request when dealing with victims of sexual crimes (called a chaperone officer).

A Review of the Victim's Charter was published in 2001 (Home Office, 2001a) which highlighted that the Victim's Charter had remained static from 1990 until 1996 when it was revised. It provided 27 standards of service which victims could expect to receive. However, although some of these standards were clearly identifiable others were rather more obscure, peripheral and not easily evaluated. As the police are required to give information about the Criminal Justice System to victims, for example, the '*Victims of Crime*' leaflet should be sent to the victim within four days of a crime having been reported. There are also time constraints on the dissemination of information by the police in cases of serious sexual assault which may be subject to a sentence of 12 months or more, they will provide the complainant with a copy of the '*Release of Prisoners: Information for Victims of Serious Sexual or other Violent Crimes*' leaflet.

The section below discusses the history of the police, reporting practices, relevant legislation, the role of the victim in investigations, policing research, training, and the specialist police response to rape victims.

2.5 The Police

2.5.1 History

The Metropolitan Police Act was introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, giving rise to the modern police force. The function of the police was quite broad, protecting life, and property, regulating traffic, and advising members of the public and referring them on to other specialist agencies. At present, there is a lot more pressure on the police to adhere to the numerous protocols with regards to their provision of service to victims of crime. Ainsworth (1995) summarised the predicament faced by police officers pertaining to the demands on them stating that:

Whilst many other occupations require a high level of skill, expertise and training, there are few professions in which the breadth of skills required is so great. For this reason, police training always involves a compromise in terms of what should be included and what should be left out (p. 147).

The Policing Principles of the Metropolitan Police, published in 1985, state their objectives as a force, which include that every individual should be treated in a respectful manner in order to respect the dignity of complainants', and being blind to their social position, ethnicity or beliefs (Metropolitan Police, 1985). Sensitivity to the sexuality of complainants was not included in these recommendations. The police response to sexual assaults regarding their tendency to only record those incidents which met the criteria of a stereotypical rape (such as stranger rapes where excessive force was used) also needed reconsideration according to Smith (as cited in Leishman, Loveday, & Savage, 2000). Since 1989, the police have made gradual progress regarding their service to victims, as the original style of policing was predominantly reactive, but has now evolved to become pro-active in its response to crime. This transition has also resulted in a change of approach from within the Criminal Justice System from being solely offender-focused to acknowledging the victims' experience to an extent. This ideological shift was instigated by the Victim's Charter (see Home Office 1990a, 2001a) which placed the onus on the police to provide better services for victims.

Mitchell found that the key source of information about the identity of the offender in the majority of the cases was the victim, their friends and relations (as cited in Feldman, 1993). The police and crime victims therefore have a symbiotic relationship, for example:

...Streetwise (1996a) and Helping with Enquiries (1993) made significant recommendations about uniform patrol and criminal investigation departments rely more on analysing intelligence and targeting criminals than on investigating crimes once they have been committed an approach known as “*intelligence-led policing*” (Wilson, et al., 2001, p. 40).

In a cross-sectional analysis of police research published in 2002, it has been noted that there was minimal attention given to outcome research particularly in relation to policing strategies. For example, outcome research has been used in only one fifth of the available literature on police strategies; furthermore, only 2.4% of these focus on sexual assault (Beckman, Gibbs, Beatty, & Canigiani, 2005). It was therefore felt that the current study (to be presented below), which examines the police response to adult male survivors of rape, would provide a valuable contribution to the available literature building upon other related research (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Lees, 1997).

2.6 Reporting Rape

The police are usually rape victims’ first point of contact within the criminal justice system. Therefore, the quality and nature of the early treatment of victims may impact on the quality of evidence obtained, which can in turn influence whether the complainant proceeds with their case. HMCPSI (Her Majesty’s Crown Prosecution Inspectorate) and HMIC (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary) (2002) in their joint report state that the victim, on reporting to a police station, or having been brought there, should be directed to a waiting area that ensures a respect for privacy and evokes a generally empathetic environment. The impression created by the surroundings at this point is pivotal during this traumatic time and can ultimately dictate whether the victim decides to pursue the complaint. Thus, privacy in a relaxed

environment is required due to the fragile state of the victim, this also reduces the risk of forensic contamination. The joint inspection report (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2002) also highlighted lengthy delays in the provision of service to victims.

Considering the sensitive nature of this crime, the 2001 British Crime Survey (IPV) [Interpersonal Violence Module] stated that 40% of rape survivors sampled had not informed anyone (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2006). Given the high level of under-reporting and low level of convictions, the response of agents of the criminal justice system such as the police is crucial. These problems traverse international boundaries; Torrey (1991) suggested that less than 10% of sexual assaults are reported in the U.S. and Canada. However, in Australia, Daly (2002) found that the lowest rate of convictions (33%) was for sexual assault in relation to the crimes committed by juveniles. While, in Ireland in 2004 only 446 rapes were reported to the Gardai (Irish police), and the documented conviction rate was 1% (Rape Crisis Network Ireland (RCNI), 2007).

Other sources state that between 1% and 14% of rapes are reported to the police based on the varying perceptions of the police response (Dyer, 2006). This could be due to the variance in the level of police service across regions resulting in a “*postcode lottery*” (MPA, 2002, p. 50). The prevalence rate in England and Wales for the 2007/2008 period for recorded male rape cases is 1,006, compared with 11,648 female rape cases (Kershaw, Nicholas, & Walker, 2008, p. 174).

Historically, research on the police response to rape survivors has concentrated on female victims. In response to this, the current pioneering study aims to address the gap in the available literature regarding the specialist police service provision to male rape survivors, focusing here on the Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) officers of the London Metropolitan Police. The London Metropolitan Police Force’s

territorial boundaries are composed of 33 Borough Operational Command Units (BOCUs), which are coterminous with the 32 London borough councils apart from one BOCU, which is dedicated to Heathrow Airport. These units together with other pan London forces compose the territorial police.

2.7 The Role of the Victim in Police Investigations

Meier and Miethe (1993) observed that “*no picture of predatory crime can ever be complete without information about the victim*” (p. 460). The importance of how victims are treated by the police will thus influence the quality of information the police receive from them. The rape victim is therefore likely to be scrutinised from the moment the complaint is made, with the police possibly making a ‘*fundamental attribution error*’ (Langdrige & Butt, 2004) through dispositional attributions (i.e. regarding survivors’ personal characteristics or motives) and underestimating the effects of situational factors when interpreting the victim’s account. Another factor that may affect the police response is the ‘*just-world phenomenon*’ as described by Lerner and Simmons (1966) which suggested that people believe they live in a just world and thus people “*get what they deserve and deserve what they get*” (p. 407). Thus, the individual must somehow have precipitated the attack that resulted in his/her victimisation. Lambert and Raichle (2000) found that the ‘*just world phenomenon*’ influenced society’s view of female rape victims.

2.8 Literature Review of Male Rape and the Police Response

Mezey and King (1989) found that only two of a sample of 22 victims reported the incident to the police, both of these cases reached the courts but the sentences were suspended. In Hillman et al.’s (1990) study of 100 cases, 12% reported the rape to the police, however, only 2% found the police helpful. Lacey and Roberts’ (1991) British study of 13 males who had been sexually assaulted, found 38% reported the incident to

the police, of these, 15% of the cases involved an assailant known to the victim, and 8% resulted in a conviction. Frazier (1993) found 89% of males reported the incident to the police compared to 91% of females. The variance in reporting rates to the police may be the result of the sexual orientation of the samples as Hillman et al.'s study was composed of homosexual male participants, whereas over half of Lacey and Roberts's sample were heterosexual males, unfortunately, in Frazier's study this victim characteristic was not recorded. Moreover, the assault characteristics of Hillman et al., Lacey and Roberts' and Frazier did not notably differ in relation to victim-offender relationship and weapon presence and/or use either.

Hickson et al. (1997), in their three tiered project, sent surveys to sexual health and genito-urinary clinics, to all 43 police constabularies/forces in England and Wales, and to local Victim Support Schemes. In their interviews with six representatives of varied rank from the Metropolitan Police Service, the challenge in charging and obtaining a conviction was recognised. Hickson et al. also noted that in the Metropolitan area in 1995/1996 there were only 45 reported sexual assaults of males. Of the questionnaires distributed to constabularies across England and Wales, 28% were returned. The choice of the gender of the chaperone (this was an officer who supported the victim throughout their case and acted as a liaison between the survivor and the investigating officer, a more detailed explanation is provided later) was provided in 75% of cases. Of those forces who responded, 91% percent provided training for their officers on sexual assault, and 41% of these courses included information pertaining to male victims. Furthermore, only 25% of the forces who handled the highest number of male sexual victimisation cases, included training on the sexual assault of males. It is important to note that according to Hickson et al. (1997)

most of the forces expressed a need for extra training relating to sexual assault in general and especially male victims.

It has been highlighted by official reports that “...*sexual violence is massively under-reported by both female and male victims*” (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2006, p. 8). Furthermore, attitudes to male rape within society are reflective of historical conceptualisations of rape, explaining one of the reasons why research on male rape is in excess of 20 years behind that of female rape (Rogers, 1995). A key factor inhibiting reporting practices is whether the male victim is ‘*known*’ to the offender; as more acquaintance rapes were recorded in self-reports, whereas more stranger rapes were reported to the police (Hodge & Canter, 1998). Another factor that can prevent heterosexual male victims reporting rape may be the perceived moral obloquy experienced about informing the police response of their sexuality, (i.e., the assumption that the survivor is homosexual). Furthermore, it may be that victims are afraid that the investigating officer will disbelieve their complaint. Most of the victims did not report the sexual assault due to their lack of confidence in the police, and their perception of them being homophobic (Mezey & King, 1989). There was also a general perception of male rape victims of the “*insensitivity*” and “*non-receptivity*” of the police response (Washington, 1999, p. 726). In reports which have been published on the police and judicial responses to rape (e.g. Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA), 2002; HMCPSI & HMIC, 2002), male rape victims were only mentioned briefly; and in a follow-up report the only reference made was that ten male rape cases were included in the review (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007).

2.9 Literature Review of Female Rape and the Police Response

In order to evaluate the delivery of service to male rape survivors, a comparison group of female rape survivors was required to explore the similarities and differences in their experience of police provisions. Female rape research has had a chequered history from its invisibility prior to 1958 to a burgeoning of academic interest from 1974 to 1978, covering topics such as the crisis response of the victim, fear of rape, police attitudes, rape trauma, service provisions, and the development of terms specific to this offence entering the vernacular. The investigation of the crime of rape is extremely reliant on the evidence provided by the victim (as a result of the absence of corroborating witnesses).

Chambers and Millar (1983) found in their pioneering Scottish study of female sexual assault investigations that there was an underlying scepticism regarding rape reports if they did not fit the '*real rape template*'. A confrontational approach was also used by the police in order to evaluate the veracity of cases. Rape victims may thus frame their narrative so that it fits with the '*real rape*' stereotype. However, this results in the credibility of statements being reduced, which increases the cynicism of the police and lessens the likelihood of the complainant being believed (Gregory & Lees, 1999). Thus, the victim is constantly battling against the victim-blaming perspective and whether their case fits the rape script entrenched in police culture. Lipkus, Dalbert, & Siegler (1996) found that psychological well-being and personality have unique associations with '*Belief in a Just World for Self*', for others and in general; this needs to be taken into consideration when handling rape cases.

Furthermore, in the mid-to-late 1980s interest in the media representation of rape, rape in the community and across university campuses evoked topical debates. The late 1980s to early 1990s saw the medicalisation of female rape focusing on the type and extent of the victims' physical injuries. Many police forces subsequently followed the Metropolitan Police's lead of establishing rape victim examination suites¹ separate from police stations. However, there was no standardisation of these facilities across the forces (Soothill & Walby, 1991).

In 1992, the Metropolitan Police Service introduced the chaperone scheme to facilitate increased reports of female rape victimisation, and improve victim care from the initial stages of the investigation until its completion. These developments coincided with a raised awareness of the existence of adult male rape victims; as the chaperone scheme also facilitated access to rape examination suites to be extended to males (Laurent, 1993). Nevertheless, these changes did not reduce the level of under-reporting of male rape. Previous research (see Lees & Gregory, 1993; Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005) relating to rape attrition has suggested that there have been improvements in some countries with regard to the police response to female rape victims. For example, Jones, Newburn, and Smith (1994) evaluated four police forces with established specialist units which offered services to victims of rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Although, they found that these developments had led to some improvements in the treatment of rape victims, rape victims were still not seen as policing priorities. Brown and King's (1998) research suggested that at the core of the philosophy of the Metropolitan Police was the belief that all aspects of the victim's complaint are perceived to be true until concrete evidence is provided of deliberate or unintentional fabrication. This was an encouraging development. However, these types

¹ Rape victim examination suites were rooms which are often at external locations away from the central police station, and may include a shower, examination room, waiting room and kitchen.

of changes have still not reduced under-reporting which is a particular problem pertaining to the crime of male rape.

Gregory and Lees (1999) commented that *“the sceptical approach adopted by the police meant that complainants were often discouraged from telling their full story and would even elaborate or distort what actually happened in a desperate effort to be believed”* (p. 6). This can result in a self-affirming bias reinforcing sceptical attitudes of the police. The credibility of statements may therefore be affected by perceptions of the police about whether the case adheres to the stereotypical image of rape. The practice of using the ‘*real rape*’ model to define rape cases may thus persist (Myhill & Allen, 2002).

The latter part of the 1990s focused attention on HIV, secondary victimisation, medical treatment for female rape victims, and the community response (see Campbell & Wasco, 2005; Koss, 2005). However, recent figures suggested by research are *“...between 75% and 95% of rape crimes never reported to the police”* (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007, p. 8). In addition, one third of victims’ cases were withdrawn during the police process.

An immediate review of existing investigative facilities available to rape victims was recommended in order to improve the integrity of evidence, especially since the type of service provided by the police and their multi-agency partners to rape victims may affect the quality of evidence obtained (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2002). HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) also found that in a number of instances, *“...the social status of the victim, and/or the circumstances of the offence, determined the level of response from both the police and the CPS”* (p. 31). Thus, the police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) were both considered at fault for making value-based assumptions regarding the character and hence the credibility of the complainant

as a witness. Instead, it was recommended they should focus on the tangible evidence of the case so that access to justice was not impeded. This was reiterated in the follow-up report by recommending a shift in focus from the credibility of the victim to the building of a robust case (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007).

2.9.1 Gendered Police Response to Rape

Curtis (1995) in a study of the procedures carried out in rape investigations found that male officers were as capable as female officers in effectively dealing with female rape victims. Nonetheless, male officers may be prevented from using their skills as a result of stereotypical attitudes and indoctrinated working practices. Maddock and Scott (as cited in Brown & King, 1998) found that the police in Newcastle were considered to be caring and empathetic in their response [contrary to the preconceptions held by one female victim who stated *they “...abolished all the thoughts I had on the way women were treated in rape cases”* (p. 269)]. They also noted a gender differential in the police response which was counter to the conception that female officers would be better able to deal with rape cases, in that *“female officers were found to be pushy and self-centred, just interested in paperwork”* according to Maddock and Scott (as cited in Brown & King, 1998, p. 269). In contrast, Gregory and Lees (1999) in their London-based study found that most complainants were happy with how they were dealt with by female police officers. However, a quarter of the women were not satisfied with responses received from male officers who were perceived as being insensitive via their attitudes, handling of the investigation, and follow up.

Temkin’s (1999) study of the response of female rape victims dealt with by the Metropolitan Police officers within the North East Area district. She identified logistical (such as the performance demands on the limited number of officers

available) and financial constraints experienced by SOIT officers. These restrictions were more deleterious when combined with the embedded value system within the informal police culture that persists in condoning stereotypical attitudes about the incidence of rape, and the '*type*' of female who falls victim to this crime. She also noted the disbelief of male officers. However, most victims were positive regarding their initial contact. The importance of a female officer being present and the use of unmarked cars was also highlighted (Temkin, 1999). According to Mezey and Taylor, the response of female victims ranged from hostility towards police officers to frustration regarding the capacity of the police to resolve the matter (as cited in Brown & King, 1998).

These impediments may explain why less than half of the rape victims were completely content with the police response received. The Metropolitan Police had been improving the service available to rape victims and had developed a more victim-centred approach, but gaps were highlighted in the police training undertaken, which were exacerbated by the embedded value system within the informal police culture (Temkin, 1999). Newburn (2003) suggested that the increased numbers of females in senior positions in British Police Forces in recent years may impact upon police culture and type of service provision.

Jordan's (2002) study of service provision to female rape victims in New Zealand revealed three levels of police response to an initial complaint. First, the police react to the information received through their intercession or non-intercession in the case. Second, police officers each have an individual style of approach, which pervades their interaction with the victim. Third, they offer an information service regarding relevant support agencies that may provide additional advocacy. Jordan (2002) also found that the gender of the officer was not of immediate concern, instead it was the

manner (for example professional, sensitive and caring) of the responding officer which was key. In other words, female police officers may not automatically be better than male officers at dealing with rape cases.

The police decision to proceed is dependent among other things, on their professional definition of the incident, the perceived morality of the complainant, and current demands on police time (Mawby & Walklate, 1995). However, Jordan (2004) in New Zealand contended that *“From the police’s perspective, their investigation of rape complainants occur in an organizational context characterised by excessive adherence to masculinist values, and shaped by historical and cultural beliefs regarding the crime of rape”* (p. 51). The police organisational culture may thus be resistant to change and improvements may only take place gradually.

2.9.2 Under-Reporting of Rape

One of the reasons that specifically hinder male victims in reporting rape may be the moral obloquy from the police regarding their sexuality. Another may be that victims are afraid that the investigating officer will meet their complaint with disbelief. A televised portrayal of the particularly inappropriate manner in which the Thames Valley Police handled a female complainant’s rape case in 1982, led to an increase in public awareness, and a demand for an improved police response to such cases, which precipitated the publication of the Home Office Circular 25/1983 (Walklate, 2000). This circular provided guidelines on how to improve the effectiveness of how rape cases are handled; as a consequence of this many forces followed the Metropolitan Police’s suit in establishing rape examination suites.

The police are usually the first point of contact for rape victims; therefore, how they are treated is pivotal at the initial stages of the investigation, as this will impact on the quality of evidence given whether the complainant proceeds with the case. The

police engage in particular actions once the rape victim makes the initial complaint, “[f]irst, the police react to the information either by intervention (or non-intervention); secondly, they adopt particular styles, in their interactions with the victims; thirdly, they provide services, particularly information to victims” (Mawby & Walklate, 1995, pps. 96-7). The police decision to proceed with action depends on the balance between their operational definition of the incident, the perceived morality of the complainant, and the demands on police time (Mawby & Walklate, 1995).

A key factor is whether the victim is ‘*known*’ to the offender, in other words the victim-offender relationship. Nixon (1992) stated that:

the hidden issue may well be that police see little harm in most rapes. Statements such as ‘she had no physical injuries’ to describe someone violated by unwanted sexual intercourse confirms such suspicions...In this sense, police culture has merely reflected that attitudes of a wider society, which also relies on mythology as the basis for understanding rape and sexual assault (p. 42).

To further elaborate on this point, Feild (1978) compared police officers, rapists and counsellors regarding their attitudes to female rape, and found that the officers and the rapists were most similar. There were no distinctions between the officers and rapists in relation to: motivations of the rapist which were power and sex, the normality of the rapist, and the attractiveness of the rape victim; whereas the officers and the counsellors were only similar on two factors, resistance and the role of the female victim. Thus, attitudes concerning all of the aforementioned factors need to be tackled at source in police training courses for SOIT officers.

2.10 Police Training

According to Lonsway, Welch, and Fitzgerald (2001) *“It is difficult to overstate the importance of police training in sexual assault response, because the way in which police respond powerfully affects both the adjudication of sexual assault cases and the experience of victims within the criminal justice system”* (p. 695). In addition, due to the hierarchical and power imbued structure of policing it is difficult to institute reforms (Reiner, 2002a). Thus, the *“police as an organisation are resistant to change and that police subculture, with its impact on individual police styles may negate the effects of victim-focused training initiatives”* (Mawby & Walklate, 1995, p. 105).

Stratton (as cited in Ainsworth, 1995) noted that, considering the sheer volume of information disseminated to police officers during limited training periods, it is easy to comprehend why knowledge related to interpersonal relationships and communication skills may not be increased by training. Lonsway, Welch, and Fitzgerald (2001) state the importance of police training cannot be over-emphasised in relation to its influence on the arbitration of sexual assault cases and victims' experiences of the criminal justice response to their cases (Campbell, et al., 1999; Frazier & Haney, 1996). However, Earle (as cited in Ainsworth, 1995) suggested that police officers who were trained using an approach which was extremely stressful, resulted in trainees who tended to be more antagonistic, who were less likely to be adaptable, and experienced problems when faced with decision-making in crisis situations. Thus, it is not surprising to find that this type of training does not produce a police officer who can empathise or sympathise with victims. Instead, they are increasingly likely to alienate the victim or cause offence.

According to Ainsworth (1995), the police officer who is sensitive, non-judgemental, supportive, and expresses concern may reduce the recovery period for those suffering from psychological sequelae; and engender a more positive impression of the police service. There is a dearth of empirical research on evaluating the effectiveness of training and the influence of the police environment. This was to some extent remedied by Bull and Horncastle's (1988, 1994) research which facilitated an understanding of the problems experienced when undertaking this type of work, but also offered a model for comprehending the complexities of such a process.

In recent years, there have been concerted efforts to address failings highlighted in police training. For example, in England and Wales a Central Police Training and Development Authority was established under the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 to identify current and future gaps in skills within the police service (Home Office, 2001b). HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) recommended an immediate review of existing facilities available to rape victims in order to improve the integrity of evidence. It was also noted that the quality of evidence obtained was affected by the type of service provided by the police and its multi-agency partners. However, until now the required attention has not been given to the police response to male rape victims.

The standard of available training in sexual offences investigation was found to be variable across police forces. However, the training course content of the Metropolitan Police Service particularly impressed the authors of the HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) report, resulting in their recommendation that other forces should emulate the Metropolitan Police Service's standards. Predominant features reported as good practice included an absence of superficiality, a depth of expertise (e.g., only those officers who completed their probationary period and were trained in cognitive

interview techniques were permitted to undertake chaperone/SOIT training (see Milne & Bull, 1999), and the width of external input throughout the syllabus (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2002).

2.11 Throughcare of Victims within the Criminal Justice System

The HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) report also found that victims were not being routinely notified of bail/custody decisions according to representatives of special interest groups. This shows a failure in their responsibility to victims as outlined in the Victim's Charter (Home Office 1990a, 2001a). It should also be noted that during the interviewing process there can be oppressive factors according to Hendry and Jones (1997) which can impact on the amount of information that the victim will provide. Those factors include where the interviewer is heterosexual and the victim maybe homosexual or bisexual, as there is an inherent power differential present between these dominant and subordinate groups within the patriarchal structures of society. Considering the heterosexual hegemony of modern society as referred to by Connell (1995), this is an increasingly important point regarding the response to male rape victims. The method of how the statement is taken is also important as it can help or hamper the progress of the investigation.

Therefore, while some survivors will require and wish for ongoing support, others will perceive this, no matter how well meaning, as a further invasion of their privacy which impedes their attempts to regain control of their life. This may result in their withdrawal of the complaint of rape, which undermines the original objective. Temkin (1999) found that some of the female rape victims because of their experience of the police, would not report again if they found themselves in similar circumstances. In the HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) inspection report it was stated that "*an improvement in the standard of the initial treatment by the police is required*" (p. 96). This

recommendation was based on the high attrition rate of this sample which was 59.2%. While some of the rape survivors were positive about the follow-up, these tended to be those whose cases were successfully prosecuted. It is therefore important what interviewing techniques are used and how the statement is taken (Temkin, 1999).

Furthermore, in 2005, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) published '*Guidance on Investigating Serious Sexual Offences*', which provided protocols for the investigation of serious sexual offences from the first response to the conclusion of the investigation (on a stage-by-stage basis). Also, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) Policy Directorate formally created the '*Sex Offences Team*' which has an individual work schedule and action plan (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007).

2.12 The Evolution of the Specially Trained Officer (STO)

Williamson (1996) stated that the advent of the chaperone scheme "*is one of the most effective initiatives that the Police Service has taken regarding sexual assault investigations*" (p. 138). The chaperone scheme was established in 1992 by the Metropolitan Police as a pilot project in an effort to improve the successful investigation and prosecution of rape case by providing a more tailored response to rape victims. The key responsibilities of chaperone officers over the duration of the case are outlined below.

- The original chaperone role was to provide victim care throughout the course of the case; additional responsibilities were subsequently assigned such as the chaperone acting as a conduit for the exchange of information between the investigating officer and victim.
- Chaperones should refer the victim to appropriate external specialist agencies and provide further relevant literature, and if eligible, information on the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority.
- Chaperones must also liaise with the investigating officer and victim to devise an exit strategy.

Chaperone officers were not to be involved in the taking of first complaint statements (MPS, 1999). The chaperone officer had two key functions according to MPS Policy Guidelines (as cited in Temkin, 1999, p. 19) “...to ensure that victims are treated with kindness, sensitivity and courtesy and to obtain the best possible evidence to aid an investigation and support any subsequent prosecution”.

When, under the chaperone scheme, victim examination suites were made accessible to male rape victims to encourage reporting, only ten male rape survivors presented at them in 1992, when this scheme was introduced (Laurent, 1993). The wider access to these rape examination facilities illustrated that the police were now taking male rape cases seriously but male rape victims’ confidence in the police would take time to develop. Chaperone duties were in addition to the officers’ other policing duties and thus had to be negotiated against the routine demands on their time. Furthermore, Suëtt (1994) stated that although voluntary applications were sought for this specialist training to assist rape victims, the applicants’ suitability for the role was a pivotal factor. In addition, the chaperone scheme was under-resourced due in part to

the small number of police officers who were specially trained in the investigation of sexual offences, thus the workload was disproportionately distributed to these officers. It was also found that the chaperone officers perceived that their role was not being given the precedence that it deserved. *“The chaperone system when it worked as intended, was highly valued, however, in many cases procedures were not followed and police officers themselves made a number of criticisms of poor availability; overuse of individuals; poor supervision; burnout, lack of resources to do the job effectively”* according to Sturman (as cited in Kelly, 2002, p. 18).

The HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) report stated that the role of the chaperone officer should be seen as a specialist, not simply as one of the many tasks that any officer should be able to perform. The joint inspection report found that they had large caseloads and supports previous research in this area (see Suëtt, 1994). The emotional demands on such officers and their welfare needs should be given priority, as the tremendous strain can negatively affect the quality of care; the best intentions may therefore lead to a counterproductive cycle. This is an important point and appears to have been overlooked by the previously cited studies. It is difficult to set concrete rules, as it is crucial that each victim be treated on the basis of a careful assessment of their specific needs.

The follow-up report by the HMCPSI and HMIC published in 2007 formally introduced the term Specially Trained Officer (STO) to replace all other titles such as Sexual Offences Liaison Officer (SOLO), Rape Trained Officer (RTO) and Victim Liaison Officer (VLO). However, the SOIT officers of the London Metropolitan Police retain their title (M. Yexley, personal communication, May 25, 2007). The role of the SOIT officer, however, has evolved in accordance with the STO's. The role of the STO has developed beyond the original SOIT duties, in that they have to: (i) brief the

forensic physician; (ii) ensure exhibits and samples from the victim are secured; (iii) brief the IO (Investigating Officer) and investigation team; (iv) communicate forensic information to the Crime Scene Investigator (CSI) (to enable all possible forensic evidence to be collected), Crime Scene Manager (CSM) and IO; (v) inform the forensic physician on the investigation's progress (as instructed by the IO); and (vi) *"take statements of withdrawal of support for the prosecution (as directed by the IO)"* (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007, p. 55).

It was recently noted in the joint inspection report (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007) that nationally accredited training of STOs has yet to be introduced [this was a recommendation of the HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) joint report], although gradual progress has been made. Other pervasive problems include officers feeling obligated to undertake STO training in forces where there is limited availability of these specialist officers. This may result in officers undertaking this specialist role (which should be voluntary) who are not committed to it (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007).

2.12 Victim Characteristics

The HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) report also found that on some occasions the social status of the victim, and/or the circumstances of the offence, determined the level of response from both the police and the CPS. There were examples where the police and the CPS made value judgments on the credibility of the victim as a witness rather than giving emphasis to the actual evidence that he/she could provide. Value judgments of the status of character of a witness should not deny access to justice. Parallels may be drawn here with Temkin's (1999) findings cited earlier.

In some countries, however, since the 1980s, there has been a steady improvement in the police service provision to rape victims. Nevertheless, some areas of poor practice do persist. For example, the accessibility of STOs continues to be

problematic with regard to the most readily available officer being called upon “... *irrespective of their core workload, tour of duty or existing STO commitments*” (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007, p. 11), this may also have an impact on their service provision to victims. Another key point regarding the service provision to rape victims is the issue of where the medical examination takes place. For example, whether the examination is conducted at the police station or a specialist centre, such as a sexual assault referral centres (SARCs) which are a one-stop-shop for victims which provide forensic examinations, counselling and social support. London-based SARCs (e.g. the Haven) are jointly funded by the National Health Service and the Metropolitan Police.

2.13 SARCs

The Haven Centre (which was the first Sexual Assault Referral Centre (SARC) in London) was a pilot project initially, and unique, in that it has a forensic paediatric facility that differentiates it from those of St. Mary’s Centre in Manchester, which is a similar service provider. The SARC was established in February 2000 to provide an inclusive and synchronised collaborative forensic, medical and psychosocial service to adults, adolescents and children who have suffered serious sexual assault (it was also the only dedicated sexual assault referral centre within the London area at that time). It is located within the Department of Sexual Health at Kings College Hospital, Camberwell, London. This service was developed in response to the persisting difficulties experienced by the Metropolitan Police in the provision of an adequate standard of victim care and forensic examination (The Haven, 2003).

The Haven (2003) sexual assault protocol stated their agreed service objectives: first, to provide medical care and advice from specially trained doctors whose expertise is sexual offence examinations; second, to assist in the collation of forensic evidence from victims; third, to make available police support in a non-threatening environment;

and fourth, to provide counselling to victims and family where necessary and offer a screening service for sexually transmitted diseases. The Haven also offer advocacy relating to support groups and services with respect to victims' needs and geographic location. Furthermore, in self-referred cases they encourage victims to report the crime to the police to enable the identification of serious sexual offences and ensuring that the police are in possession of the full, accurate and current information. The arrangements for the medical examination of victims are crucial to both their well-being and to the evidence gathering process. According to the HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) inspection report the ideal facility offers a designated and specialist examination facility with a victim-based choice of the gender of the doctor carrying out any examination. The joint inspection report highlighted The Haven Centre, Camberwell (London) as an example of good practice. This report also found that the victims expressed increased satisfaction with the police due to the multi-agency partnership epitomised by the Haven. Another advantage of this partnership is that from the outset the victim has access to the skills, professionalism, and advocacy from a range of agencies; including Health and Social Services, the provision of support through counselling, and the availability of the trained volunteers. In recent years, two more SARCs have been established in London (in Paddington and Whitechapel), and their numbers have increased across the country.

Male rape victims may fear the police response due to the police perception of their sexual status (as undermining the basis of the patriarchal system, the central tenet of which is that the male is invulnerable, and thus not liable to sexual victimisation). The provision of appropriate facilities may reduce some apprehensions especially when there is a professional continuum from notification, through medical examination and statement taking, to aftercare and access to skilled counselling. Working with the

victim immediately following the crime is particularly important. At the point of crisis, people may be more inclined to make changes in their behaviour, their lives, and their surroundings, and this makes them more receptive to assistance programs according to Anderson, Chenery and Pease (as cited in Friedman, & Tucker, 1997).

2.14 Gender of Forensic Medical Examiners

The HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) report found that the majority of Forensic Medical Examiners are male, only 18.2% are female which compares with 35% of female GPs nationally. Previous research has indicated that some male victims prefer examination by a female doctor according to Kelly, Moon, Bradshaw, and Savage (as cited in Kelly, 2002). This exercise of choice often results in lengthy delays before the victim can be examined which is unacceptable when waiting areas may be inadequate and the quality of service poor at a vulnerable time. However, the SARC's have alleviated the facilities issue to an extent, but there is still a *'postcode lottery'* regarding access due to a shortage of female forensic medical examiners.

2.15 Summary

The aim of the new research study to be reported here¹ is to assess the service provision of the police to male survivors and provide subsequent recommendations as to where this service could be improved to better meet the needs of this service user. The progress the police have made from the more confrontational approach (used historically) to the specialised training of officers to investigate rape cases was highlighted. Psychological perspectives inform the chapter from considerations of the *'just world hypothesis'*, to their integration in police training and application in relation to the perceptions of victims and police officers, and their impact on reporting.

¹ The findings of this pioneering study have recently been published (see Jamel, Bull, & Sheridan, 2008).

The current study hopes to contribute to this under-researched area of the policing response to male rape victims by (i) evaluating the London Metropolitan Police SOIT officers' service response to male victims of rape and (ii) then providing recommendations as to how this service may be improved (these specialist police officers have not been evaluated previously with regard to whether there may be a gender differential in the provision of service to rape victims). Furthermore, it is considered important to raise awareness regarding the police service provision to male rape victims and possible areas for improvement in order to increase reporting and conviction rates.

2.16 Research Questions

The aim of this present study is to evaluate the service response of the Metropolitan Police Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers particularly to male rape victims.

- (i) The SOIT officers' perceptions of their role and the level of service provided to rape survivors will be examined.
- (ii) The responses of the SOIT officers will be contrasted with those from the rape survivors to identify areas for improvement based upon the experiential aspects of service delivery and whether a gendered response was received.

2.17 Method

Empirical studies with criminal justice professionals as participants may involve certain challenges. The police are a highly bureaucratic organisation, and negotiating access to officers in order to engage them in research can be challenging.

An integral problem with real world or applied research are the practical constraints, for example, the transfer of key liaison officers to other divisions and consequently having to repeatedly forge new links with recently appointed police contacts which often impedes the work being undertaken. The researcher must therefore be quite flexible in their methodology in order to overcome problems which arise in the field (Robson, 2002). In addition, bureaucracy is also a concern with other organisations such as the National Health Service (NHS) (who were also liaised with during the course of this study). Thus, bureaucracy, combined with a sensitive topic (*'rape'*) and hard-to-reach participants made for a challenging but interesting study (especially when developing strategies to overcome the hurdles encountered during the course of this research).

The current study was conducted to explore the provision of service primarily by Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques (SOIT) Officers based at *Project Sapphire* of the London Metropolitan Police (LMP) to male rape survivors. *Project Sapphire* was originally a three year project-based initiative (it was later made permanent) the aims being to improve rape investigation, victim care, and also to review specialist training and support for SOIT officers (MPA, 2002). One of their objectives in their efforts to improve victim care was to enhance awareness of male rape (Metropolitan Police, 2001). Hence *Project Sapphire* was supportive of this research from the outset partly due to the dearth of research in relation to the police response to male rape victims, particularly those evaluating the service provisions by

SOIT officers to this '*hard-to-reach*' population. The ethical standards of the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2006) were strictly adhered to throughout.

SOIT officers were accessed through *Project Sapphire* of the LMP Service; it has now been made permanent and developed into a service-wide strategy due to the progress made in relation to victim care and the investigation of rape cases.

2.17.1 Project Sapphire and Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers

The access negotiations with *Project Sapphire* of the LMP Service began in April/May of 2002, (the terms '*Project Sapphire*'/'*Sapphire*' appear to be used interchangeably since June/July 2004 when the unit became permanent). *Project Sapphire* is at the forefront of rape victim care and investigation, which was why I approached them to invite them to participate in this research. In order to contextualise the current study, it was considered important to visit *Project Sapphire* and forge links with the SOIT officers and investigate what their role entails on a daily basis. This proved to be beneficial, as it was informative to hear the different experiences of the SOIT officers, and the difficulties and frustrations experienced by both themselves and reported to them by the victims/survivors during the delivery of their service. These officers work with the victim from the crisis stage at the point of reporting to the completion of the case.

In November 2003, all ongoing negotiations for access via *Sapphire* to their SOIT officers were frozen as Detective Chief Inspector W. who had been supportive throughout, was transferred to another post. The appointed police contact who was facilitating discussions, stated that the tenability and accessibility of my research project would now have to be broached with the new Detective Chief Inspector M. who would be managing *Project Sapphire*. This was a stressful time because the

current study was now in a very tenuous position and its feasibility had to be reconsidered and possible alternative research questions developed. In addition, due to the increasing demands on her time because of her workload, Sergeant J.E. (who was my main point of contact) referred me to a new contact Sergeant F.M. based at *Sapphire*. The extensive delay in obtaining access to the SOIT officers, necessitated a back-up plan being devised (if access was refused) which was assistance being sought from other forces such as Merseyside, Leicester, West Midlands, Manchester, Cardiff, Sheffield, Bristol, Leeds, and Bradford as well as the National Crime Faculty would be contacted. By the end of March 2004, no further news had been received regarding the required access to the SOIT officers. Therefore, communications were re-instigated through a letter sent via my police liaison officer to the new Detective Chief Inspector M. managing *Project Sapphire* to enquire as to the status of my application for access. However, it was not until April 2004 (two years after negotiations for access has begun) when a letter was received from *Project Sapphire* stating that access would be granted to SOITs officers as requested on approval of my research protocol and a copy of the SOIT questionnaire.

The study involved SOIT officers completing semi-structured questionnaires disseminated with the assistance of Project Sapphire. Questionnaires were used despite the possible low response rate (Robson, 2002) as SOIT officers could complete them at their convenience which is key due to the operational demands on them. These questionnaires focused on (i) the role and responsibilities of these dedicated officers, (ii) questions regarding the practicalities of their post pertaining to the provision of victim care, and (iii) their investigative function and how it equates with their responsibilities outlined in the policy documents (see Metropolitan Police Service, 1999) in relation to the expectations of the SOIT officer. These policy

documents (Metropolitan Police Service, 1999; Suëtt, 1994, 1999) informed the design of the questionnaire. For example, SOIT officers were asked what factors acted as a barrier to an optimal level of service being provided to rape survivors, and what they considered to be good practice.

2.17.1.1 Piloting of SOIT Questionnaire

A draft questionnaire was piloted among a sample of four SOIT officers who worked on *Sapphire* teams for their comments and feedback. These officers were excluded from the later distribution of questionnaires to avoid the duplication of responses and therefore a skewing of the results. This piloting stage began in May 2003 when the questionnaires were distributed however they were not returned until May 2004. The maintenance of anonymity was raised as a concern because if the e-mail was sent back via their personal e-mail account, then their contact details would be included, although it was stated that if questionnaires were returned via e-mail then once printed off the details would be immediately deleted. This did not prove to be a major issue as the majority sent their completed questionnaires back by post. The questionnaire design was then amended in light of any perceived gaps in the content or difficult questions. Next, survivor organisations were approached by me in order to pilot the questionnaires which would subsequently be provided to rape victims participating in this study.

2.17.2 Male and Female Rape Survivors

2.17.2.1 Piloting the Survivor Questionnaires

Survivor agencies were used instead of individual survivors to pilot the questionnaires due to the likelihood of limited numbers of participants engaging with this research. Furthermore, it was considered that this was the most ethical method to obtain feedback from such organisations that work with survivors on a daily basis, on

the sensitive phrasing of the questions; as they would be acutely aware of victims' concerns.

It should also be noted here that suffixes [MRS003it, FRS004it] indicates a response from the internet based online questionnaires and [FRS003w] for written postal responses (there was one male postal response) received from within England.

The questionnaires used for male and female survivors were piloted by Camden Victim Support and Survivors UK, for their feedback on the sensitivity and comprehensibility of the questions and if there were any important omissions. Constructive comments were made and no major amendments were required according to the feedback (which indicated that the questions were sensitively phrased, and covered the topic in sufficient detail). The London Rape Crisis Centre was also asked for feedback, but, due to their limited funding they were unable to assist but recommended contacting the National Rape Crisis Federation (however, they were disbanded due to the lack of finances).

Camden Victim Support were re-contacted for their assistance regarding the possible distribution of questionnaires to survivors, however, there had been a change in management and they were no longer willing to assist with this research as it was said to be against Victim Support's organisational policy. It was recommended that I contact Victim Support Headquarters in London, which I did and initially received no response. Later I raised this issue with the Chief Executive of Victim Support whom I met at a conference. I was advised to try again by contacting the Head of their Research and Development Department but a negative response was received. They also suggested I access survivors directly through the police, nonetheless, considering the nature of the research being conducted this was inappropriate, and unethical

advice. I asked would they reconsider their decision, but, no further responses was received.

2.17.3 Dissemination of SOIT Officers' Questionnaires

The questionnaire was disseminated to 300 SOIT officers via their e-mail listserver (facilitated by Project Sapphire). This could be completed electronically and e-mailed back to the researcher or printed off and posted back depending on the preference of the participant. Only 19 completed questionnaires were returned despite reminders being sent out close to the deadline date (which was three weeks from date of dispatch in accordance with advice from my police contact). On the deadline date, a general letter was sent out to all 300 SOIT officers to thank some for their participation and to remind any remaining potential participants to return their completed questionnaires at their earliest convenience. The consent forms were detached and stored in a separate secure location and each questionnaire assigned its own unique identification code e.g., [SOIT001].

2.17.4 Dissemination of Male and Female Rape Survivor Questionnaires

Rape survivors are notoriously difficult to engage in research due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter (Jordan, 2002; Temkin, 1999; Lees & Gregory, 1993; MPA, 2002). Thus, optimal ethical consideration was given to the design of the questions. A number of modes were used to recruit male and female rape survivors from the widest range of possible sources to keep sample biases to a minimum. Bart (1981) used advertising in order to recruit rape victims by placing advertisements in public places in order to achieve the widest catchment of respondents. A limitation of this method is that there is no control over who responds, therefore respondents may not always fit with the criteria required for the study. However, for the present study posters were placed in targeted locations in Leicester (e.g., local libraries, local

hospital Accident and Emergency Departments, local GUM Clinics, and local Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender venues to broaden the sample). No responses were received. Local police and an adult education college were also asked would they advertise my research but they were reticent, and referred the matter to their management; stating they would contact me with their decision – no response was received. Questionnaires were also sent to Juniper Lodge in 2004 (a local SARC) as the coordinator was keen to assist with this research to enable cross-comparisons between Leicestershire and London specialist police responses. Twenty questionnaires were sent as requested but no responses received from this SARC. This may have been the result of a change in coordinator and despite renewed attempts at contacting the new coordinator, no response was received. The Rape Crisis Centre in Leicester was also contacted on several occasions as I had been given a contact name by the previous coordinator at Juniper Lodge but I received no response despite my concerted efforts.

The Huntingdon Victim Support (which had a Men's Group attached) contacted me in November 2003 and initially was extremely supportive, but the support waned (may be from pressure from Victim Support H.Q.), as the last contact which I had from them said they were trying to work through the '*red tape*'. I also approached the Leicestershire and Rutland Victim Support with regard to accessing male survivors and was told to contact *First Step* (Leicester - who provide counselling services for male rape survivors), They were supportive but only had limited staff, funding, and few clients, therefore they could not assist with recruitment.

I was thus referred to the *Survivors Trust* (a peer support network composed of volunteers, and links approximately 80 male and female survivor organisations nationally). They are a political umbrella organisation and work with the Home Office

developing strategies to improve services for survivors. Again, there was an initial positive response, but a change in contacts meant this support dwindled. Nevertheless, through another contact I was later able to advertise my research in their newsletter but no responses were received.

I contacted newspapers such as the *Metro* (commuter newspaper) regarding advertising but their prices were so expensive as to make it prohibitive. However, the *Big Issue* (a weekly magazine sold by those living on the streets to generate a regular income as opposed to begging) provided competitive pricing and was supportive of this research. I advertised in the *Big Issue* as this magazine reaches a very wide audience. I particularly targeted the edition sold in London (which is also available on the south coast, in the Midlands, East Anglia and the North East) in order to attract as many survivors as possible who may have reported incidents to SOIT officers within the LMP catchment area. When contacted, potential participants were posted questionnaire packs containing a consent form, the questionnaire and contact details of survivor agencies, should they be required and a self-addressed envelope (to return the completed questionnaire to me).

The advertisement was placed for two weeks, however, due to the deal negotiated with the *Big Issue* my advertisement was kept as a '*filler*' (in other words if there was space in an issue and they were unable to sell it then my advertisement was inserted) for approximately two months after that. Their circulation number for England and Wales is 122, 924 according to ABC (as cited in Circulation figures, n.d.).

Further advertising was taken out in two local London newspapers, the *Islington Tribune* and *Camden New Journal* (I was contacted by a journalist at the Camden New Journal who arranged a special rate to place advertisements as he had

seen my advertisement in the Big Issue) for one week (which have circulation numbers of 20,000 and 68,000 respectively).

From this extensive advertising through the publications mentioned above, four female responses and one male response (which could not be used due to its lack of coherence) were received. It was thus judged essential to widen the resources being used to include the Internet as well as other resources.

With Sergeant F.M.'s (Project Sapphire police contact) assistance a number of rape survivor organisations were located. A list of the relevant organisations (these were in addition to the many organisations I had independently identified – but had received no responses) was compiled, and they were contacted by letter and follow-up telephone calls or e-mails, in order to ask for assistance in recruiting survivors through advertising this research. However, the majority of the organisations stated it was against their policy to facilitate access to their service users for research purposes.

Another option investigated regarding access to male rape survivors was via the Independent Advisory Groups (IAGs) which are themed committees on which the police and other relevant organisations sit. There was one which represented the interests of male rape survivors, which Survivors UK attended with other relevant organisations, I tried to contact the Chair of this IAG, but was unsuccessful. I was later informed that this IAG had been disbanded as a result of political issues. This group has now been integrated into a general rape survivor IAG. Another multi-agency group, Focus On the Rape Of Men (FOROM) in the London Metropolitan area, highlighted issues affecting male rape, sexual assault, and child abuse victims. Their aim was to improve how these issues are dealt with, the standard of service provided, and the increase reporting regarding this type of crime perpetrated against males. But, due to a lack of resources and the retirement of the officer who was the

motivating force behind this group, it has been dissolved. Thus, it was difficult to access appropriate men's survivor groups due to their dissolution as a result of the lack of fiscal and political support.

I wished to place posters advertising the current study (asking rape survivors to contact the researcher to share their experiences of the police service received on reporting) in the three London SARCs; but approval from individual NHS Local Research Ethics and Research and Development Committees was required in addition to an Multi-Site Research Ethics application lodged at the nominated LREC (for the timeline of the bureaucratic processes involved in obtaining ethical approval, see *Appendices 1.2*).

2.17.5 Web-Based Questionnaires

The Internet was considered next as the best option to optimise recruitment of rape survivors recognised as a difficult to reach group (Bowen, 2005; Mangan & Reips, 2007) and to reach the largest and most varied group possible (Markham, 2004). Furthermore, due to the sensitive nature of the research, previous studies have found that individuals may be more willingly to complete such web-based questionnaires due to the anonymity of this mode (Hewson, Yule, Laurent, & Vogel, 2003). Additional benefits of using web-based questionnaires are discussed in Chapter 3. Web-based questionnaires based on the paper-based versions were developed. The paper-based questionnaires have been provided in *Appendices 1.8* and *1.9*.

The postal questionnaires and the web-based versions differed in relation to the broader conceptualisation of the type of police officer to accommodate international responses. Further details were also facilitated about the type of police officers in order to enable the tracking of responses through the questionnaires to identify information relating to SOIT officers. In addition, data were collected regarding the

crime scene behaviour of the assailant and victim regarding the approach used; location, sex acts perpetrated, and victim-offender relationship. The collection of this data was justified as the available data are limited in this area and are normally restricted to clinical populations (Coxell et al., 1999; Goyer & Eddleman, 1984; Groth, 1979; Huckle, 1995) with few community studies carried out (Hickson et al., 1997; Hillman et al., 1990; Mezey & King, 1989). Thus the current research study is considered to make a valuable contribution to male rape research.

This strategy was decided upon due to the difficulty in accessing this sample; and the importance of maximising data collection. Domain names such as malerapesurvivor.com and later femalerapesurvivor.com were purchased and a website designed on which to place the web-based questionnaires. The questionnaire was divided into a number of sections covering areas such as factors influencing reporting, the service received from the police on reporting, and the duration of the case to the trial stage (where relevant). The influence of rape on survivors was also considered through questions regarding their lifestyle and the emotional impact of this crime. The placing of these questionnaires online involved both the Department of Psychology's Computer Technician and assistance of a member of the Computer Centre staff. Any amendments made to the questionnaire had to be facilitated by these staff members. Also, the questionnaires were rigorously tested (to ensure that all questions could be completed and that all of the buttons worked) to resolve any errors or technical difficulties (Hewson et al., 2003). In May 2005, after canvassing appropriate survivor websites to enquire if they would place a link on their site to my web-based questionnaire, it was approved to go '*live*'.

2.17.5.1 International Organisations

The distribution of web-based questionnaires to survivors proved quite challenging. Initially, I e-mailed the National Organisation of Male Survivors of Sexual Violence (NOMSV) based in Washington, D.C., and they agreed to place a link on their website to my questionnaire. They requested a copy of the questionnaire, consent form, PhD proposal, and letter from the School of Psychology Ethics Committee, which were furnished. But, no further responses were received; it was later found they had disbanded due to financial difficulties. The *National Victim Center* (Washington, U.S.A.) which offers advocacy to victims and The *New York Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project* were also contacted by letter in December 2003, and again in January 2004 but no responses were received. The purpose of these contacts was to provide a cross-cultural perspective from male and female survivors in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Other websites canvassed included Canada (*Toronto Rape Crisis Centre*, *Vancouver Rape Relief Shelter*), the USA (*Orange County Rape Crisis Centre*, *San Francisco Women Against Rape*, *Rape Assistance and Awareness of Denver*), Japan (*Tokyo Rape Crisis*), and Australia (*New South Wales Rape Crisis Centre*) to provide a cross-cultural perspective on police service provisions). Only one organisation responded positively and that was the *New South Wales Rape Crisis Centre* (they predominantly provide services for females, if male survivors do contact them they assist where feasible and also direct them to other resources) *in Australia*.

2.17.5.2 UK-Based Organisations

In England those organisations who responded (the *Wiltshire Rape Support Line* and *Colchester Rape Crisis*) and Survivors UK stated it was against their organisation's policy to assist research studies to recruit participants. However,

Survivors UK suggested a possible alternative of the National Association of Sexual Abuse Survivors (NAMSAS) website to be established in 2004. This was later agreed and a link from the NAMSAS website to my questionnaire was permitted.

In previous research (for example, Stanko & Hobdell, 1993) it was noted that males were more reticent than females when reporting their criminal victimisation and that this inhibition at disclosing vulnerability was further exacerbated when the crime was rape, which may explain the low response rate despite advertising on appropriate websites such as National Association of Sexual Abuse Survivors (NAMSAS).

I was independently contacted by the *Grimsby and Scunthorpe Rape Crisis Centre* (whose service users consisted of male and female survivors) they had seen my advertisement in the '*Big Issue*' and wished to assist with this research. I sent a batch of questionnaire packs with consent forms and self-addressed envelopes but did not receive any completed forms back, despite several enquiries regarding their return.

To further my attempts at gaining access to male rape survivors I contacted a number of online men's publication through their general e-mails and via their editors and members of their editorial teams. The publications contacted included: *Men's Health*, *Gentlemen's Quarterly (GQ)*, *The Gay Times*, *The Pink Paper*, *Boyz*, *QX*, and *Attitude* to target males irrespective of their sexual orientation. The only response received was from a journalist at the *Gay Times* who was initially interested in doing a news item and potentially doing an article but interest waned possibly due to editorial pressure.

2.17.5.3 Additional Advertising

A freelance journalist who had seen an advertisement regarding my research contacted me. After preliminary discussions he later included my contact details in a feature article which he wrote on his experience of male rape which was published in the *Belfast Telegraph* (see Smyth, 2006a). Later a feature article about my background and current research written by the aforementioned journalist was sold to the *Evening Echo* newspaper (Cork, Ireland) (circulation numbers are 26,814 copies per day (ABC: Jan-June 2007) (Landsdowne Market Research, 2007) which contained my contact details (see Smyth, 2006b). Two responses from male rape survivors were received after this article was published.

As a result of continuing difficulties accessing survivors, in 2006, I contacted *Project Sapphire* and asked whether it would be feasible to place a link to my questionnaire on their website (as anecdotally, when speaking to SOIT officers it was mentioned that individuals from all over the world contacted their website for advice). Links to my male and female survivor questionnaire were uploaded in February 2006 and remained in situ until the website was reformulated in conjunction with a media campaign by *Sapphire* in November 2006. Nevertheless, there were several male responses (three) when the questionnaire went 'live', but, the response rate was quite sporadic throughout the course of the current study.

2.17.5.4 Type of Analysis

The information provided in the completed questionnaires was subjected to a form of qualitative analysis which was thematic analysis, initially using *content analysis* in a reductionist manner to develop a coding framework. As according to some researchers much qualitative research has its origins within thematic analysis

(Braun & Clarke, 2006) even content analysis (Meehan, Vermeer, & Windsor, 2000; Wilkinson, 2000).

Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information. The encoding requires an explicit “code”. This may be a list of themes...A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organizes possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon...The themes may be initially generated inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory and prior research (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4).

The survey data were analysed and coding categories developed based on the available literature on policing and rape (as aforementioned). The type of coding initially used was ‘*open coding*’ where the information provided by participants was reduced to its constituents and categorised compared and theorised as recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990) The data were then subjected to ‘*axial coding*’ which involved “...*integrating analysis through connecting categories – by deploying a general frame of reference the context, conditions, strategies and consequences that characterize interaction*” (Dey, 2004, p. 85). The questionnaires were then subject to a thematic analysis (which facilitates manifest and latent content analysis simultaneously) (Boyatzis, 1998) informed by the literature review of policing and rape survivor research.

Similarly themed questions regarding service provisions were then put to male and female rape survivors in order to investigate whether a differential level of service exists regarding victim gender. For example, rape survivors were asked about (a) the response of the police on reporting, (b) the procedures followed, (c) the level of

communication maintained throughout their case, and (d) their suggestions for improvements.

An initial analysis of the SOIT data resulted in 32 variables. These consisted of quantitative and qualitative information (see Table 3 below for examples).

| <i>Code</i> | <i>Description</i> |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>'gender'</i> | SOIT officer gender |
| <i>'durSOIT'</i> | policing experience: (length of years as a SOIT), |
| <i>'revprevexp'</i> | relevant previous experience |
| <i>'motive'</i> | motivation for becoming a SOIT officer |
| <i>'totalcase'</i> | Total number of rape cases handled in their career |
| <i>'refreshercourses'</i> | refresher courses attended |
| <i>'malevic'</i> | Number of male victim cases handled |
| <i>Improvserv</i> | Improve service |
| <i>'RCC'</i> | Rape Crisis Centre |
| <i>'casetrial'</i> | Cases which reached trial |
| <i>frequpdates'</i> | Frequency of updates given by SOITs to rape survivors |

Table 3: A selection of SOIT officer codes.

These codes were informed by Suëtt's (1994, 1999) research as well as other policy documentation received from *Project Sapphire* regarding the role of SOIT officers and the expectation of the required service delivery to rape survivors (see MPA, 2002). The male and female rape survivor data was composed of 81 and 84 codes respectively see Table 4 for selected examples.

| <i>Code</i> | <i>Description</i> |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>'selectofficer'</i> | gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity of officer was chosen |
| <i>'factdecis'</i> | factors which influenced decision to report |
| <i>'assignSOIT'</i> | SOIT officer assigned |
| <i>'posttreatcase'</i> | positive treatment of case by police |
| <i>'negtreatcase'</i> | negative treatment of case by police |
| <i>'purpcommunic'</i> | purpose of communications from police |
| <i>'suggestserv'</i> | suggestions about how to improve the police service response |
| Crime scene variables | |
| <i>'knowassail'</i> | The nature of the victim-offender relationship |
| <i>'locrape'</i> | location of rape |
| sex acts | |
| <i>'analpenvic'</i> | victim anally penetrated |
| <i>'vagpenvic'</i> | victim vaginally penetrated |

Table 4: a selection of rape survivor codes.

In Table 4 above a selection of quantitatively and qualitatively coded rape survivor variables have been provided.

The quantitative variables were analysed using descriptive statistics regarding the policing response, crime scene and sex acts perpetrated were included to identify their prevalence.

A data-driven approach was taken which involved a qualitative analysis technique being employed. Thus, the qualitatively coded information was subject to thematic analysis to identify pervasive themes in the SOIT and rape survivor data. The complete codebooks of the SOIT officers' and male and female rape survivors' data that provide full descriptions of the codes can be found in *Appendix 1*. The themes identified from the codes are presented in *Appendix 1.3*.

2.17.5.5 Description of the Sample

The type of sampling described above was purposive as each mode of recruitment was used to specifically target difficult-to-access members of society such as rape survivors and specialist police officers.

SOIT officers

The SOIT officer sample (n=19) was aged between 30 and 53 (mostly between 36 and 39 years). Thirteen were female and six male; 95% were Caucasian and 5% were of Asian origin.

Male and female rape survivors

Regarding the rape survivors, the total sample comprised 120 females and 34 males. Some of the completed questionnaires were not relevant to the current study as they discussed child abuse or sexual assaults which do not conform to the legal definition of rape outlined in the Chapter 1. Thus, the usable sample was 56 female rape survivors (aged between 17 and 72 years) and 20 male rape survivors (aged between 19 and 41 years). The ethnicity was predominantly Caucasian for the male (95%) and female (92%) samples. The sexual orientation of the female sample was 70% heterosexual and the remainder of the sample was divided between those self-described as being either bisexual or lesbian or confused; and for the male sample it was 40% heterosexual, 45% homosexual, and the remainder were bisexual. The domiciles of the female survivors were in Australia (46%), UK (48%), USA (4%), and New Zealand (2%); and of the male survivors, Ireland (5%) Australia (5%), UK (the majority did not specify England, Scotland or Wales) (70%), USA (5%), Scotland (10%) and Canada (5%). The data were then used to compare against the responses received from the rape survivor sample.

The next section describes the results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the SOIT and female and male rape survivor data.

2.18 Results

2.18.1 Thematic Analysis of the Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers' Data Regarding the Police Service Response

Of the sample of survivors obtained, few had SOIT officers working on their case, so the focus had to be expanded to the service of the specialist police officers who responded to these rape cases. Therefore, some latitude was given in relation to the initial research question of the analysis of SOIT officers' response to rape victims due to the nature of the sample. Thus, the results are presented regarding the wider police response with a particular emphasis given to the service provided by SOIT officers (who were indicated by survivors as being those officers that provide a dedicated sexual offence service response).

With regard to the various countries of respondents, no noteworthy differences were identified by thematic analyses with regards to the service provided by the different police forces to warrant individual discussions, with the exception of the UK (due to the emphasis on SOIT officers' responses). As stated above, in England and Wales, until 2007 there was no standard national title to describe police officers dedicated to the provision of service to sex crime survivors (HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007). In the other countries surveyed it appears there was also no standard title for police officers engaged in the service provision to rape survivors. Although, from the survivors' responses it was possible to discern whether or not a specialist police officer dedicated to the investigation of domestic violence or sex related crimes was assigned.

2.18.1.1 SOIT Officers' Responses

The thematic analysis of the SOIT officers' data identified the following themes:

- The introduction of Sexual Assault Referral Centres (SARC) compared with the previous system of calling in a Forensic Medical Examiner (FME).
- The impact of limited police resources.
- The choice of SOIT officer (regarding gender or sexual orientation) offered to survivors.
- Training.
- Barriers to an '*ideal service*'.
- Level of communications between SOIT officers and victims.
- Lack of confidence in the judicial system.

In addition, occupational factors that may affect the police service provision to rape survivors such as experience, occupational health of officers, up-to-date knowledge, and number of SOITs working on the case were also considered.

The SARCs versus Forensic Medical Examiner (FME) Provisions

The SOIT officers felt that the development of the SARCs/Havens is a more evolved approach in comparison with the previous system of the individual Forensic Medical Examiner (FME) being called. The response of the FMEs could result in lengthy delays. Also, negative comments were made regarding forensic medical examiners' negative attitude and poor delivery of a "*promised level of service*" [SOIT 002]. The SARCs provide a one-stop shop for services for survivors of sexual assault. However, despite this increasing access to key provisions (from the forensic to the psycho-social), some victims may feel like they are on a "*conveyer belt*" [SOIT 003]. Also, due to '*policy*', those presenting at the crisis stage may be '*superseded*' by those having follow-up appointments:

“Havens/Policy...[recently] made clear that Havens take clients on a first come first served basis. What this means in practice is that a person who was offended against say 5 days earlier may have an appointment at a particular time of day, meanwhile a new referral may come to notice, a person who has just been offended against, still bleeding, still covered in usable forensic evidence” [SOIT 003].

The survivor with an appointment will thus be seen first at the SARC. Nevertheless, it has since been stated that the usual protocols are: if there is a medical need then the victim should be taken first to the Accident and Emergency Department, and that Haven doctors can be called to the Hospital; if there are undue delays then there are two other SARCs where the victim may be taken (M.Yexley, personal communication, May 25, 2007).

However, it was also noted by SOIT officers that the Havens (London-based SARCs) are not without problems. If SARCs are not open 24 hours every day then similar problems occur as with the FMEs’ response, such as delays in forensic examinations being carried out.

An example of the delays experienced when trying to contact an FME are described by female rape survivors below:

“...[they] left me alone for 6 hours before they managed to get a doctor...”

[FRS009it].

“We travelled 16 miles by car that night – and they were conducted in a doctor’s surgery that was very cold1/2 hour journey – 2 hour wait for the doctor...”

[FRS107w].

“I now work for a rape crisis service and have seen first hand that the service given by police in terms of FME exams are not standardised, and that the attitudes of police workers have a lot to do with the way women feel about continuing through the legal system” [FRS008it].

Other criticisms include that due to the SARCs working procedures, *“the delay in obtaining forensic examinations may be getting longer” [SOIT 003].*

Overall, however, it was stated that the SARCs reduced waiting times, with delays being the exception rather than the rule. At SARCs, SOIT officers do not need to attend the medical examination to *“help seize exhibits”* for forensic evidence (as sometimes required by FMEs) *“Haven - cleaner”*, and *“the staff are friendly”* [SOIT 004]. SARCs were considered to have *“1. Better facilities with all necessary equipment available on site i.e. examination kits. 2. Coordinated follow up procedures for victims.”* [SOIT 011]. SARCs were also considered *“generally better in terms of continuity of care i.e. follow-up checks and tests”* [SOIT 011].

Thus, the police provisions were not as satisfactory as they could have been especially in relation to the delays in arranging the forensic medical examination. The evolution of SARCs is promising due to the improved level of service compared with that of the forensic medical examiner. Nevertheless, SARCs have their own service limitations in relation to referrals, where demand can exceed the availability of resources.

The Impact of Limited Police Resources

It was noted by the officers that very often the victim/survivor did not have the same SOIT officer throughout the case which negatively impacted on the continuity of care for the victim.

For example, “*...Sometimes we do not provide continuity with the same SOIT officer – this can be unfair on the victim – not always*” [SOIT 005]. The lack of continuity of victim care is due to the lack of resources, as SOIT officers work on all cases of sexual assault not just rape and thus their “*...skills and usage [are] stretched*” [SOIT 005]. Not all Sapphire Units have Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers available 24 hours a day and there was also no official call-out system. Therefore, it was suggested that “*Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers should only be available from dedicated units i.e. Sapphire Units on a seven day a week 24hrs a day basis*” [SOIT 005].

An increase in availability would have a positive effect on the consistency of care as it would be more likely that the victim would have one SOIT officer for the duration of his/her case as opposed to two which seems to be a more frequent occurrence in the more understaffed Sapphire Units in different boroughs. For example there was a “*lack of consistency (Met wide) from one borough to the next*” [SOIT 005], thus, suggesting a postcode lottery regarding service delivery.

In the survivor responses regarding the consistency of care they received from SOITs, there were differing answers given. In one case (see quote from [FRS108w] below) there were attempts made by the individual officer to maintain contact despite being transferred to another station: “*Yes, even when she moved to a station 30 miles away*” [FRS108w]. Whereas in [FRS106w]’s case there was more than one officer assigned which may have affected the consistency of the service response provided.

The Provision of Choice of SOIT Officer Offered to Survivors

Gender of SOIT officer

The Metropolitan Police Service policy document detailing rape investigation and victim care stated that *“Research has shown that victims can be concerned about whether they have a male or female SOIT officer...Each victim should be treated according to their needs and gender and cultural factors should be considered and special provision offered”* (MPA, 2002, p. 12). This recommendation is also included in SOIT Standard Operating Procedures originally published in 2005 which were under review but were updated in the 2007/2008 period. SOIT officers and survivors were asked about the practical implementation of this policy, and it was noted that the victim should be offered a choice of SOIT officer according to their gender and self-identified sexual orientation.

However, 47% of SOITs said that in theory, “yes”, they were supposed to offer a choice but the practical implementation of this was often difficult due to the limited number of SOIT officers available. It was also highlighted by SOIT officers that there was a shortage of male SOIT officers. This gender bias in the recruitment of SOIT officers supports previous research conducted by the police (Suëtt, 1994). Thus, 53% of SOIT officers who indicated that the choice was not given to survivors said that either it was not an issue or they should not offer a choice which they could not provide. Thus, a considered weakness of the service provided is *“...that there are not many male SOITs”* [SOIT 013]. The lack of available male SOIT officers prevents survivors being offered a gender-based choice of SOIT officer prior to appointment.

Factors that impact on whether a choice is given, are the availability of individual SOITS and those in Sex Offences Teams as described by [SOIT 007] see below.

“...All our current SOITs are female. If, [I] assist on the SOIT side, then yes, [I] make sure victims are offered a female officer if they would prefer, whether they are male or female” [SOIT007]. The survivor would therefore be asked whether they would like a female officer irrespective of their gender. However, in the case of one male survivor who specifically requested a female officer, he was told that all officers received the same training and would provide the same level of service irrespective of their gender.

“...I wandered into the building, asked to speak to a female officer (at the time I could not face admitting to a guy how much I had failed as a man), and the guy at the front desk went to great lengths to tell me there was [no] difference, and that all police officers were the same” [MRS017].

Sexual orientation

Of the respondents, 58% of SOIT officers stated that a choice of the sexual orientation of the SOIT officer was not provided, 16% said the choice was given where feasible, and a further 16% did not know that this was an option. As an explanation for why this choice was not provided, it was suggested that if a choice were offered; considerations would have to be given to not only sexual orientation but also to ethnicity, and religious affiliation. Instead, an appropriately trained officer should be assigned and if issues arise they can then be dealt with (instead of pre-empting them).

For example:

“NO and if we start going down that road then we would have to offer an officer with a preferred choice of Gender, Age, Sexual Orientation, Ethnicity, Religious Beliefs etc. The more choice we offer THE LESS we will deliver there is simply not enough SOITS to give victims huge choices. Keep it simple ‘A suitably trained officer will be made available. If the victim then raises objections then that can be dealt with at the time’ [SOIT 002]. (Emphasis provided by the SOIT officer.)

A concern raised by a SOIT officer regarding this provision of choice was that if the SOIT officer is chosen based on their sex or sexuality then there may be the issue of their identifying with the survivor thus taking on an advocate role which would affect the integrity of the evidence being obtained (see below).

“The danger inherent in selecting SOITs based on sex or sexuality is that there is a danger of the Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers identifying with the victim (or vice versa) and forming a bond inducing the SOIT to take on the role of ‘advocate’ for the victim. This is inherently dangerous as it leads to contamination of evidence (statements etc. and ultimately does the victim much more harm than good as their evidence becomes discredited. It also allows allegations to be made that the police officer has taken the side of the victim rather than maintain his/her role as an impartial investigator into the facts” [SOIT003].

Another SOIT officer was surprised by the fact that SOITs were expected to declare their sexuality:

“No I have never done so. I was not aware SOIT officers declared their sexuality. If this was possibly an issue, or I was asked, I would try to assist but practically, victims would not be able to be accommodated or would wait days to be seen” [SOIT008].

Thus, trying to satisfy choices of SOIT officer may result in delays responding to the survivor.

Male Rape Cases and SOIT Training

Lack of experience in dealing with male rape cases

Very few male rape cases are reported and even fewer make it to trial. Over the course of the careers (ranging from 4-21 years) of this sample of Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers (mean police career = 17 years) they had only dealt with a limited number of male cases. It was found that 53% of the SOIT officers had dealt with a maximum of three male rape cases during their careers, and none of these cases reached the trial stage. Furthermore, 11% of SOIT officers had never dealt with a male rape case. However, one SOIT officer that dealt with six male rape cases (only one of which reached the trial stage) said that *“...regarding male victims I believe that all those that went to trial secured a conviction”* [SOIT 003]. The lack of experience concerning the handling of male rape cases was noted by some SOIT officers, one of whom stated *“...[they] never get the opportunities to develop their skills or subject their work to a peer review”* [SOIT 003].

Perception that the public have fewer misconceptions of male rape

It was also suggested by one SOIT officer that male rape cases should secure a conviction more easily because there are fewer stereotypes surrounding this in comparison with female rape (excluding the misconception that male rape only happens to gay males) (see below).

“In many ways the system is better suited to lead to a successful prosecution of male rape. Generally speaking, people are unaware of the existence and frequency of male rape, accordingly do not have preconceived ideas of what it means, albeit some assume all victims are gay. Female rape trials are often unsuccessful because juries have fixed ideas of what “rape “ means and will not convict even when the evidence is clearly there, if the female has had a previous relationship, been drinking, stopped half way etc.” [SOIT018].

Knowledge gaps in training

It was also identified that there was a gap in the service provision of training regarding male survivors. Thus, the same depth of information disseminated regarding female rape victims was not provided in relation to their male counterparts. For example, training on *“rape victims in general – mostly focused on female victims – added complication of violence, STDs & pregnancy”* [SOIT 006].

Identified Barriers to Service Provisions

Lack of public confidence

SOIT officers suggested that greater attention needed to be paid to marketing the police services available as this would assist in increasing public confidence. This point was further highlighted by the following statement:

“The current system is a positive progression from that offered in the past. We need to get our message over to all victims. We are not brilliant at highlighting our “services” and encouraging victims to report with confidence” [SOIT 011].

Limited resources

In addition, their limited resources detracted from the level of service provision delivered. A barrier to appropriate service provisions by police as identified by female rape victims is illustrated in the following example. In one case: *“...after some protest they called for an unmarked car to take me to the hospital” [FRS042].* In addition, the use of unmarked cars when visiting female rape survivors (for which they were grateful) was identified in several responses. This tactful approach is appreciated, thus, emphasising the importance of police discretion to rape survivors. SOIT officers also suggested that having the SARCs open on a 24 hour basis would also improve the standard of service delivery, as would the facilitation of area dedicated Sex Offences Teams (which would enrich accessible skills). *“Resources – officers, plain clothes cars. Havens being open all day/night (as opposed to being on-call). Would like to see area dedicated Sexual Offence Teams, instead of local teams (concentrating the skills-pool- don’t deal with anything else” [SOIT 008].*

Homophobic attitudes

A further barrier to the optimal level of service documented by a SOIT officer was the pervasive homophobic attitude, for example:

“...Most assume that hetero male victim can’t be [raped] + that it mostly happens to gay males + that it is really welcomed! I think attitudes are changing but if you have no experience of something, aren’t you a little restricted in your ability to deal?” [SOIT 014].

Thus, there were barriers to the provision of an optimal level of service that included resources, attitudes and also lack of public awareness of the service available from the police. It was even suggested that there could be “*3rd party reporting stations*” [SOIT 004] made available.

Communication between SOIT Officers and Rape Survivors

According to SOIT officers, survivors are provided with updates as and when required according to the needs of the victim or the progress of the case. This service provision varied widely according to the officer’s perception of the survivor’s need and the demands on the officer’s time. One SOIT officer stated that “*...victims need regular updates, not just welfare contact, as welfare contacts just remind them of what happened*” [SOIT 019].

A poor level of communication concerning the progress of their cases was reported by male survivors, whereas female survivors reported a varied response, as contact appeared to be maintained while SOIT officers were collating evidence but, the updates pertaining to the progress of their case were less frequent.

Inadequate provision of case progress information

This theme highlighted the difficulty victims experienced in obtaining information about their cases and the issue of not being kept informed about the progress of their case. This theme was very distinctive within the sample:

“Often had difficulty in chasing them up about issue like line-ups court dates charges etc.” [FRS025it].

“I was confused and was not informed of the court date” [FRS094it].

“Poor at keeping in contact, when the court case was over tried to seduce me” [FRS083it].

In the above case of [FRS083it], the inappropriate behaviour of the officer was also highlighted, as there was an attempt at seducing the female rape survivor once the case was closed.

When case updates were given to family members who were contacting the police on behalf of the victim, inappropriate information was provided that could have been dealt with in a more sensitive manner.

“...My dad being told intimate details about me when he phoned the police station to find out why it had not gone to court” [FRS028it].

The survivor was unsure as to whether the case would actually make it to court, as the police had not informed her as to the status of her case. However, she acknowledged that it was predominantly not the fault of the police but delays were incurred while waiting for the forensic results (see quote below).

“There was no negative attitude illustrated by the police, however, waiting for months & months & months for test results was like a slow long drawn out torture. It’s my understanding these cases take on average 2 years just to go to court (it’s now been 11 months since the offence & I still don’t know if it’s going to go to court?). It’s hard enough to recover psychologically as it is, without waiting each day for news from the police as to what happens next? It’s not their fault though. DNA testing was the major hold-up in my case, took 10 months to get the results back” [FRS034].

Lack of Confidence in the Judicial System and Sentencing

There was some disillusionment among SOIT officers with the judicial system in that they reported that many cases which were considered appropriate to progress to the trial stage failed to reach it. *“...Latterly, I was thinking of withdrawing because*

I felt that cases weren't getting to a jury when I felt they should & is it worth it for the victim?" [SOIT014].

Sentencing

Further criticisms of the courts include, *"The only problem is that courts still appear to sentence lightly"* [SOIT 007].

For [FRS009it] the reduction in actual sentence served was highlighted. Thus it is therefore not surprising that survivors do not wish to undergo the stressful and challenging process of bringing their assailant to court.

"Sentenced to 4 years but got out after 1 year". [FRS009it].

Change of court venue at short notice

The transfer of cases to courts different to those originally assigned may be debilitating for victims. *"...the judicial system totally lets victims down especially listing rape cases as floating cases and then changing court venues. This happens regularly and seriously unnerves victims and witnesses"* [SOIT 015].

Conviction rates

This lack of confidence in the courts is mirrored by female and male survivors' responses which highlights their awareness of low conviction rates. The issue of these conviction rates was emphasised again recently (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2006). Thus, low conviction rates may also influence the decision to report the case to the police. The fact that rape cases are so difficult to successfully prosecute is further emphasised by the low conviction rates in England and Wales frequently highlighted by the media. Thus, rape survivors are acutely aware of the reality in achieving justice - see [FRS102it] below.

"I had also read the appallingly low conviction rate for rapists, and didn't think I stood a chance" [FRS102it].

“There is only a 5% conviction rate for rape in the UK. More needs to be done to educate people about who the rapist is and how rape victims are treated by the system” [FRS083it].

“...They told me that whilst they could not prevent me from bringing this case to court, they felt that the chances of getting a successful prosecution were so slight that I was wasting their time (their exact words) ...” [MRS017it].

Training of judges and juries regarding rape cases

Judges and juries require training concerning the handling of rape cases particularly in relation to the *“vulnerability of the victim”* and their *“bravery”* also the *“defence protocols re. sexual history v. poor”* [SOIT 016].

Therefore, the way cases are managed within the judicial system and the strain of giving evidence all take their toll on the survivor.

Sexual history evidence

Female survivors also feared their sexual history being scrutinised.

“I’d also add that I have had several casual sexual encounters during my life so that even if the CPS did decide to prosecute, that would all be dredged up” [FRS026it].

Trial by the courts and the print media

Another reason for apprehension was the harrowing experience of proceeding through the courts and media attention (see below).

“I felt that had I known what I was going to be subjected to in court – facing my attackers, being questioned as [if] I was the person in the wrong, with my every move reported in the papers for everyone to read, then maybe I would not have reported it to the police because in some ways that ordeal was worse than the rape itself. There must be a better way to achieve justice” [FRS007it].

2.18.1.2 Reporting Practices of Male and Female Rape Survivors

The following data were collated using web-based questionnaires and provide an international perspective, which is dominated by responses from Australian and British female rape survivors with few responses from American female rape survivors. The majority of the male rape survivors' responses were from the UK.

Reasons for not Reporting to the Police

The importance of the response to the initial disclosure by victim

The reaction of the first person to whom survivors disclose their sexual victimisation had a pivotal impact on whether they reported to the police. For example, if the friend or member of the family was not supportive then survivors were discouraged from taking the further step of contacting the police. In the following quotes the survivors' parents discouraged them from reporting the incident.

"My parents. What I would be perceived as by other people. Having to face the people who did it to me again. Being forced to relive it whilst being interviewed. The likely outcome of them being charged" [FRS072it].

"I fell to pieces afterwards and didn't tell anyone for a day and a half and by that time it would have been my word against theirs and my parents encouraged me not to..." [FRS072it].

"The first person I told was my mother. She strongly suggested that I didn't report it because it wouldn't be good for me to go to court, not just that but in case people didn't believe me" [FRS099it].

Also, the victim's sister failed to believe her and held her accountable because of her sexual history. She also mentions the pervasiveness of rape myths regarding women 'asking for it'.

“...my own sister... told me that she thought I was over-reacting as I have had sex with several different partners. I think there is still a common perception that women ‘ask for it’, unless they are raped by force by a stranger” [FRS026].

The following quotation demonstrates how the affirmative reaction of friends on being told about the incident, can have a positive effect on reporting the crime to the police. *“My friends insisting knowing how few rapes are reported not wanting to be a total victim” [FRS090it].*

Disbelief

An issue that was consistently highlighted throughout the survivors’ data was the inhibiting factor of the perceived disbelief of the police about their cases, and consequently that the survivors’ complaint would not be taken seriously by the police. The concern that the complainant would not be taken seriously was particularly notable in cases where alcohol was involved, and in another case when the victim could not remember all of the details.

“I didn’t feel anyone would believe me as I was known to be a drinker” [FRS027it].

“I did not report the crime. I didn’t think I’d be believed, I couldn’t remember every detail clearly and I didn’t want to be treated like I’d done something wrong I knew my case was weak, I felt sick thinking about it and couldn’t handle months of worrying about a trial. The rapist was sober and working in a position of responsibility, I felt he’d be believed more readily, whatever, he said” [FRS053it].

Lack of choice

Another response from a survivor stated they did not report the rape to the police as the survivor appeared to be unaware that they had a choice in the matter, in that, they did not realise it was a crime.

“Because I didn’t know I had a choice” [FRS089it].

Some of the cases reported were historical as in this case where the incident happened over 30 years ago:

“I was subjected to every form of rape in the book by my fiancé. Given that it was New Year’s Eve, that I was wearing an engagement ring & the current ‘she must have asked for it’ climate, I did not see the point” [FRS105w].

Although, the police response to rape has significantly improved (MPA, 2002), it is considered that on a superficial level attitudes have changed. But, the responses documented throughout this section suggest that it is believed that the police still provide a judgemental response to rape cases.

Victim-offender relationship

A further inhibiting factor is the victim-offender relationship, in that, if the offender is known to the victim then victims may be less willing to report. It has also been illustrated that the pervasive impact of rape myths may negatively impact on the likelihood of reporting rape to the police (Frese, Moya, & Megías, 2004).

“The offender was somebody I knew and didn’t think anyone would believe me and didn’t want to lengthen the hurt I was feeling” [FRS008it].

“I didn’t report the crime as I was afraid of the man who attacked me, as he was known to me. I didn’t want to relive the experience, I wanted to forget. I also felt ashamed, and that I would not be believed” [FRS077it].

“... Did not report the sexual assaults which occurred when I was 18 as, even though these were among the most violent and frightening, they occurred within the context of a relationship and did not think I would be believed” [FRS038it].

From the quotations both above and below it can be seen that the closer the victim-offender relationship, the more complicated the issue of consent as perceived by the victims. Hence they do not feel they have strong enough case to report to the police.

“Felt it would not be difficult to talk to anyone about as it happened fairly frequently. the relationship was riddled with violence and I was mentally and emotionally very weak and felt worn down by him” [FRS020it]. (The rapist in this case was an ex-boyfriend).

“I did not report the crime as it was my first husband who raped me, he was physically and verbally abusive towards me. I also thought it would be hard to prove and didn’t have the self-esteem or confidence, I was afraid nobody would believe me and was ashamed to even tell my family...” [FRS023it].

Child abuse

Another issue which does not seem to be recognised by the available research relates to the prior experience of child abuse and its possible exacerbation of the rape survivor’s experience. For example, when the child tried to tell someone they were not believed. Thus, when they were raped in adulthood, they also expected not be

believed. Therefore, the victim's previous experience of a negative police response to their sexual victimisation as a child influenced the likelihood of the victim (in adulthood) reporting being raped to the police.

"I was confused what had happened and didn't know who to tell. I was scared that I wouldn't be believed like the last time but then I told my friend" [FRS085it].

Guilt, shame, and embarrassment

Other factors which prevented survivors from reporting their sexual victimisation to the police were feelings of guilt, shame, and embarrassment.

"Felt lonely and embarrassed I had let this happen to me and didn't want people to feel sorry for me or look down on me especially family and close friends" [FRS008it].

"fear, embarrassed, too hard ..." [FRS037it].

"Shame, guilt" [FRS099it].

"shame and embarrassment" [FRS0104it].

Therefore, the stigma associated with rape remains pervasive. Further examples of the experienced stigma are provided below where the survivor highlighted their concern about their family or local community finding out about this incident.

"I didn't want to disappoint my family I was ashamed and embarrassed. I guess I did feel like it was my fault and I was scared he would hurt me" [FRS097it].

"A mixture of shame, feeling that I wanted to keep it hidden from everyone and try to rebuild my life without more trauma, and feeling of certainty that it would not result in a conviction" [FRS102it].

"I did not report the crime or tell anyone about it, as I'm married, visual in my community and I don't want anyone to know" [FRS031it].

Self-blame

In one case the victim blamed herself for potentially precipitating the attack as she had initially flirted with the offender.

“I did not report this because I’m scared of what I will have to face and I never want to see the guy that did this to me again. I also think that I may have been the one who seemed liked I was asking for it and then I changed my mind, however, I was too coward to say a word to him. I think it was my fault. I was flirting with him first” [FRS050it].

Fear of reprisal

Another pervasive factor was fear of reprisal as many survivors were threatened with death or that members of their family may be targeted. Whether the death threat was realistic or not, the perceived reality for the survivor was sufficient to prevent them from reporting the crime.

“Because he threatened to kill me and my mother” [FRS004it].

In [FRS097it] there was another illustration of the fear of being blamed for the assault (even by her own family) and the effective use of this threat by the alleged assailant to silence the survivor.

“...[O]ne guy threatened me he would kill me and my family if I ever told the police. [T]he other made me honestly believe it was my fault and he also threatened to tell my family it was all my fault” [FRS097it].

The following quote from [FRS037it] stated a police officer was the alleged perpetrator. Therefore, the survivor was even less convinced that her claim would be accepted against the police officer in question. This victim was subject to secondary

victimisation as the offender in this case was also invoking the power of his occupation and standing in the local community.

“...[T]he offender was a police officer and had threatened my life and also threatened that he could make anything disappear and who would believe my word over that of a police officer” [FRS037it].

Reasons for Reporting to the Police

The following quotations illustrate issues that may have a positive influence on reporting practices.

Prevention of the sexual victimisation of others/moral responsibility

Survivors felt a moral responsibility to prevent another person being sexually victimised by the same offender.

“The biggest thing was fear the same person would do it to someone else, and I’d be left not only feeling my own guilt, shame and filth, but responsible for someone else’s...” [FRS042it].

“...I...I felt guilty for not initially making a report. I was worried that my inaction would result in him being able to rape other women...” [FRS092it]

The quotation below shows that the victim was empowering herself and taking action by reporting the rapes to police in order to prevent these offenders sexually victimising others.

“THE INCIDENT REFERRED TO...MADE ME NO LONGER WANT TO BE A VICTIM AND SO I REPORTED THE RAPES I HAD SUFFERED AS A CHILD. I REPORTED THE INCIDENT THAT HAPPENED TO ME WHEN I WAS 28 SO THAT THE ASSAILANT WOULD HAVE HIS CRIME ON FILE AND THIS MIGHT DETER HIM FROM RAPING SOMEONE ELSE” [FRS022it] (emphasis

provided by the victim and thus retained to demonstrate the emotion of this statement).

Justice

It was also identified that some survivors' motivation for reporting to the police was seeking justice.

"I wanted justice and although I knew I wouldn't get it by reporting it to the police, I wanted to work with the system..." [FRS039it].

"I didn't want it to happen again, I was angry and wanted justice" [FRS094it].

"I believed it was the right thing to do. I wanted the offender to be caught" [FRS107w].

In the following two quotes, not only did the survivors want justice for themselves but they also wanted to act in a morally responsible manner and thus prevent others from being victimised.

"I wanted justice and to make sure he didn't do it to anyone else" [FRS083it].

"I am 15 months post my traumatic experience, although at the beginning I was so scared of taking this further with the courts for fear he would get off, and he would come after me again, I have now after all this time regained m[y] strength and control and I will see justice done. I will make him accountable for what he has done to my life. I want to be able to publicly shame him through the court system so as people are aware what he is capable of. He also raped an 18 year old girl some time back through she was intoxicated at the time, though very much aware of what he had done, and because of this intoxication and not being able to remember exact details, he was left off on a good

behaviour bond, I will fight to get justice done for both the 18 year old girl and myself” [FRS071it].

Closure

Survivors’ responses also highlighted their quest for closure to facilitate their progress in the recovery process.

“...I eventually did approach the police hoping that by making a report I could find some closure to the whole ordeal” [FRS092it].

The experience of [FRS042] documented that by reporting to the police, she thought she would experience a cathartic effect. However, this was not the resultant outcome, as the police response was not as expected.

“...lots first instinct was to run and hide – but after a while I thought it would be best to get it out – at least in the appropriate channels, very few people in my personal life knew, but I thought it was something the police could deal with a whole lot better than I could... apparently I was wrong” [FRS042it].

The quotation provided below suggested that although the survivor wants closure, she is not sure whether reporting the crime will achieve this or exacerbate her experience.

“I am seriously considering reporting it, I think it’s due to anger and needing closure I see no other option, I am still very confused. I sometimes wish I’d reported it right away, then I would have physical evidence. Though I don’t think it will do any good to tell the police as I see the only point in telling the police is to punish him and I don’t know if I’d feel better or just guilty if he was punished. I just want closure....” [FRS075it].

Retribution

One survivor wanted retribution and the offender to suffer for the crime committed.

“Bring back the death penalty” [FRS107w].

Third party reporting practices

In the quotation below, the victim did not feel coerced into bringing charges against her assailant, and she actively made the decision to proceed.

“My parents phoned the rape crisis centre in my state and they informed my parents to take me directly to our local police station. I was not forced I was given a choice and I decided to go forth with their recommendations” [FRS061].

However, there were also situations where the decision was completely taken-out of the survivor’s hands. For example, a friend or family member reported the incident without involving the survivor in the decision making process, consequently disempowering the survivor and removing control of the situation out of their grasp.

“Bursting out with emotions to a friend whom confirmed through the facts [and] the whole attack that I had definitely been raped. My friend had made the phone call to the police straight after hearing / listening to what and why I was this way” [FRS074it].

“Did not report myself. Told my stepfather who decided to report” [FRS106w].

In addition, reference was made to mandatory reporting by hospital staff without informing the survivor that they had reported the rape to the police. The following quotations illustrate these instances.

“I didn’t report it the hospital did and the police took it from there.” [FRS083it].

Other influential factors that affected reporting practices included the context in which the crime occurred, for example, if the survivor had been asleep.

“At the time I don’t think I even considered reporting it-my friend _____ [and] her mother (who I’d phoned) came over and rang the police for me. HOWEVER, I must confess, that if I had any doubts as to whether an offence had actually occurred (i.e. if I hadn’t become conscious only seconds before the assault took place, if it had been 5 mins earlier I would not recall it all) , then although I’d have suspected a crime had taken place, if it had been 5 mins earlier I would not recall it at all), then although I’d have SUSPECTED a crime had taken place, the tiniest bit of doubt would have prevented me from ‘dragging the police into it’” [FRS034it].

Police discouragement of pursuing the case

The next theme identified was where the police discouraged the victim from pursuing the case further on initial reporting. The merits of this course of action can be recognised due to preventing the victim from undergoing the harrowing ordeal of the trial process if their case was already considered weak. The following quotations show to differing degrees the willingness of the police to pursue the respective cases. This response [FRS090it] suggested that they had the survivors’ best interests in mind.

“There were only men [male officers] They kept insisting that there was nothing they could do and if I did continue it would only be a painful process” [FRS090it].

[FRS092it] highlighted a more cynical police response that threatened the survivor with imprisonment for making a possible false allegation see below. There was also the implication by police that the survivor was wasting their time, furthermore, she was advised to discontinue her case out of concern for her welfare.

“I was firstly told that if my complaint was disproved, I the victim could be sent to jail for a very long time. This was reiterated several times, this made me feel that they did not believe me. I was also constantly, throughout the process encouraged to drop my complaint. Furthermore, they made it clear that everyone in my small town would find out about the rape and that this could prove difficult for me. I was advised again on this point it would be best not to continue” [FRS092it].

Police discouragement in relation to the continuance of one male survivor’s case resulted in the following response, in that, he:

“withdrew from society completely, became reclusive, hermit-like. shame led to isolation, self blame led to anger, anger led to depression, depression led to me attempting to take my life, multiple suicide attempts...” [MRS010it]

In this case [FRS015it] friends of the victim reported rape to police but no further action was taken. This may be the result of the advice given by the police which may have discouraged the survivor from pressing charges.

“The police while sympathetic, advised my friends that a court case would be horrific for me and may not be successful. The system would have involved me telling the courtroom that I was sexually active at the time, and that I went willingly with the young man” [FRS015it].

Bad practice

The following case provides an example of bad practice, which immediately puts the survivor ill at ease and may have resulted in the poor provision of evidence. The quotation below also highlights the possible further disempowerment of the victim when control of the situation is taken out of her (in this case) hands.

On the day of reporting, the police stated they would collect the victim from work against her wishes (as she stated no one at work knew what had happened, and she could not just walk out with two detectives). [FRS001] was subsequently informed by the DC: *“I will be there at mid-day, you have two hours to tell someone’ and then hung up”*. She was asked numerous questions which she was not ready to answer and did not feel valued as a person but just as part of the *“...evidence, of no intrinsic value at the moment beyond my body’s ability to tell an evidentiary story that will lead to the arrest of the person who did this to me”*. She pressed charges but felt coerced into this decision – *“...staying quiet was no longer available to me anymore”* [FRS001].

When the perpetrator of rape is a police officer

The following Australian police force response was an example of bad practice as the survivor was discouraged from reporting because the alleged assailant was a senior police officer. The experience was recounted by a survivor as:

“When I went to report it I was told by the officer he could not take a statement or press charges because it was a police officer in higher power and he would los[e] his job. But he did help me to get safe and to a hospital” [FRS100it].

Time elapsed during the decision-making process regarding whether to report

There are several elements that contribute to any delays, some which are similar to those already recounted, for example, perceived strength of evidence regarding the case, the physical, and psychological state of the survivor, the victim’s own disbelief, and other related feelings about the incident. In addition, the victim doubts whether reporting the incident was the right decision to make.

Therefore, for victims to report the rape and be informed that it is too late can be disillusioning and instil further doubt about the credibility of the case (see [FRS009it] below).

“Mostly because I was scared. 3 years later I talked to a domestic liaison policewoman who basically said it was too late and that the lawyers would have too much of an easy time defending the rapist, so I didn’t proceed any further” [FRS009it].

Survivors stated that time was required in order to assess their options and decided on which course of action to take.

“I needed to go home and compose myself and decide what to do. The decision to report was taken by my aunt who lived close by to my grandmother who I was living with at the time” [FRS007it].

“I needed to make sure I was comfortable with reporting” [FRS025it].

“...needed to be sure of my decision...” [FRS039it].

Waiting for the offender to leave the vicinity

In [FRS074it], the survivor waited for the assailant to remove himself from her house before she could report the rape to the police.

“Was waiting for my attacker to leave my house he had been in my house for five and a half hours after the incident before leaving” [FRS074it].

Self-doubt regarding their perception of incident

The following survivors’ quotations, illustrate uncertainty about whether they have been raped. Survivors were also embarrassed, or felt that they are making an issue where there was none, as described by [FRS094it].

“I had to get home from the place where the incident occurred, and I wanted to tell my mum and dad what had happened, because I was unsure if I had dreamt it, even though I could feel my vaginal area had been penetrated” [FRS061].

“I was embarrassed afraid and thought I was overreacting” [FRS094it].

“It took that long for my partner to convince me it was the right thing to do” [FRS038it].

“I was so ashamed. I spent every day questioning if it had really happened and partaking in self-blame. I was afraid the police would say it was all my fault and not take my complaint seriously” [FRS092it].

This survivor’s account below of a rape incident that began as consensual sex, therefore the survivor felt she did not have a strong enough case to report to the police. *“I did not report the crime because it started as consensual sex. I felt as though it was my fault for leading him on and brought it on myself” [FRS043it].* The above quotation also emphasised the guilt and blame that survivors experienced in relation to their perceived role as an ‘accessory’ to the crime perpetrated against them.

ASD and PTSD

Symptoms suggestive of ASD are illustrated to varying degrees in the quotations below. The predominating emotions in the following quotations highlight the shock, fear, dissociation from the incident, depression, and suicidal ideation experienced in the immediate aftermath of the incident. The actual physical and psychological state of rape victims immediately after the attack requires consideration as they may be suffering from ASD (Bryant et al., 1998). The resultant psychological symptoms may result in their not being able to consider the ramifications of what has happened to them for several days or longer. Acute psychological sequelae should

dissipate within 12 weeks, however, in the case of chronic PTSD symptoms many persist for years in some cases (see Welch & Mason, 2007) thus reporting the crime may not be their first priority.

“SHOCK, FEAR AND CONFUSION!” [FRS047it].

“Shock and fear” [FRS0107w].

“[D]issociation and fright. not being able to believe i let it happen again” [FRS081it]

“I immediately went into a depression and attempted suicide. I was sedated and sent home. My family persuaded me to report it” [FRS028it].

From the above quotations psychological sequelae associated with ASD are highlighted.

2.18.1.3 Positive Reporting Practices of Male and Female Survivors

Similarities

The themes identified here concerning survivors’ motivations to report the crime to police included: (i) the survivors’ sense of moral obligation whereby they did not want this to happen to someone else; (ii) they wanted justice; and (iii) the encouragement of family and friends.

Differences

Male survivors expressed a strong wish for retribution. In addition, males were unsure of where to go for help and thus felt that by reporting they would be referred to the appropriate agencies. Furthermore, it was noted that some males in the first instance solely reported the physical assault and only several years later reported the sexual aspect of the assault (this approach was unique to male survivors). Finally, males reported the offence in order to receive recognition that the rape was against the law.

2.18.1.4 Negative Reporting Practices of Male and Female Survivors

Similarities

The thematic analysis of the responses of male and female survivors in various countries regarding their motives *for not reporting* identified similar themes, in that (i) they did not feel that they would be believed; (ii) they felt that their evidence was not strong enough; (iii) they blamed themselves, felt ashamed, and humiliated; (iv) stigma; (v) because the perpetrator was known to them they felt that this familiarity would negatively affect the police perception of their case; (vi) their previous negative experience of police responses tainted their view and thus felt the response would be negative again; (vii) they feared reprisal from the perpetrator; and (viii) they were afraid of the incident being made public.

Differences

Female survivors reported feeling embarrassed about the incident whereas males did not report this. Male survivors had other concerns such as (a) '*not being out*' (see [MRS030it] below) which inhibited them from reporting and (b) when the incident occurred within a relationship context where the perpetrator was older than the survivor there was a perceived power differential regarding whom would be believed. Male survivors also stated their lack of faith in the ability of the police to do anything.

"Age, not out (sexuality), it was my partner at the time, self belief, scared, disbelief it happened, felt it was my fault" [MRS030it].

2.18.1.5 Summary

The preceding text illustrated that a complex process seems to be involved in survivors' decision-making about whether to report the incident to the police or not. Positive factors instigating survivors' reporting of the crime to the police included being believed, the prevention of future crimes, seeking justice, and getting closure.

A number of factors influenced the course of action that was taken. These ranged from the perception of the strength of the case, the relationship with the offender, the likelihood of being believed, and their confidence in the police. In addition, the reaction of the first person they confide in may influence their decision to report the incident to the police. The initial response of the police is therefore important in relation to how survivors subsequently perceive the response received regarding the handling of their rape case (Jordan, 2004; Temkin, 1999) because of its possible influence on reporting future crimes.

2.18.1.6 The Police Response Provided to Male and Female Rape Survivors

This section outlines (i) the response of the police to the survivor on reporting the rape; (ii) examines the survivors' perceptions of the positive or negative treatment of their cases; (iii) police provisions are considered; (iv) the purpose of communications between the police and the survivor will be explored; (v) the outcome of the cases are examined concerning those that reached the courts and, where information is available, regarding the offenders' conviction and sentence; (vi) recommendations suggested by survivors are discussed.

Negative Police Responses to Male Rape Survivors

Male survivors reported (i) being shouted at; (ii) assumptions being made about their sexual orientation; and (iii) assertions made about their occupation (for example, did they work as a '*rent boy*'). It was also assumed by police that the

survivor would want a female liaison officer (the implication that they would be more ‘caring’ and ‘sensitive’ to the victim).

“(YES)! INAPPROPRIATE REMARKS AND ASSUMPTIONS. CRASS AND INSENSITIVE. I WAS ASSIGNED A FEMALE LIAISON OFFICER (CID) BECAUSE IT WAS IMPLIED THEY WERE MORE SENSITIVE AND APPROPRIATE . . . THIS WAS NOT THE CASE – GIVEN A CHOICE I WOULD CHOOSE WOMEN (NOT ALL WOMEN ARE THE SAME)!” [MRS028w] (emphasis provided by the male survivor).

In the above case, it was stated by a male survivor that the female officer had made crass remarks and was dismissive of the survivor’s complaint. Furthermore, another survivor was informed by a specialist trained female officer *“That as a man I was by nature more guilty of this crime, and could not be a victim of it”* [MRS017it].

It was also reported that males were not provided with any information regarding further support (which could have been due to officers not being aware of the relevant resources for male survivors). The lack of information provided by police is a key concern as it was stated by a male rape survivor, that one of the motivations for reporting the case of male rape to the police was in order to gain access to the appropriate services.

Also, a number of avoidable mistakes were made by police officers regarding investigations that reduced the opportunity for a positive outcome.

“There were so many mistakes made during the investigation – the operation to sit outside where the rape happened got cancelled 5 times due to various reasons by the police. The venue then closed so it was no longer possible to try and ID the person. Victims should not be in the main CID office looking through CCTV” [MRS018it].

One male survivor suggested “...*Nothing at all would have been an improvement on the ignorant judgemental attitudes I was subjected to by the police*” [MRS017].

Positive Police Responses to Male Rape Survivors

There were some positive comments made about the service rape survivors received. Male survivors highlighted the validation experienced when the police believed their description of events. A friendly, caring and sensitive approach of the investigating officer was appreciated (the quotations below provide examples of good practice).

A quotation from one male survivor stated that “*My SOIT was very understanding and kept in constant contact*” [MRS018it].

“*The officer was very kind and allowed me to take my time. He explained all along what the process was about. He gave me time to come back if I needed more time*” [MRS021it].

However, it was also commented that when officers attempted to balance their investigative role with their victim liaison role the result was a hollow form of empathy, although, survivors were appreciative of their efforts.

Negative Treatment of Female Rape Survivors by Police

Initial police response

The first officer the female survivor spoke to was very “*calm*” and she was “*treated fine*”. However, the second officer that the survivor spoke to “...*some days later, to tell them I had decided not to press charges, told me I had made the right decision and to just put it down to experience. I was raped, I couldn’t believe she had said that*” [FRS006it].

The above quotation supports research that states female police officers may not necessarily provide an empathetic response to the rape victim because of their gender (see Jordan, 2002).

Lack of flexibility

In the quotation below some flexibility may have improved the survivor's experience of reporting the rape to the police. For example, (i) if her friend had been permitted to accompany her; and (ii) if she was kept informed about the rape investigation processes that she needed to proceed through.

"I was in a daze and not able to stand up for my rights. asked for my friend but they said it would be better if she didn't come...better for who? left me alone in dirty clothes for 6 hrs before being seen by doctor...who was male , they asked if I wanted to wait for a female but would be easier to be seen by a bloke...easier for who? treated too lightly" [FRS009it].

Lengthy interviewing periods

The victim stated she was questioned for ten days and suggested her telephone was tapped. It was also suggested that coercion was exercised in order to force her to sign a statement which was incorrect (as described below).

"Yes questioned for 10 days. My phone was tapped. When a friend asked me to (heard clicks) describe what happened, the phone was cut off...Made to sign statement i.e. a page, which was wrong. Kept on that day 9am- till 8pm. I signed to get home. They wrote that offender ran off in the opposite direction than he did" [FRS108w].

Case not being taken seriously by the police

The negative perception concerning the police service received was affected by cases not being taken seriously initially, because survivors felt that they were blamed for their behaviour (preceding the rape) or for their association with a particular peer group (see [FRS007it]).

“...I knew the offenders and some of my circle of friends had been in trouble with the police, I had ‘asked for it’. Because I had been naive and gone with them in the basis that their girlfriends’ (my friends) were going to their ‘party’ in another car, it had been my own fault”
[FRS007it].

“he often didn’t take me seriously or validate me he gave my case the lowest priority he didn’t give me feedback he questioned my statement” [FRS039it].

“They did not believe me, neither did my partner or his friends or my family, I had my 3 year old daughter, with me at the time in my home. I felt as if I had done something wrong!!!” [FRS047it].

A consistent theme throughout the above responses was the fact that the survivors felt the police failed to take their case seriously from the outset.

Drug rape

In the quotation below the survivor suggests that drug rape cases should be treated more seriously and investigated more thoroughly. However, due to possible gaps in the survivors’ memory of the incident, and depending on the time scale, the loss of evidence of the possible drug used may make prosecution of the case difficult.

“I understand that drug rape would be hard to obtain a conviction as the victim does not recall much if any evidence. But just because the memory doesn’t exist does not mean the crime didn’t happen. I was disappointed that as one attack happened in the borough of...and one in...police were only interested in hearing about the...incident. The reason I pieced things together is due to the fact that for such an uncommon incident of total memory loss for hours followed by waking up confused in an extremely compromising position on the only 2 times I met...from the...who made me drinks both times. To look at either incident in isolation does not allow proper investigation” [FRS109it].

The following quotation suggests that the police implied that the victim may just have consumed excessive amounts of alcohol, and that was why she could not remember the details of what happened. Thus, her over-consumption of alcohol was responsible for her ‘black-out’, not that her drink was spiked. In this quotation the victim emphasised the underlying cynicism in the response received and she suggests that the officer could have been more understanding.

“ ...at E... suggested that the 6 drinks I consumed was enough for me to blank out for hours, even though I remember everything clearly and know that I wasn’t that drunk up to a point, and then have a completed memory blank until I woke up naked outside the guy’s apartment complex sitting in a flower pot. I know how much I can drink and six drinks is in nowhere near enough to end up in that state. The police officer should have been more understanding and if she didn’t believe me should have found out why I was so certain about the situation. Also, I was drugged I do not remember anything, apparently there is

no crime to report. The fact that the guy drugged me so he could do as he pleased without me remembering any of it doesn't seem to be important" [FRS109it].

Accused of not leaving when the opportunity arose

In another case, a survivor who was captive in her own home for approximately five hours after the rape took place was asked by police why she did not extricate herself from the situation sooner when she had the chance.

"Asking why I did not escape when had the chance!"[FRS074it].

Inappropriate police responses

Another theme which was evident from the information received was the variety of inappropriate police responses to survivors' reports of rape, which further compounded the already traumatic experience and fragile state of the victim at the time of reporting. The following quotation illustrated the delicate psychological state of the victim prior to the incident and her treatment by the police on reporting the rape.

"Their attitude wasn't so rude or mean – but it was certainly more than I could bear at the time – after enduring the hell of the interview, they decided there was not enough evidence and I'd be slaughtered in trial, which is fair enough – I'd rather be told that before enduring more and more hell...what upset me the most with the police treatment – was the fact that I was totally honest with them – and told them of the massive headmed cocktail I was on, (most prescribed after it)...and – given my anxiety throughout the interview I shook like a leaf -...they rang someone, and made me talk to them...something of lithium toxicity...nothing ever came of that...after reading part of my journal

*they decided it was best to take me for a psychiatric/suicide risk evaluation...they were going to do this by putting me in a paddy wagon to take me to the hospital...ok so now I'm pissed that angered my friend too...it was a massive insult – fair enough they have to cover their arses and if they think I'm a risk they have to do their bit in referring me on – but the way they tried to do it was so degrading....after some protest they called for an unmarked car to take me to the hospital for evaluation...as the pages were they'd read from my journal were months old – I was at that point no risk to myself or anyone else and was released soon after...but it was just as harrowing as the interview – it felt like they were telling me 'f*ck off you're crazy no one believes you'...." [FRS042it].*

The quotation below also stated that an inappropriate remark was made, which the survivor could not bring themselves to repeat. This remark further traumatised the victim (who was already in a fragile state) and failed to increase her confidence in the police provision of a sensitive response to her situation.

"Yes. At the police station I was led into a room by a detective, in the room there were male and female PCs , One male PC made an awful remark" [FRS107w].

Humour

The attempt at humour illustrated in [FRS106w] was inappropriate despite the possible intention of relieving the stress and tension of the situation. Instead, this attempt at humour increased the survivor's doubts about her case being taken seriously by the police. The use of humour may also have been employed by the female officer to hide her feelings of awkwardness and, apprehension at the realisation of her possible vulnerability to rape victimisation.

“...Lady officer tried to be jokey to help me feel better, but it didn’t work (saying to a colleague on the phone “I know where you can get a big, strapping, bloke if you need one”, winking at me whilst talking about my attacker. Not appreciated!)” [FRS106w].

It was also noted that the officer tried to relieve the tension of the situation and put the survivor at ease by dealing with the case in a light-hearted manner. Although the introduction of humour into the interaction may have been done with the best of intentions, the survivor considered it entirely inappropriate and stated that it further increased the discomfort of the situation (see [FRS009it]’s quotation below).

“Didn’t feel I was taken seriously, but think the tone was established just to make me feel better...too jokey, made me feel bad for thinking it was worse than they did” [FRS009it].

Victim’s sexual orientation

A further issue was raised with regard to the victim’s sexual orientation. One survivor who identified herself as a lesbian considered her sexual orientation may have had a negative impact on the case if she reported it. The following quotation illustrated her concerns:

“In some instances sexuality was an issue and I wasn’t sure what judgments would be passed on this At other times when I had reported there was no action...” [FRS025it].

Positive Treatment of Female Rape Survivors by Police

When asked if there were any positive aspects of her experience of the police response to her rape case, the survivor [FRS042it] stated:

“I don’t think there was any...in all seriousness – [FRS042it].

The following themes suggested that police officers were making concerted efforts to improve the level of service provided to rape survivors.

The behavioural police response (understanding and non-judgmental)

Female survivors were asked about whether they felt that the treatment of their case received a positive response by the police. It was noted that the tone taken by police officers was important regarding the perception of the survivors regarding the handling of their cases. In addition, the officer being sensitive, understanding, caring, patient, understanding and empathic was highlighted (see [FRS034it]'s quotation below). This description of the police as being caring and empathic supports related by Maddock and Scott (as cited in Brown & King, 1998). Furthermore, a non-judgemental manner was considered pivotal in providing reassurance that the incident was not the survivor's fault, refer to the quotation from [FRS034it] below.

“Firstly, I was very lucky in that the Detective handling the case was quite sensitive, understanding and empathetic. It was difficult being interviewed by males, however, they made it quite clear from the start that I was the victim & that there was no excuse for what had happened [and] I did not feel they were judging me in any way”
[FRS034].

In [FRS061it] the supportive and reassuring police response was also highlighted.

“I was constantly reassured that it was not my fault. They keep me informed over the several hours of being at the police station what was happening and when they would charge the perpetrator. I felt some pressure however to make the phone call to the perpetrator which I didn't want to do but they assured me it would assist my case if it went to court” [FRS061].

An empathetic response

Reasons which were given for non-reporting were being blamed, or judged concerning their conduct was crucial to victims' decision not to report the rape to the police. The quotations provided below illustrate the influence a more empathetic police response can have on the perception of the police response received.

"All officers involved were sensitive to myself, respectful and caring" [FRS071it].

"Patience, kindness, respect"[FRS107w].

"Quite caring and considerate as far as the police go. (very matter of fact, no real empathy). They seemed to be doing their best" [FRS106w].

Listening

Listening was referred to as being a pivotal part of the process. The importance of police listening carefully to the victim's statement prevents the officer from repeating questions due to his/her inattention as opposed to the repetition of questions for the purposes of clarification (see the quotations below).

"[H]e listened" [FRS039it].

"They listened and were patient and understanding at I...When I called E... (as this is the area where the second incident happened) the officer I spoke with was not as understanding" [FRS109it].

Victim rights

Only, one female respondent explicitly mentioned that her rights were explained to her, and that her partner was permitted to accompany her into the interview room. Allowing a friend, partner, or family member to accompany the victim into the police interview could be a considerable source of moral support for them during this period.

“Explained my rights to me. Let my partner accompany me in the interview room. Did not push me to press charges” [FRS038it].

Being believed

The next theme identified as being important to survivors’ conceptualisations of the police service received was ‘*being believed*’. This issue was raised above in relation to reporting practices and how this influences the decision-making process. Survivors being believed about their version of events influenced their perception of whether they had been treated positively by the police. If survivors feel that they are not believed, or not being taken seriously these factors may further undermine their confidence in the police.

“Always believed me – I had many injuries both times” [FRS083it].

“The police officer told me she believed me” [FRS092].

Privacy

The following brief comment emphasises the importance of the provision of privacy.

“[P]rivacy” [FRS081it].

“Police woman and male detectives on separate occasions, I was interviewed with no privacy and had to ask for it, because of the intimate Q’s being asked...” [FRS047it].

The above quotation again highlights the importance of privacy when being questioned. Survivors should not have to ask for privacy when discussing intimate details of the case, in that, care should be taken to respect their dignity within the limitations of the situation.

Comfort breaks

As can be seen from the quotation below, even the most minor concessions can have a positive impact on the victim's experience of the police response to their situation. The provision of breaks, and flexibility concerning the survivor's behaviour during questioning is also important as highlighted below.

"They let me have breaks when I wanted and they let me sit in the corner on the floor where I felt safe" [FRS085it].

Officer dedication to case

The dedication of some officers is demonstrated by the following quotation, whereby even when transferred this police officer maintained her role in relation to this particular case. The consistency of victim care was appreciated by the survivor as she then did not have to go through the police protocols again with new officers.

"...even with her movements the officer took my case with her so I didn't have to revisit stuff with new officers" [FRS025it].

Lack of negativity in the police response

The survivor quoted below had no complaints regarding the police service received. In addition, there are examples of best practice regarding the police service response described in the latter part of this section.

"There was no negativity at all" [FRS071].

The Purpose of Police Communications with Female Rape Survivors

This section considers what the survivor understood as being the purpose of police contact, for example, the provision of updates on the progress of the case, or lack of it.

Additional information

Requests for further information were also made see below:

“[T]o go through photofits, establish details, updates” [FRS009it].

Progress updates

The responses below illustrated that the main purpose of communications was to provide updates, and to a lesser extent obtain additional details.

“To provide updates on progress and also to advise that the case had progressed significantly enough that I could not withdraw, even though I wanted [to] as I was continually intimidated by friends of the offenders” [FRS007it].

“general updates...” [FRS025it].

“Make amendments to my statement, provide progress of what was to happen next. The police officer also came to my house in an unmarked car to consult with my parents and brothers about the process involved” [FRS061it].

“[P]rogress of the case and waiting for me to agree to prosecution” [FRS081it]

“Progress reports, to request witness contact details and to confirm whether I wanted to continue with the complaint” [FRS092it].

Decline in regular contact as time progressed

The response provided by [FRS034] (see below) highlighted that after a month, contact between the police and the female survivor began to decline and that remaining communications were in answer to her queries. This would probably be usual after the initial stages of the case where details are being confirmed and additional information required etc. due to the slow nature of the judicial process.

“Most were initially to advise what was going on. (Obtain [s]tatement, advi[c]e progress of taxi records, video footage, phone records, identifying the offenders, subsequent interviews with the offenders, their rights – not to give a statement, results of drug tests). After the first month or so, it was always in response to my queries about the progress of the case (mainly the results of the DNA tests). Most contact was via e-mail, though did speak on phone [and] in interview a few times” [FRS034it].

The importance of maintaining contact in these situations is recognised by [SOIT 019] *“...victims need regular updates, not just welfare contact, as welfare contacts just remind them of what happened” [SOIT 019].*

In the [FRS109it] case it was stated that the police did not contact her when they were supposed to: *‘I was supposed to get a call from...police w[h]ere the second incident occurred but they didn’t call me so I called them!’ [FRS109it].*

The lack of updates regarding the progress of victims’ cases was found to be very frustrating by survivors.

The quotation below highlights the maintenance of contact between the police and the rape survivor initially, and then its decline, although it sounds unusual here that a promise would be made that contact would be provided annually.

“...02/12/01 they contacted me the following July (2002). Said police victim support would contact me every year – they did in July 2003 but have not told me anything since...He will be released in 2006.” [FRS108w].

No further action

The response [FRS042it] stated below, there were times when the survivor is told there will be no further action taken on their case due to the time lapse in-between the occurrence and the reporting of the incident.

“There was to be no case. Given the time it took me to report it...” [FRS042it].

There was also serious miscommunication between the police and the complainant as documented below.

“... [told] me I didn’t need to go to court even though I had to” [FRS094].

The next section focuses on the positive aspects of the police response. Best practice is highlighted by survivors regarding the behavioural police response and the importance of being believed. The following issues were identified by SOIT officers as impacting on the level of service provision, for example, the time when the incident was reported, and specialist resources (SOIT officers) are available. This section focuses on police provisions (e.g. subsistence, clothes, travel), purpose of communications, officer type (SOIT or other), police crime type usually investigated, and choice of officer.

Those participants who responded to the advertisements in the *Big Issue* magazine and requested postal questionnaires were from within the UK. Thus, these postal respondents were asked for additional details regarding the role of the SOIT, as to whether they were present at the forensic medical examination, pre-trial court visits and Crown court witness services. Unfortunately, despite extensive advertising only four postal questionnaires were completed and returned by respondents in England. These were cases [FRS106w, FRS107w, FRS108w and FRS109w].

Police provisions

Food

Respondents were also asked whether they received any provisions from the police, such as subsistence, a change of clothes, taxi fare, etc., in order to ease some of the potential discomforts. These were documented by SOIT officers as to some of the provisions provided. As can be seen below, food was provided.

“[F]ood, have a friend” [FRS025it].

“Vending machine tea, canteen sandwich. Sat in police canteen to eat” [FRS106w].

“Food” [FRS107w].

“...One day 9am-8pm – I did not have food, because I was a vegetarian and local shop only had ham, no biscuits or bread given either” [FRS108w].

Clothing

This survivor was provided with a change of clothes.

“Took me in their plain police car. Jogging trousers...” [FRS108w].

According to the [FRS106w] quote below, additional stress might have been avoided if the survivor had been advised prior to leaving her house that she would need a change of clothes.

“No shower. Yes, clean clothes. Wasn’t told to take clean clothes to rape suite so stepfather had to go back home to collect some because (as far as I can remember), [c]lothes were taken for evidence” [FRS106w].

Lack of provisions

In the cases documented below there were no police provisions given to survivors.

“None, had a can of coke” [FRS034it]

“None-I had already changed my clothes prior to reporting the incident” [FRS007it].

Police transport made available to victims

The quotations from [FRS061it] and [FRS022it] mention that the police drove them to the medical centre and home.

“Drove me to the medical centre, stayed with me,..” [FRS061it].

“DROPPED ME HOME” [FRS022it].

Delays experienced when waiting for forensic examination

In [FRS009it] she noted that she was left alone for six hours while waiting to be forensically examined by a doctor.

“nothing just took me to the station with clothes, and left me alone for 6 hours before they managed to get a doctor, my friend wasn’t allowed into the station when she came to look after me” [FRS009it].

The protracted delays while waiting on forensic medical examiners were also highlighted by SOIT officers themselves. In some respects these delays have been remedied by the establishment of Sexual Assault Referral Centres (SARCs).

Training of police officers

The following section discusses (i) factors that may influence training and (ii) focus on the presence of a policy-led response that considers parallel questions to those asked of SOIT officers of the London Metropolitan Police.

An important point is made about the training of officers by [FRS034it] (see below). In one female survivor’s opinion it was stated that it is the personality, irrespective of the gender, of the police officer which is the pivotal factor in delivering a sensitive service response.

“...In my view, it is more the personality of the police officer handling the case that matters than the gender/training of the officer. People are either naturally understanding [and] non-judgemental or they’re not

(regardless of gender), and I think I was lucky that the Detective I ended up with had the 'right personality for the job'” [FRS034].

Some police forces are too helpful which becomes claustrophobic for the victim and is felt to be further disempowering. A police response that was felt to be ‘ageist’ in one case was: *“Kid gloves over an iron fist. Over solicitous – Insisted on taking me everywhere by car. Shadowed me”* [FRS108w].

Thus, training should balance investigative requirements with the consideration of the victims’ needs, as ultimately without the survivor/witness they would not have a case.

Choice of officer gender

In order to provide parallels with the questions asked of the SOIT officers, survivors were also asked whether they were offered a choice of the gender of the officer assigned to their case. There was largely a negative response to this question.

In the quotation below, the survivor was not offered a choice of the gender of the officer, but asked for a female police officer and was assigned one.

“No but I asked for a female and got one” [FRS028it].

In the case of [FRS034it] the survivor was offered this gendered choice of police officer by the hospital counsellor.

“Yes, by the Counsellor at _____ Hospital” [FRS034it].

In the following quotations, the choice of officer was not provided but in all of these cases female officers were automatically assigned and the female survivors were satisfied with this.

“No. I was told by the male police officer who first took my phone call (and handled it very well) that I would see a woman” [FRS038it].

“No, but they were both females which was good” [FRS085it].

Only in the quotation below from [FRS042it] was it highlighted that the female survivor would not have wanted a male officer handling her case.

“No - but had no problems with that...I would have if they tried to lock me in a room with a man though...” [FRS042it].

Police policies noted in the main that the victim should be offered a choice of SOIT officers according to gender. However, many SOIT officers were not aware that there also should be a choice regarding sexual orientation (i.e. according to policy documentation). Those that were aware that this choice of SOIT officer should be facilitated were dubious as to the feasibility of this provision.

2.18.1.7 Officer Type Assigned

Figure 1 illustrates the type of police officer assigned to rape cases. This differentiation between officers was introduced due to the inclusion of the web-based studies so specialist officers could be identified. The types of officer who dealt with the rape cases in the current study were uniform officers (these are junior officers in terms of responsibility). The reason for two separate categories in Figure 1 is that the survivor stated *“detective”* which could have meant a detective inspector or detective constable whereas others stated specifically *“detective constable”*.

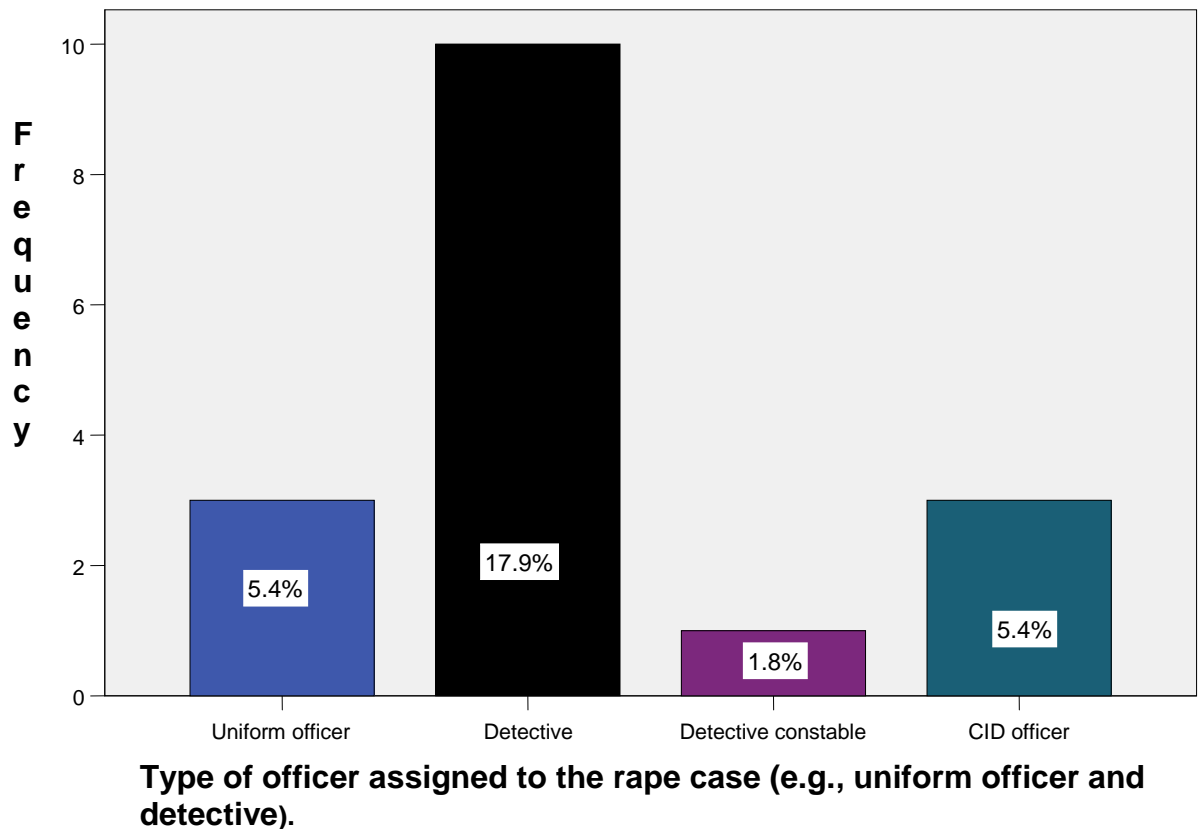


Figure 1.

In Figure 1, it is clearly shown that in the majority of female rape cases a detective was assigned. These figures are based on information received from the survivors (nonetheless, the possible stress experienced at the time may have resulted in inherent inaccuracies).

Clarification regarding the type of officer who handled their case was required in order to identify those who may be specialist officers (dedicated to investigating sex crimes). The exact terminology referring to these officers may potentially vary from country to country. Even within England and Wales there are variations, for example there are SOIT officers, RTOs (Rape Trained Officers), and SOLOs (Sexual Offence Liaison Officers) (see [FRS106w], [FRS108w], [FRS109it]). As stated

above, since 2007 these titles have predominantly been replaced by the standard title of Specially Trained Officer (STO).

“Don’t know, can’t remember think it was RTO” [FRS106w].

“Specialised officer. She had been on this sort of case for at least five years”[FRS108w].

“I think they were only for the Sapphire unit, but not sure” [FRS109it].

As can be seen from the above quotations the survivors indicated that they were assigned specialised officers.

Case [FRS047it] was a historical case of rape (the incident described was not a recent one as is illustrated by the quote). It was stated that there were a combination of female and male officers who worked on her case.

“...and was taken to a local hospital for a smear test without explanation...” [FRS047it]. This survivor emphasised the importance of being informed at different stages as to what the next step was going to be, such as being brought to the hospital for a medical examination.

“...had to bring the (‘yet to be built’ 1978) Rape Crisis Centre, councillor to stop the aggressive manner I was being [q]uestioned by the detectives!” [FRS047it]. Also, the importance of training regarding interviewing as the aforementioned aggressive manner was unhelpful, and inappropriate.

Both [FRS061it] and [FRS094it] stated that the police detectives assigned were supportive but not very sympathetic. Also, in the quotation from [FRS061it] below there was assistance sought from the police child psychologist to accompany the survivor to her medical examination for additional support. By providing this type of mental health support could suggest the infantilising the female victim at this vulnerable time. Alternatively, it could reflect the limited resources available to the

police at that time and that this provision of psychological support may be better than none at all.

“I was assigned two police detectives, they were supportive but factual, was then taken up stairs where I was introduced to a Child Psychologist who worked for the police she took me for my medical” [FRS061it].

“...uniformed male he was nice but slightly intimidating not to[o] sympathetic...” [FRS094it].

[FRS071it] stated the initial officers on the scene were uniform officers

“Two uniforms initially and then they called a detective” [FRS071it].

Figure 2 provides an illustration of the range of crimes which the responding police officers usually worked on (as stated by the female rape survivors).

2.18.1.8 Police Crime Type regarding the Specialism of the Officer

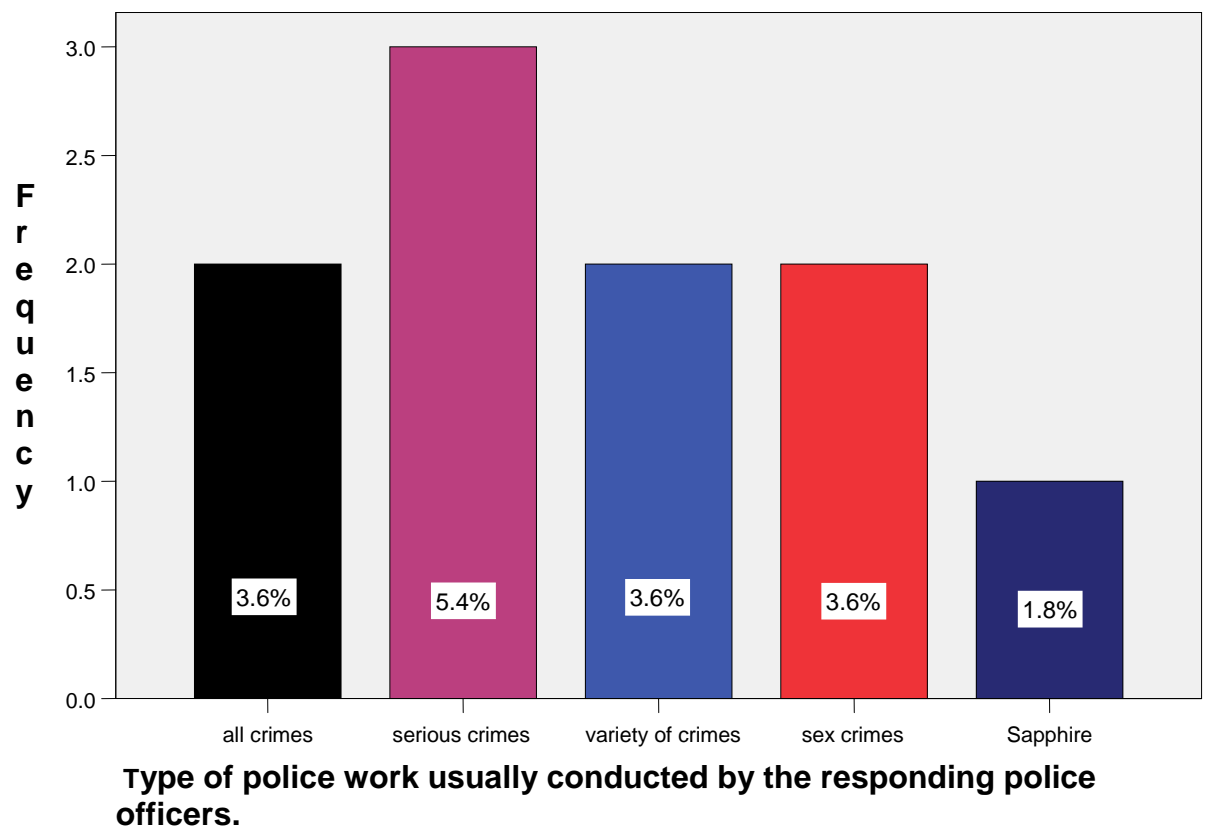


Figure 2.

Unfortunately, (12.5%) of female rape survivors could not recall, or may not have been informed whether the officer in charge of their case was dedicated solely to the investigation of sex crimes, or investigated all types of serious crimes. This limited the suggestions which could be made on the basis of these findings.

The inclusion of a question about the type of crime which the police officer usually worked on, was an attempt to clarify the whether the officer was a specialist or non-specialist in sex crime investigation. This inability to recall information about the responding police officer to the rape incident is understandable considering the survivors' possible low level of interest in this information at that time. The quotation

from [FRS061it] (see below) suggested the police officer who responded to her case worked mostly on serious crimes.

'I believe the officer worked on a variety of serious offences, e.g. homicide and drug squad' [FRS061it].

Assigned a SOIT officer

This theme highlighted the time scale between reporting the crime and being assigned a SOIT officer. The responses ranged from zero to five hours, the small number of responses received limited the *'transferability'* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of this finding regarding police response times. Thus, these findings should only be applied to similar contexts (further information regarding *'transferability'* is provided in Chapter 3). Also, the time scales provided may only be used as an indication of police response times.

"Incident reported over the phone. Asked to go straight to a police station rape suite. Assigned officer there (so approx 4 or 5 hours)" [FRS106w].

'Immediately' [FRS108w].

SOIT officer present at medical examination

The policy documentation stated that the SOIT's role was to accompany the survivor and provide support during all aspects of the case, thus, being present at the medical examination was covered under this remit. The responses below demonstrate that this support was provided.

"Yes, behind a screen, but I did not want her there because she was more worried than I was..." [FRS108w].

However, as can be seen above, the survivor's unease was heightened by the presence of the SOIT officer.

Contact numbers

Survivors who could recall these details stated that they had received the contact details of officers involved in their case. But, considering the survivor's state of mind at the time of reporting; it is not surprising that many could not remember whether or not they had been given contact information at that stage.

"Can't remember; think I had the card of the I.O." [FRS106w].

Survivors [FRS107] and [FRS108] answered "yes" that the police officers handling their cases had given them their contact details.

According to SOIT officers, the contact number of the SOIT officers working the cases should automatically be provided as should the contact details of the Investigating Officer (I.O.).

First evidence explained

This theme was referred to in policy documents of the London Metropolitan Police. There was a limited response with regard to this question, but the responses received were affirmative from [FRS107] and [FRS108] "Yes".

Why survivors may not be referred to Victim Support

Rape survivors' details may not be referred to Victim Support unless explicit consent is given by the victim or their relatives (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2005). This was suggested to relate to Chaperone Officers as when they were first superseded by SOITs; Victim Support did not provide a specialist service to rape survivors. Now, the police are actively encouraged to refer victims to Victim Support (see The Code of Practice for Victims of Crime, Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2005). Thus, in the majority of the cases they appear to be the sole agency referred to; although, it is not always an option which is chosen (see below).

“No. The police woman officers asked me whether I would like them to know and contact me” [FRS108w].

Victim Support

The following quotation provides an example of a situation where a survivor did not wish to be contacted by Victim Support at that time.

“Can’t remember much detail about the experience. Was in shock for the most part. Didn’t actually want to talk to Victim Support at the time was fed up talking about it. The nicest person I dealt with was the male senior detective dealing with the case. It was more than 15 years ago so things may have changed considerably...”[FRS106w].

SOIT officer’s role

This theme relates to the SOIT acting as an intermediary as part of their perceived role.

“Yes, initially ok. At hospital I didn’t want the police officer there. I am an independent person. It was like having a ladies maid” [FRS108w].

The role of the SOIT officer is focused on victim care but not to the exclusion of the investigative priorities of the case. Thus, a balance of the victim liaison and investigative responsibilities must be maintained by SOIT officers. The responses of [FRS107w] and [FRS108w] provide an indication that in these cases this fragile balance tended towards victim care and the investigation of the case respectively.

“To always be there for me” [FRS107w].

Nevertheless, in the quotation below, although all potential leads were followed up this was to no avail, and, the disappointment of officers was apparent.

“She monitored it and me throughout. If I reported a ‘look-alike’ they followed him up. They got really fed up – about 6 men questioned” [FRS108w].

Pre-trial court visit offered

The pre-trial court visit was mentioned by SOIT officers as being offered, but it appears that the option was rarely accepted, despite the possible benefits of familiarising the survivor/witness with the court and court procedures. There was one positive response “*Yes*” [FRS106w] she had gone on a pre-trial court visit. Although, a negative response “*No*” [FRS108w] was received due to the defendant pleading guilty and the victim not having to go to court.

Crown court witness service accompaniment offered

According to the Victim’s Code of Practice the joint police/CPS witness care unit should provide the “*Witness in Court*” leaflet” (Office for Criminal Justice Reform, 2005) and arrange for a member of the CPS Witness Service to accompany the survivor to court where appropriate. From the response below, it was offered but not required due to the defendant entering a guilty plea.

“Yes. I did not want one. Defendant pleaded guilty in Crown Court” [FRS108w].

2.18.1.9 Evolved Themes from the Female Rape Survivor Responses

Raped with impunity

In the quotation below the survivor [FRS092it] reported that the assailant was aware of the remote possibility of his being convicted for rape, and thus he had acted with impunity. The impact on the survivor was exacerbated by the fact that the assailant was correct, in that no suspects were interviewed which precluded any further investigation.

“I told a friend what happened. That person advised me not to go to the police because it would just become a whole lot worse for me. I was inconsolable at this time – physically and emotionally a wreck. I now live with the guilt that I should have gone to the police immediately. The police investigated my complaint, but never interviewed my rapist. They felt it would be a fruitless task and a waste of resources. This man got away with raping me. The hardest part, while raping me, he told me he would get away with it. I don’t know my rapist. I can’t face him and tell him what he has done to my life. I have no closure. And he has most likely reoffended” [FRS092it].

Difficulty in enforcing restrictions of rapist’s movements on release

In addition, the police asked this survivor if she wished for restrictions to be placed on her assailant on his release to discourage him from entering the locale where she is a resident. She rejected this offer due to the lack of feasibility of enforcing these restrictions (see quote from [FRS108w] below).

“Police said ‘[d]id I want him to be told not to come down my street’”. I said no because he won’t keep to it. They said they would tell him not to come to my street...”. [FRS108w].

Responsibility for personal safety regarding sexual risks

For example this female survivor stated “...I [t]hink women especially young women should be aware of their own responsibility towards preventing rape” [FRS106w].

This quotation demonstrates that culpability is placed firmly in the women’s hands for placing themselves at risk of sexual victimisation, particularly those of a younger age who are held more responsible for awareness of their personal safety.

Power

The following quotation clearly demonstrates the ‘*power*’ element in rape (see [FRS094it]).

“[H]e dated me for 2 years and now I look back at it he did manipulate me into pleasuring him very often. After he finished raping me, he said it isn’t just about the sex” [FRS094it].

2.18.1.10 Recommendations provided by Female Rape Survivors

Focus on victim characteristics

Some of the survivors recalled incidents which were historical in nature and stated that the police response to rape has changed considerably, although it appears that there is still a lack of confidence in the police investigating rape in a non-judgemental manner. The following quotation illustrated this point:

“I know that things have changed considerably since the time I [w]as raped (several years ago), but I do feel that if you are of a certain class, mix with the ‘wrong’ kind of people and know your assailant(s), the police will not take you as seriously as if, for example you were attacked by a stranger on your way home” [FRS007it].

Dignity and respect

One of the survivors emphasised the importance of treating survivors with dignity and respect as they are already vulnerable on reporting and require sensitive treatment by the police (see the quotations below).

“Treat us with dignity and respect – after all we’ve been through – we’ve been stripped of enough by the scum of the earth – we don’t need similar treatment, or treatment that leads to similar feeling by the very people we go to for help...reaching out, speaking out is hard as hell...I guess they could just tread more lightly...with me they saw a feral curled up on the lounge – shaking but at least coherent...they didn’t see the barely legal torn and shredded crying barefoot [and] bleeding teen running down the street in the middle of the night...I think that probably changes their perception and treatment of a victim a lot...” [FRS042it].

“Listen, Learn, Treat with kindness, respect and patience – Do not patronise – Show no prejudice of any kind” [FRS107w].

In [FRS100it], this survivor suggested that the police should be more willing to take cases forward.

“[B]y not being gutless” [FRS100it].

In [FRS061it], [FRS083it], [FRS034it], [FRS106w], [FRS108w] a number of recommendations have been made by survivors as to how the police service provision could be further improved.

Specialised rape team

A thematic analysis of the survivors’ responses identified related themes of a specialist response team for rape cases and the provision of additional SARCs being required. These themes are illustrated by [FRS061] and [FRS083] below.

“I think that I would be better to have a specialised rape team that handles these cases. I also think that they could provide counselling within the police station rather than being referred outside the organisation and having to tell your story to different counsellors”
[FRS061it].

Also, [FRS083it] below, emphasised the need for better social education regarding the misconceptions about rape, and that the offender being acquitted may not necessarily mean that he is innocent.

“More SARCs, less pre-conceived ideas about WHO the rape victim actually is. More positive publicity on social misconceptions about rape. More of a realistic view that just because someone was found ‘Not Guilty’ doesn’t mean they were innocent, more publicity on this!”
[FRS083it].

Increase in resources at the Forensic Science Department

In the following quotation the female survivor draws attention to the need for additional resources in forensic science departments due to the delays experienced in receiving results back.

“The police need additional resources in their DNA testing Laboratories. DNA testing should [n]ot take a year”. [FRS034it].

Police officer characteristics

In the quotations provided below the survivors emphasise that the character and ability of the police officer are pivotal, and they also highlight that the system is offender rather than victim-oriented.

“It would also help if police officers dealing with these issues are specifically chosen based on their legal ability AND their natural character in dealing with victims (i.e., a ‘people’ person). The law is also currently designed to protect the offender and further traumatise the victim” [FRS034it].

Furthermore, police officers need to be able to adapt their approach to the respective needs of the individual victims, as some victims may need more emotional support than others.

“Less coddling. They were over-protective. Statement – I [E] Fix – too hurried – I could have done better...I did not read the final statement which was presented in court. Five things were wrong with it” [FRS108w].

Independent advocate

Another survivor stated that an independent victim advocate would be preferable to someone merely affiliated with the victim or police.

“Perhaps have independent person to be with victim throughout (a volunteer!) someone to act as intermediary, not connected to police or victim” [FRS106w].

Specialist victim support

The quotation from [FRS034it] emphasised the need for contact details of more specialist organisations to be provided such as Rape Crisis Centres, as opposed to Victim Support. Therefore, contact details for at least two relevant support organisations should be provided according to this survivor.

“Finally from a personal point of view are there no “successful” survivors I can talk to? It would help so much. There are no “groups” available, I have been told...” [FRS034it].

In the following discussion section, the above results will be considered together with their implications and recommendations concerning possible improvements in the police response to rape survivors.

2.19 Discussion

The current study suggests that rape myths remain pervasive and may affect the likelihood of rape cases being taken seriously by the public (this was particularly highlighted with regard to female rape victims, see Amnesty International UK, 2005) and the police. It also demonstrates that training regarding male rape survivors for SOIT and STO officers need to be more comprehensive. SOIT officers anecdotally described their training as focusing on female rape survivors. When male rape survivors were discussed, awareness was raised solely with regard to the physiological reaction to anal rape, and the likely confusion and feelings of guilt that resulted. There is extensive material to be covered in a limited time period within the remit of SOIT training protocols and resources are directed as evidenced by need. Thus, the topic of male rape may be limited to one hour within the training schedule. However, it is how that time is utilised which is of importance. Providing an overview of the possible impact not only physiologically and psychologically; but also in relation to male survivors' gender identity and sexual orientation; may be more beneficial for officers; as all of these factors will influence the behaviour of the male survivor on presentation at the police station, or at the scene of the incident. Male rape has many inherent complexities which result from the demands of masculinity (such as invulnerability, control, and repression of emotion) which influences questions such as how could they '*let*' that happen to them? (see Scarce, 1997). These complexities of masculinity need to be addressed within specialist police training programmes.

Another issue strongly connected with the pervasiveness of rape myths is the persistence of gender role stereotypes within police culture. Firstly, the initial impetus to '*encourage*' female officers to apply for chaperone positions resulted in discrepant

numbers of female versus male chaperone officers (Suëtt, 1994). In the present study, there were conflicting findings relating to the influence of the gender of the specialist police officers. The preference of female survivors for female officers was possibly influenced by their perception that these officers would be more sensitive than male officers to the needs of female rape victims. Whereas in the case of male rape survivors, the possible belief may have been that female officers would be less judgmental and not question their sexual orientation or emphasise the '*chink*' in their masculine armour of '*invulnerability*'.

However, Jordan (2002) stated it was not the gender of the officer but their professionalism and training which affected the delivery of service provided. This assertion was supported in some of the cases reported by participants in the current study, where female specialist officers were judgmental, confrontational, and unprofessional when dealing with male and female rape survivors. Some male specialist police officers were also said to demonstrate this type of behaviour; which was considered inappropriate and disrespectful, and reinforced the preconceptions the survivor had of a negative police response. Thus, not only is there a potential gender bias in the police response but there is also the gendered expectations of the rape survivor, such pre-conceptualisations need to be considered in training.

It was noted that rape survivors experienced a sense of blame even when they were date raped and drugged. Date, and drug-facilitated rape therefore demonstrate a marked difference from other types of crimes regarding victims' internalised sense of responsibility in '*precipitating*' the crime against them. This sense of blame is a reflection of the normalised public reinforcement of rape myths which affects how the police (Feild, 1978; Gregory & Lees, 1999) and survivors view the incident according to Tomlinson (as cited in Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003). Survivors' distorted

perceptions of rape may thus exacerbate the impact of a negative response from the police. It often takes insurmountable courage for survivors to admit what has happened to them, and many fail to access the services required to facilitate their recovery (Davies, 2002). The additional step for rape victims to report the crime to the police can therefore be extremely challenging. So, for a rape survivor to receive a negative police response, can be disillusioning; and may be debilitating regarding their psychological welfare.

Some male rape survivors stated they experienced a sense of powerlessness at the time, which subsequently evolved into anger so extreme that they wished to kill their perpetrator in order to exact revenge. The only inhibitor to seeking retribution was the prospect of spending time in prison. Male rape survivors also presented themselves as being isolated in society due to the lack of public awareness and scarcity of information regarding the relevant services available.

Decision to report

Family, friends, hospital, and sexual assault referral staff need to be aware that although they may wish to relieve the survivor of the burden of reporting, to empower the victim (s/he should be consulted by third parties) and allowed to decide about whether or not to report. In the case of medical staff it is recognised that if sexual assault is suspected, then it is recommended by the General Medical Council that staff report the matter to the appropriate authorities, such as the police, (if they consider it is in the best interests of the patient) but the victim needs to be informed of this action being taken (GMC, 2004).

Survivors should be encouraged to report and allow the police to make the decision regarding the robustness of the case, as opposed to the victim deciding whether their case is evidentially strong enough to pursue. In addition, the de-

stigmatisation of the survivors' *'role'* within the crime of rape is key to the survivor being empowered to report. Public confidence in the police and criminal justice system therefore needs to be increased through media campaigns highlighting the police service response available to rape victims, for example, to facilitate increased reporting practices. In the United Kingdom, public confidence may have decreased further for instance due to documentary footage such as that shown by Channel 4's *"Dispatches"* programme on the 27th of April, 2006, which highlighted issues such as a rape victim being left several days waiting for forensic evidence to be collected. This incident may not be generalised to all police forces, but nevertheless is an indication as to how rape cases may be treated by some forces; despite the positive publicity that the police are taking this crime more seriously. Different police forces may thus have different operational priorities. However, from anecdotal evidence provided by SOIT officers from the Sapphire division of the London Metropolitan Police it was stated that rape was treated as seriously as homicide. The perception of the police is only one part of the problem and cannot be separated from the lack of confidence in the judicial system and its perceived secondary victimisation of rape survivors; either through treatment by the courts or due to the light sentences handed down. Judicial disposal was not a focus of this research, but, it warrants being mentioned, in that the police service response does not occur in a vacuum, but within the context of the processes of the criminal justice system.

There are also altruistic motivations of some rape survivors to report to the police in order to prevent future sexual victimisation of others; while, other survivors had retributive motivations for reporting the rape to the police. In addition, there is the personal quest of survivors for justice and the hope that, by negotiating through the criminal justice system, closure will be achieved in relation to this traumatic

experience. These survivors therefore had enough faith in the '*system*' to warrant their reporting in the hope of justice being done and in protecting future potential victims or validating past survivors' experiences. These survivors' altruistic motivations for reporting contrast with other victims' previously documented negative perceptions of the value of engaging in the judicial process. Considering the aforementioned motivating factors one cannot underestimate the power of the initial response of the police in determining whether the survivor will then persist with the case as discussed in the introduction to this chapter.

Delay in reporting

Male and female rape survivors were often asked by the police why they had delayed reporting the crime. The police did not appear to recognise that survivors may have been suffering from psychological sequelae of acute stress disorder at the time of the incident which may affect their decision-making; or if there were extensive delays of months or years then PTSD may be experienced when later reporting their victimisation. There are a number of reasons why the reporting of incidents may be delayed, such as the impact of the psychological and physiological sequelae experienced and the self-analysis of their case as to whether it is robust enough to report to the police. Thus, the time lapse should not be taken to mean the incident is partially true. Previously discussed literature refers to rape myths widely held in society (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994) which may pervade police and survivors' attitudes. These rape myths can impact upon reporting practices and the response received from individual police officers. Those survivors who report the incident as soon as possible will help retain optimal forensic physical evidence. However, this is not always feasible due to the impact of psychological sequelae at the time. It is also recognised that the police (especially SOIT officers) need to balance their

investigative and supportive roles but this is a fine line, and some officers may be better at this than others.

Also, a common experience of survivors when being interviewed by the police was the confrontational approach of the police, which considering survivors' state of mind, may not result in the uncovering of the most robust evidence. Some survivors also reported that it was implied that they were "*wasting police time*". Such discouragement may provide an explanation as to why there are high rates of attrition, with rape survivors withdrawing their involvement at the initial stages of the investigation process (Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005).

In contrast, there were incidences of positive police responses highlighted by male and female survivors which included the validation experienced when the police believed their description of events. A friendly, caring, and sensitive approach of the investigating officer was appreciated by the majority of the survivors. Although, it was noted, that when some officers attempted to balance their investigative role with their victim liaison role; the result was a "*hollow form of empathy*", nevertheless, survivors were appreciative of their efforts.

Increase reporting practices

To increase reporting a non-judgmental response needs to be taken, as rape survivors still appear to be unsure that their case will be investigated without blame being apportioned. Themes identified included seeking justice, victim blaming when the assailant is known to the survivor, the importance of being treated with dignity and respect, and for the police to be patient and not patronising. What is not being suggested here is that the police officer take on the counselling mantle as well as their investigative role as this would not be ethical or appropriate. However, awareness does need to be raised regarding the ramifications of not believing the survivor. Policy

does dictate that all rape cases must be taken seriously from the moment they are reported (MPA, 2002).

Police anti-gay bias

It was highlighted in the MPA (2002) Scrutiny Report on Rape Investigation and Victim Care that a new database would enable officers to better respond to male rape survivors' needs (for example, gay SOIT officers may be called in should the survivor prefer it). This may be an improvement and assist in refuting the perception that the police have an anti-gay bias (see Lees, 1997). But, it provides the impression that male rape survivors who report to the police are predominantly gay, which is at odds with research findings (furthermore, that heterosexual victims rather than homosexual victims of rape were more likely to report to the police (see Hodge & Canter, 1998).

Gender of officer assigned

In many cases the survivor was not permitted a choice of officer, and it was assumed they would want a female officer. This was anecdotally supported by SOIT officers in that female officers were actively encouraged to attend SOIT training more so than male officers. The gender bias regarding the training of SOIT officers continues to persist as originally documented by Suëtt (1994 - when approximately 80% of SOIT officers were female and 20% were male). This bias reinforces the stereotype that female officers are more '*caring*' and implies that male officers may not be as adept at handling rape cases (e.g., in an appropriately empathic manner). It was also noted that there was an insufficient number of male Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers and female forensic medical examiners. In other words, the policy dictated provisions regarding choice exceed the supply of available specialist personnel.

Type of officer assigned

In accordance with Metropolitan Police policy, a detective is usually the investigating officer (I.O.) and takes the lead on the rape case. It is suggested by the current study that when survivors stated that a uniform officer was appointed in conjunction with an I.O. (it was possibly in a liaison capacity, or the uniformed officer is appointed in the interim period until a more specialised officer could be assigned). Survivors also experienced difficulties in recalling the type of officer assigned to their case. These difficulties could be the result of a number of reasons, for example, the fragile state of the victim when reporting, or that this information was of little concern at the time.

Considerations during interviewing

The themes on this topic highlighted several causes for concern, such as the lengthy periods of time without breaks, that could have been provided when there was a changeover of officers. It is recognised that breaks cannot be given just at any time, as it would affect the flow of the interview. Nevertheless, a balance should be preserved between maintaining the reliability of the statement and providing the survivor with comfort breaks.

The importance of communication

Consideration should also be given to disclosing information to survivors, their parents or partners (calling on the survivor's behalf) as to why no further action is being taken.

Robustness of survivors' cases

According to the thematic analysis in the current study, there is a relationship between the police perception of the increased robustness of the case, (i) the interpersonal distance of the victim-offender relationship and (ii) the excessive use of physical violence.

The police officer as the offender

The procedure followed by the London Metropolitan Police Service, which may have parallels with other police forces, is that if the suspect is a police officer they should be treated no differently from any other alleged perpetrator in a sex crime case. However, there are some considerations which need to be made in addition to the usual protocols, such as which custody office they are taken to. According to London Metropolitan Police policy:

They must not be taken to a custody office covering their place of work or any other custody office where it is likely that the integrity of the investigation might be at risk. The borough Community Safety Unit (CSU) or Sapphire Team where the offence was committed will be responsible for the interview, investigation and case preparation. However, in some circumstances it may be necessary for the case to be allocated to a neighbouring borough. The CSU or Sapphire DI will appoint a suitably qualified officer to handle the investigation, who should not have any personal links with the suspect (H. Gay, personal communication, June 2, 2006).

In one Australian case, the victim was actively discouraged from taking a case further where the offender was a police officer which demonstrates bad practice by the police. The officer to whom the rape was reported did provide some assistance to the survivor on medical and safety grounds. This case contradicted the policy outlined earlier for the reporting of crimes such as rape committed by police officers.

However, the policy of the New South Wales police is unlikely to differ markedly from that of the London Metropolitan police regarding the protocols to be followed if a serving police officer is the perpetrator of a serious crime such as rape.

It was also noted that in many cases survivors were discouraged from continuing with their case. This could be for a number of reasons, for example, the lack of evidence or robustness of case, and in adherence to guidance from the Crown Prosecution Service in England and Wales.

Police forces have policies in place which address how the officer should respond to rape survivors reporting rape (see HMCPSI & HMIC, 2007 for a review). However, a highly influential factor emphasised throughout by survivors was the importance of being believed, a finding highlighted in previous research (Kelly, 2002; MPA, 2002). The conclusions about (i) being believed, (ii) the judgement of the survivor's behaviour, (iii) apprehension of the court system, and (iv) fear of reprisal support the findings of the HMCPSI and HMIC (2002) joint report. Furthermore, the shame, guilt, and likelihood of victim-blaming may also exacerbate these factors, not to mention the awareness of the poor conviction rates for rape. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is a low rate of reporting for this particular type of crime.

Blame, guilt, and shame

This acceptance of blame, guilt, shame and embarrassment by rape survivors may illustrate their perceived responsibility for their own victimisation; this accountability may be the result of the influence of victimological research (regarding the culpability of rape victims in their own victimisation, see Amir, 1971) and society's stigmatisation of rape. This notion of responsibility for the crime of rape appears firmly embedded in the psyche of some of these survivors. Therefore, acknowledgement of the likelihood of the victim experiencing these feelings needs to

be considered when providing a response to them in the first instance. Thus, a non-judgmental reaction is pivotal from the individual or police officer to whom it is disclosed or reported.

2.19.1 Recommendations for the Training of SOIT officers

In 2001/2002 the Metropolitan Police increased the attention being paid to the phenomenon of male rape, “*Project Sapphire will enhance awareness of male rape*” (Metropolitan Police Service, 2001, p. 10). Nevertheless, more positive ways of decreasing the level of anxiety being experienced by the victim could be highlighted during the training of officers.

Training

Sapphire training courses for SOIT officers highlight investigative aspects (including statement taking and interviewing skills), legal aspects (court presentation), issues relating to forensic medical examinations, and a number of workshops on survivors, drug rape, and male rape. While, it is recognised that there is a limited time frame available for these courses and that victim care is only one part of the SOIT’s role. The workshops on rape survivors’ trauma (which may be experienced), and other related aspects such as contracting STDs or becoming pregnant, are highlighted (the female rape survivor focus is evident). But, the individuality of the experience of rape may not be captured, and therefore more specialised workshops could be incorporated into refresher training courses. ‘Listening’ was considered by survivors to be an important skill of the responding officer. It could be suggested that victims are alluding to ‘*active listening*’ also known as “*experiential listening*” (Kubota, Mishima, Ikemi, & Nagata, 1997, p. 279), the importance of which is to focus on what survivors are describing even in the first informal instance or initial report.

Training may also have a differential impact on individual officers depending on their personality, as some may be more receptive to this type of training than others (Argyris & Schön, 1996). Nevertheless, this should not affect the level of service provided which should be standard, but it does according to the current study's findings. It has also been noted from survivors' responses that they differ in their capability to cope with the traumatic incident of rape in that this depends, for example on the context (whether it was a stranger), the level of violence used, and severity of the injuries sustained (bruises, facial injuries, broken bones, internal injuries).

It is suggested that stereotypes and myths regarding male rape need to be challenged, through additional police training; and that male rape victims who happen to be gay should be treated as sensitively as other survivors. Also, awareness needs to be raised about gay culture in order to address the lack of knowledge regarding this subject in police training.

Another factor which influenced the reporting of rape to the police is whether survivors have been sexually victimised before, because this can further detract from their ability to cope with the current incident. Some survivors who have been raped appear to cope better than others-this may be due to their strength of character; their social support network, also some may be unsure if they have been raped (as they may not remember the details clearly due their drink being spiked). Thus, their demeanour may differ from the more distraught survivor but nonetheless their cases should be treated as seriously.

Drug rape

It is recognised that drug-facilitated rape cases may be more difficult to investigate because of the problems with victims' recall of events. The survivor should therefore be made aware of possible problems relating to the difficulties in obtaining robust evidence in these types of cases. Nevertheless, these problems should not automatically preclude investigations of the case being carried out. Where incidents cross jurisdictional boundaries, then the possible operational issues (which may impede the progression of the case) could briefly be explained to the survivor; and this may alleviate some of their frustration about delays incurred regarding their case. Anecdotally, it was suggested by police officers that the availability of cheap drinks during '*happy hours*' at bars, and the prevalence of binge drinking, may be the problem rather than drinks being spiked. Thus, despite the raised level of attention given by the media to drinks being '*spiked*', according to anecdotal evidence based on police officers' experience of such cases, this practice was considered less common than is publicly perceived. Therefore, although individuals may feel that their drink was spiked, more often it may be the case that they have in fact drunk more than they thought. Nonetheless, more consideration could be given to how relevant questions are framed when interviewing these victims.

Awareness and responsibility to avoid risky situations

One survivor illustrated how entrenched rape mythology is in the socialisation influence of society by emphasising that young females in particular should be more aware of their personal safety, and hence implying culpability if they become sexually victimised.

2.19.2 Limitations

A limitation of this study was the survivors' questionnaire used in the current study only allowed for single incidents, and some survivors experienced multiple incidents of rape in adulthood - this needs to be addressed in future research. In addition, a reoccurring problem was that good contacts were made who were supportive of this research but then political pressure from within survivors' advocacy organisations caused a retraction of this support. Thus, any subsequent attempts to recruit participants were obstructed (ultimately disempowering their service users by denying them the opportunity to make the choice to participate in the research themselves).

The sample sizes, while small, are reflective of the challenges in recruiting for research (i) police (due to the demands on their time) (MPS, 2002; Temkin, 1999) and (ii) rape survivors (due to the sensitive nature of the topic). However, this study provided qualitatively rich information in relation to practical issues on the delivery of an optimal specialist police response to rape survivors (particularly males), rape victims' identification of '*bad practice*', and recommendations for a needs-directed approach by police.

2.19.3 Further Recommendations

Improve the police response service

The feedback from survivors also provides useful insights as to how the best practice of the SOIT officers of the London Metropolitan Police could be further be improved. For example, it may be useful if police services could publicise information regarding the time limit on reporting rape. It is understood that from the time of the perpetration of crime, evidence is being damaged or lost, thus, the case should be reported as soon as possible. Nevertheless, information could be provided as to what

may be achieved even if the case is reported several years later. (For example, the details of the suspect being kept on file together with the particulars of the crime to compare against possible future crimes committed by this assailant.) An increase in resources is required so that specialised rape teams (i.e., the Sex Offences Teams) are available within more London Metropolitan boroughs. These teams enable a more efficient response due to more SOIT officers and specially trained detectives being available.

According to survivors, there should be the provision of more SARCs (during the course of the current research, two additional SARCs have been opened in London). Furthermore increased publicity dispelling persistent misconceptions about rape, such as, the acquittal of the offender does not necessarily mean that they are '*innocent*'.

In addition, the lengthy delays in receiving results from the forensic laboratories were also highlighted regarding the potential negative impact on the survivor and their case. Also, some survivors suggested that officers should have more legal expertise and be more suited to handling rape cases (i.e., with the appropriate qualities described above).

Facilitate good practice

Male survivors suggested that stereotypes and ignorance surrounding male rape should be challenged through training. Male respondents also recommended that police officers should attend survivor workshops, and based on the current study's findings further education through training should be provided regarding Acute Stress Disorder (ASD) and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). In recent communications with one of the SOIT training officers, it was highlighted to the current author that seminars on male rape and PTSD were organised for both SOIT

and Investigating Officers during September/October 2007 (H. O'Sullivan personal communication, August 3, 2007).

However, of pivotal importance is the development of trust and confidence between the survivor and the police. Suggestions made by the officers themselves emphasised the importance of debunking male rape myths. This could be addressed in SOIT training while also educating officers about gay culture because it was stated that, if officers have no knowledge of such culture, then how can they understand it? This implies that the problem is the lack of comprehension of the gay male lifestyle. While this may be one aspect of the problem, it overlooks the fact that in the current study 40% of the male rape survivors were heterosexual.

The response to the above suggestions by a SOIT training officer was that SOIT and investigating officers have attended seminars by guest speakers on two occasions regarding (i) 'Rape and sexual assault, a male perspective' and (ii) 'Male rape, exploring the crime, revealing the facts' (H. O'Sullivan personal communication, August 22, 2007).

While the above initiatives are encouraging, it may be even more beneficial if these seminars on PTSD (with the additional incorporation of information on ASD) and male rape were incorporated as standard into STO training. Furthermore, it would be appropriate to encourage front desk police staff to attend these seminars as supplementary to their routine training as they may often be the first point of contact for a rape victim.

At this juncture it is important to remind the reader that the results of the current study should be treated in a tentative manner due to its limitations (such as its exploratory nature). However, it still provides an important contribution to the

available research and an initial base upon which further research in this area may be developed.

2.19.4 Further Research

A factor that warrants future research is that although all officers receive the same training, their individual values and attitudes are likely to influence the impact of this training. A principle which could be applied to explaining this individual difference phenomenon is the conceptualisation of ‘single and double loop learning’ employed in organisational psychology theory. Broadly, ‘single loop learning’ involves individuals undergoing training but they only ‘*realise*’ this new information at a superficial level; thus their original values and attitudes remain unchanged. In contrast, ‘double loop learning’ involves the new information being understood at a more fundamental level which evokes a change in values and attitudes (Argyris & Schön, 1996). These learning approaches are of particular importance regarding the training of officers who investigate sexual offences as their initial response can affect whether the rape complainant pursues the case and the quality of the evidence provided. Thus, the officers may have undergone specialist training, but their underlying attitudes and values remain unchanged and may filter implicitly through non-verbal or more directly through their verbal behaviour. It is hoped to explore the impact of the aforementioned types of learning on SOIT/STO training in post-doctoral research.

In the next chapter, male rape is examined within the context of the commercial male sex industry.

Male Sex Work: A Qualitative Investigation of the Context and the Incidence of Client-Perpetrated Rape of Male Sex Workers.

3.1 Introduction

There are many different definitions of ‘prostitution’ and ‘male sex work’ used by the available research. This lack of an agreed definition makes it challenging to compare the varied findings of the available literature. For example, drawing upon research (e.g., Browne & Minichiello, 1995, 1996; Davies & Weatherburn, 1991; Earls & David, 1989; Estep et al., 1992; Leahy, 1992) sexual activities are considered to occur along a scale, in which one end is ‘*instrumental*’ and at the other end is ‘*expressive*’. When the instrumentality of an act is greater than the generation of affection, this is termed ‘*prostitution*’. Male prostitutes are therefore seen as sensitive and affectionate human beings at one end versus con-artists at the other end (Reiss, 1961). Alternatively, “[p]rostitution provides us with an identity and mode of conduct that corresponds with the cultural image of the male homosexual. The image of the homosexual is [thus] one of distorted and exaggerated sexuality, of promiscuity and deviance” (Boyer, 1989, p. 176). The term ‘*male prostitute*’ encompasses those working part-time/full-time ‘*street workers*’, call-boys, bar and theatre workers, and delinquents. The less stigmatised ‘*sex worker*’ is an umbrella term now used both academically and politically. Lawrence (2000) stated “*Legally, prostitution is typically defined as an agreement to exchange a sexual act either with the client or with another person, in return for money, drugs, or other considerations*” (www.don-thomas.com/references.htm). The definition of ‘sex work’ according to Vanwesenbeeck (2001) is the direct exchange of sexual services (from sexual

activities in pornographic films to escorts' performance of oral or manual stimulation, or anal intercourse) for financial gain.

"There is...homosexual prostitution among males who provid[e] sexual relations for other males; and such homosexual prostitutes are, in many large cities, not far inferior in number to the females engaged in heterosexual prostitution" (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948, p. 596). This quotation highlights the prevalence of male sex workers within heterosexist society; but, they fail to attract the same level of attention as their female counterparts. The clandestine nature of male sex work may be one of the reasons for their invisibility while also being reflective of efforts to circumvent sex work legislation and evade the historical social control of homosexual behaviour. Male sex workers have been identified by research as being a distinctly heterogeneous group of *street hustlers*, *bar hustlers*, *call-boys* (Allen, 1980; Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Reiss, 1961; Robinson & Davies, 1991; Ross, 1959).

Call-boys were self-identified homosexual or bisexuals who provide a service to their clients on a professional basis, and maintain control of the transaction through restricting which sexual activities will be engaged in (Robinson & Davies, 1991). Robinson and Davies also found that a characteristic of call-boys was their selective disclosure to certain friends regarding their involvement in sex work which highlights the continued associated stigma of sex work which may also impact upon their reporting of client-perpetrated sexual violence, this topic will be discussed later. West and de Villiers (1993) highlighted the neglect of call-boys who advertise in the gay press within academic research this was partially addressed by Cameron, Collins, & Thew's (1999) economic analysis of the available gay publications in London.

The commercial male sex work industry is underresearched in the UK (Davies & Feldman, 1991; Gaffney & Beverley, 2001; West & de Villiers, 1993) compared to

the United States (Allen, 1980; Bimbi & Parsons, 2005; Coombs, 1974; Reiss, 1961; Ginsberg, 1967; McNamara, 1994; Weinberg, Shaver & Williams, 1999; Farley & Barkan, 1998) and Australia (Browne & Minnichiello, 1995, 1996; Minnichiello et al., 2000; Perkins, 1991).

3.1.2 Aims of the Current Study

A social constructionist perspective takes into account that general knowledge is developed through social interaction and discourse and that individuals' interpretation of these 'social facts' construct social realities. Thus, the socially ascribed patriarchal power structures within heterosexist society, and their influence through the processes of socialisation and sex role stereotyping, are reinforced through the above processes to prescribe gender normative behaviour. The influence of these power structures maintain the invisibility of male sex workers and moral agents such as the police focus their attention more on female sex workers (see Home Office, 2004, 2006) due to their lack of conformity to socially ascribed gender roles. This research investigates the processes of power and control employed within commercial sexual transactions across a range of different contexts (see Browne & Minichiello, 1995), motivational, spatial, client-sex worker interactions regarding condom use. The perspective of the sex worker is sought regarding these contexts as well as their perception of the stigmatisation of male sex work. Addressing these broad questions: What motivates individuals to engage in sex work? Where does male sex work occur? What are male sex workers' perceptions of their clients? These questions contextualise the following central research questions: Is client-perpetrated sexual violence a problem in the male commercial sex industry similar to their female counterparts? What are male sex workers' perceptions of the stigma of sex work?

The lack of visibility of male sex workers may also negatively impact on the recognition of client-perpetrated sexual violence against them and the accessibility of relevant needs-directed services. On investigating the incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers; an additional aim is to feed back the findings to organisations providing outreach to this sexual community to improve needs-directed services. The sexual victimisation of male prostitutes is a possible hazard of street-based sex work but there are conflicting accounts of its prevalence (Connell & Hart, 2003; West & de Villiers, 1993) in the limited research which has been conducted, within which even less is known of its occurrence at off-street locations.

The following literature review will critically consider the paradigmatic shifts in research from the criminal (Reiss, 1961) to sexual deviancy (Janus, Scanlan, & Price, 1984); to their role within the public health discourse within epidemiological studies (Davies & Feldman, 1991; Day & Ward, 2004; Minichiello et al., 2000), and the professionalization of male sex work (Van der Poel, 1992; Calhoun & Weaver, 1996). However, the focus will be a social constructionist perspective across a number of contexts such as the historically gendered social and legislative control of homosexuality and male sex work, the influence of (i) gender socialisation and sex roles, (ii) sexual orientation, (iii) the phenomenology (street-based and indoor sex work experiences), (iv) client types, (v), stigma, (vi) sex acts and their relationship to client-perpetrated sexual violence. This review will consider the methodological constraints of male sex work research from the varying definitions of prostitution and male sex work used and the limitations of sample recruitment which impact on the transferability of the findings. Furthermore, as opposed to pathologising or objectifying male sex workers (as vectors of disease), the underlying paradigm, here,

is a humanising perspective which explores members' experiences of client-perpetrated sexual violence within this often demonised sexual community.

The next section provides a historical context of the relationship between the homosexual community, and the sub-culture of male sex work, and the impact of social power structures within heterosexist society.

3.1.3 History

The historical origins of male prostitution were considered important to include (i) to illustrate the varying levels of its social acceptance over time and (ii) its links with the gay community and homosexual sub-culture. Halpern (1990) reviewed the available literature on homosexuality and male prostitution during the Classical period in Athens and Rome circa 346/5 B.C. Prostitution may not have been the highest status of occupations, but neither was paying for sex a distasteful action. Thus, there was a tolerance of prostitution, but it was not socially and culturally condoned and this hypocrisy persists in current society. “[T]o be a prostitute meant in effect to surrender one’s phallus – to discard the marker of one’s socio-sexual precedence – and so it was, next to enslavement, the worst degradation a citizen would suffer, equivalent to voluntary effeminization” (Halpern, 1990, p. 97). The phallus being a cultural signifier and therefore a precious possession. According to Halpern (1990) it was Charles Gilbert Chaddock who introduced the term ‘homosexuality’ into the English language in 1892. Prior to this date, deviant gender behaviour was defined loosely as “sexual inversion” that referred to the non-adherence to one’s sex role as ascribed by cultural socialisation but it had not been named. The power of ‘labelling’ has been documented in sociological, criminological and psychological literature according to Jones (1986) particularly in relation to criminalisation, deviancy, and delinquency. Later in this chapter these will be discussed in detail in relation to

prostitution; the effect of labelling on the self-identity of male sex workers, and how they are perceived by society.

Weeks (1981) conducted a critical review of the available literature on male prostitution in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Male prostitution is not a new phenomenon, and has existed for as long as female prostitution, although it may not have been as visible. The first substantive quantitative studies of homosexuality were conducted by Carlier (head of the morals police), who focused on male prostitution (Weeks, 1981). This represented the first empirical analysis of male sex work; nonetheless, much of the information available on this subject was “*anecdotal*” and “*impressionistic*” (Weeks, 1981, p. 114).

Literature on male sex work in the twenty-first century may be considered quite limited compared with the breadth of literature dedicated to female prostitution. This poses the question as to why (Koken, Parsons, Severino, & Bimbi, 2005; Morrison & Whitehead, 2007)? Is it because of the links between male prostitution and the socially ascribed deviancy of homosexual orientation, which is at odds with the *masculine ideal* (the socially constructed gender role) defined by society and revered by hegemonic males within heterosexist society? The role of legislation is also fundamental in reinforcing the links between male sex work and homosexuality, this will now be examined.

3.1.4 Legislation

This section examines legislative changes which inextricably linked gay culture and male prostitution. “*By the 1870s any sort of homosexual transaction, whether or not money was involved, was described as ‘trade’*”, (Weeks, 1981, p. 120). In London, pick-up points included “*cottages*” (public lavatories) and pubs

frequented by “*mixed*” clientele, which were occasional meeting points, as were private clubs (which were scarce) or “*public walks and parks*” (Weeks, 1981, p. 127).

It is striking that as late as 1871 concepts of both homosexuality and of male prostitution were extremely undeveloped in the Metropolitan Police...Neither was there any comprehensive law relating to male homosexuality before 1885. Prior to that date, the only relevant law was that concerning buggery, dating from the 1530s, and nationally carrying the maximum of a death sentence until 1861 (Weeks, 1981, p. 117).

According to Weeks the repeal of the Contagious Disease Acts of the 1880s allowed compromise, as the British government neither sought outright repression or formal control of “*common women*” (prostitutes), thus negating the existence of male prostitutes. Nevertheless, the amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 facilitated overt social control of homosexual activities for example “*...acts of gross indecency between men whether ‘public or private’ was punishable with up to two years of hard labour*” (Weeks, 1981, p. 117) and could be applied to male prostitutes. The Royal Commission on the Duties of the Metropolitan Police in 1908 confirmed clauses of the 1898 Vagrancy Act could be applied to men soliciting women for immoral purposes but they were never used; in contrast between 1885 and 1967 all male homosexual acts were criminalised (Weeks, 1981); thus driving homosexual and prostitution sub-cultures underground.

The laws targeting male homosexuals were derived from those legislating against female prostitutes equating these two gender deviant groups, and feminising gay males; emphasising their subordinate position by this association and reinforcing their membership of counter cultures external to normative patriarchal society.

Examples of such legislation include: Acts in 1885, 1912 and 1935 (Weeks, 1981); by equating male homosexuals with women, it could be perceived as disempowering them by denying their gendered right to hegemonic male power. This association continued until the Wolfenden Committee was established in 1954 to investigate two separate entities, (i) law and practice in relation to homosexual offences, and (ii) the treatment of those convicted of same sex sexual acts, together with a review of prostitution-related offences (The knitting circle: Law, 2002). It was decided that homosexual behaviour between consenting adults in private should no longer be illegal. Thus, “*consent*” and “*in private*” would be interpreted similar to heterosexual sexual encounters. It was also a crime under the Sexual Offences Act (1956) if two males aged under 21 engaged in anal intercourse; and was subject to twenty years in prison. The age of sexual consent is now 16 years for men who have sex with men and is thus on par with the heterosexual age of consent (Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 2000, http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2000/ukpga_20000044_en_1#l1g1).

However, it is an offence “*for a man persistently to solicit or importune in a public place for immoral purposes*” (Sexual Offences Act, 1956, www.opsi.gov.uk/RevisedStatutes/Acts/ukpga/1956/cukpga_19560069_en3#pt1-pb9_l1g32). In a test case, a male was arrested for being a “*common prostitute and loitering*” under section 1 of the Street Offences Act (1959) (see www.opsi.gov.uk/RevisedStatutes/Acts/ukpga/1959/cukpga_19590057_en_1); however, the action failed as the magistrate interpreted the offence charged as being gender specific to women and the original decision to “*throw out*” the case was upheld on appeal. The Street Offences Act (1959) is open to interpretation by magistrates’ and may be perceived as solely related to females, however, the Director of Public Prosecutions suggested that the legislation

did not define the crime as gendered (see Dyer, 1994). The discretion used in relation to gendered legislation concerning the sale of sex became unnecessary under the Sexual Offences Act (2003), which made prostitution laws gender neutral (additional amendments under this Act will be discussed in the ensuing paragraph). Other pertinent legislation regarding prostitution includes the Criminal Justice and Police Act (2001) which criminalised the practice of “*phone-boxing/carding*” (this is where prostitutes place their cards in telephone boxes) (Office of Public Sector Information, n.d.).

A summary of the current legislation under the Sexual Offences Act (2003) regarding prostitution is provided below by SW5 (a charity organisation that works with male and transgender sex workers):

- *“It is not illegal to be a [s]ex [w]orker who works alone, in private, or advertise your services on the Internet.*
- *It is an offence to have sex in a public toilet.*
- *Soliciting – it is illegal to ‘loiter or solicit in a street or public place for the purposes of prostitution’ (The police have to warn you 3 times before they can arrest you for this.*
- *It is [not] illegal to work for an Escort Agency. The agency commits the offence of ‘controlling prostitution for gain’.*
- *Once two or more people work in the same place it’s classed as a ‘brothel’, but the owners/managers are liable to up to 7 years in jail.*
- *It is illegal to pay a 16/17 year old for what would otherwise be legal sex, but it is not illegal for [under]18s to sell sex.*
- *It is illegal to control someone else’s sex work.*
- *It is an offence for a landlord or occupier/tenant to let any part of his/her premises knowing that it may be used as a ‘brothel’...” (NHS, & The Lesbian and Gay Foundation, 2004, p. 14).*

As can be seen above the law has encouraged and condoned the stigmatisation of the homosexual sub-culture and that of male sex work. Therefore the gay male sex worker is doubly stigmatised which may inhibit them from reporting being raped by a client to the police.

In previous research it was documented that there were at least 200 to 250 full-time male prostitutes who worked in London on a monthly basis (Cameron et al., 1999). It was also noted that male prostitutes were not targeted to the same extent as their female counterparts by law enforcement (Barri Flowers, 2001) this could be a consequence of their “*invisibility*” (UK NSWP, 2004; see also Gaffney & Beverley, 2001).

3.1.5 Under-researched and Understudied

This section highlights that male prostitution is under-researched and understudied particularly considering the amount of research dedicated to the study of female sex work. Reasons for the neglect of this marginalised population could be due to the challenges faced by researchers trying to access such a marginalised sexual community. Alternatively, both homosexuality and male sex work may be considered trivial to academic research resulting in its invisibility because of the contradictions to current ideologies as it is a male buying sex from a male this challenges the gender inequality argument proposed in relation to female prostitution, furthermore the client paying for the orgasm of the male sex worker rejects the reductionist consumer capitalism perspective (a basic exchange of financial payment for pleasure) and within the context of gay liberalism shames exponents of the egalitarian ideals of the gay community (see Davies and Feldman, 1997).

The majority of the research conducted focused on the more visible street-based male prostitutes (for example McNamara, 1994, Ginsburg, 1967, Luckenbill, 1985; Reiss, 1961, West & de Villiers, 1998) who are often more marginalised and fewer in number but easier to access than their off-street counterparts (Allen, 1980). While, government research tends to focus on street-based female sex work paying minimal attention to male prostitutes (see Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Home Office,

2004, 2006). Brooks-Gordon (2005) also noted the neglect of the “needs” of male sex workers in the “Paying the Price” government consultation document (Home Office, 2004). Furthermore, in the ‘Coordinated Prostitution Strategy’ document, responses highlighted the neglect of male and transgender sex workers. This disregard was explained by the lack of problematic drug use and coercion and that male sex workers were predominantly based off-street hence they do not attract police attention unlike their female counterparts. The resultant government proposal suggested that this oversight would be remedied by the provision of needs-based resources for these marginalised groups (Home Office, 2006).

Paradigmatic shifts in male sex work research illustrate researchers’ alternating attempts at medicalising and criminalising male sex workers exacerbating the stigma already experienced and further inhibiting their help-seeking behaviour should they experience client-perpetrated sexual violence. Research from the 1960s to the 1980s focused on the peer-delinquent and their prostitution (which was an extension of their criminal activities) (see Reiss, 1961). Psychologists investigated possible psychopathological characteristics of individual sex workers which may result from child abuse (see Janus, Scanlan, & Price, 1984; Robinson & Davies, 1991). Other motivations included, early sexual experiences of male prostitutes (Allen, 1980) were documented the age disparity suggested seduction (Earls & David, 1989) and also the ‘runaway hypothesis’ where young boys were escaping from a dysfunctional home (see Weisburg, 1985). Thus, there was an emphasis within the research on deviancy and suggestions that these juveniles were already ‘damaged’ prior to engaging in this dysfunctional lifestyle. The transferability of these findings is limited due to the institutional and clinical populations drawn upon.

Alternatively, the '*pathology*' paradigm can also encompass the prolific epidemiological research which examined the risks of contracting HIV or AIDS through prostitution and in order to develop public health policy initiatives (Davies & Feldman, 1991; Estep et al., 1992; Minichiello et al., 2000; Robinson & Davies, 1991). The latter '*pathology*' paradigm was reflective of concerns at the height of the moral panic regarding the AIDS '*crisis*' during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The emphasis being on the male prostitute's sexual health rather than their client's, echoes the moralistic tone of the Contagious Diseases Acts discussed earlier. In contrast, recent research suggests that rather than vectors of STIs, male escorts who access clients using the Internet are akin to sex educators who promote safe sex practices and refuse to have unprotected sex even at the risk of the loss of income (Parsons, Koken & Bimbi, 2004) the value of the contribution that male sex worker can provide to sexual health knowledge is recognised (Browne & Minichiello, 1995). However, these findings may be limited in their application by male sex workers providing socially desirable responses. More recently this epidemiological research focus may be more reflective of the increasingly limited access to funding for more social and less policy oriented initiatives.

Motivation for engagement in male prostitution also included 'survival sex' (Deisher, Robinson, & Boyer, 1982), economic deprivation (Robinson & Davies, 1991) or to supplement their full or part-time jobs (Koken, Bimbi, Parsons, & Halkitis, 2004). In addition, their sex work income may be used to pay off extracurricular expenses (such as college tuition fees, gym memberships facilitating a better lifestyle), or alternatively, it served as a leisure activity, which provided sexual enjoyment (Davies & Feldman, 1991). These contrasting findings are the result of

differing sample populations, the former recruiting street-based male prostitutes whereas the latter sample worked from off-street locations.

Gaffney and Beverley's (2001) research applied a feminist perspective which equated male sex workers with women subordinated by patriarchal power structures within heterosexist society. The aspiration to hegemonic masculinity by the dominant males within society therefore presenting problems for both male sex workers and women. *"Hegemonic masculinity may be defined as a gender practice which embodies the current solution to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and subordination of women"* (Connell, 1995, p. 77). But, this approach was problematic as it could be perceived as feminising male sex workers and reinforcing sexual orientation stereotypes regarding the effeminacy of homosexual males, as according to Gaffney and Beverly, the majority of their focus group participants were gay. They examined how the subordination of male prostitution is socially constructed, for example, through heterosexist legislation which historically made female prostitution more visible than male sex work. Therefore, *"...[w]ithin malestream epistemology the behaviour of the punter is justified through the ascription of a deviant identity to the sex worker whose youth it is. This serves to legitimate the continued oppression and regulation of the sex worker"* (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001, p. 138). Furthermore, it was not clear how the findings would be applied to practice, as although the Working Men Project (WMP) (who assisted with this research) wished to increase the control of male sex workers over their sexual behaviour, it was not clear how this might be achieved. However, what was encouraging was that this study was a marked departure from those with a solely epidemiological focus.

Browne and Minichiello's (1996) review of the available literature concluded that research needed to focus on "*...social constructions of male sexuality and interpersonal communication and power...[to investigate] safe/unsafe sex negotiations between male sex workers and their clients*" (p. 52) as male sex work does not occur in a social vacuum. Gaffney and Beverley's (2001) study has progressed male sex work studies in this regard and the current research also aims to provide a further contribution.

The constructs of gender and sex roles affect male sex work within heterosexist society and have the potential to influence the reporting of client-perpetrated sexual violence which are explored next.

3.1.6 Gender Socialisation and Sex-Roles

The consideration of gender socialisation and sex roles are of key importance regarding the active and passive '*roles*' (which have associated masculine and feminine characteristics) negotiated in the sexual encounters. Transgressions of these assigned roles by the client during sex acts can result in violence by the male prostitute (Reiss, 1961). Male characteristics considered inherent in the male gender role include strength, powerfulness, control and invulnerability (Parsons & Bales, 1956). Gender roles are learned through the processes of socialisation discussed in Chapter 1; however, their influence is discussed later in this chapter. Deviance from socially ascribed norms of femininity and masculinity result in a perceived homosexual identity. Therefore, effeminate men are automatically assumed to be and are subsequently labelled '*homosexual*'. This deviancy may also be projected onto the sexual practices engaged in by male prostitutes.

Boyer's (1989) study examined how young homosexuals' primary experiences of the prostitution sub-culture affect their sense of identity and role formation. She stated, "*The sub-culture provided both an identity and social interactions that allowed male prostitutes to organize their lives and to find ways to survive psychologically and materially*" (p. 179). Their acclimatisation to a dominant culture that prohibits and stigmatises homoerotic behaviour resulted in their homosexual identity becoming inextricably linked with male prostitution. Homosexuality, by its nature rejects a number of socialising influences in society which also act as moral censors, particularly the Judaeo-Christian religions, the law and the medical doctrine. The Catholic religion for example considers all sexual practices as '*unnatural*' with sodomy and masturbation being particularly abhorred and described as '*crimes against nature*'. Boyer discussed gender socialisation, social sex roles, and their influence on the self-identification of homosexual males, suggesting that non-conforming sex role behaviour was linked to sexual object preference; and correlated to body image, which could result in gender confusion.

Gender roles, therefore, influence the self-conceptualisation of male sex workers, and thus, if subjected to rape by their male clients may exacerbate the gender confusion already experienced, and their self-identified sexual orientation, which will be discussed next.

3.1.7 Sexual Orientation

Male prostitution operates within its own sub-culture; this does not mean that it exists in isolation from the social and cultural norms of society, which are still influential. The reticence of the academic community may therefore echo that of heterosexist society, which shies away from the acknowledgement of the homosexual

and male prostitution subcultures which are perceived to threaten the dominant male hegemony. Robinson and Davies (1991) suggested that:

Homosexual male prostitutes must ultimately be seen as an amorphous group or set of sub-groups containing individuals who have been subject to and are still influenced by the same set of forces which emanate from the (albeit shifting) social structures of our society (p. 109).

However, male sex workers' sexualities according to research range from heterosexual to bisexual to homosexual depending on how the participant sample was recruited. Thus, differing recruitment methods through institutions (Reiss, 1961) or via the Internet (Bimbi & Parson, 2005; Koken, et al. 2004; Parsons et al., 2004; Parsons et al., 2005) or gay publications (Cameron et al., 1999; Robinson & Davies, 1991) will have inherent sample biases. Institutional samples of male sex workers being predominantly heterosexual versus the majority of the other samples being homosexual. The importance of sexual orientation here is that, if the boundaries negotiated by the male sex worker and their client at the outset are crossed, violence may be perpetrated by either party as a result. Furthermore, sexual orientation can influence the fluidity of the sexual identity of the male prostitute and how they perceive their work. Weeks (1981) stated that homosexuals must confront two stigmatised identities, those of '*homosexual*' and '*prostitute*'. Weeks also suggested that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the more casual the prostitution, the less likely the individual would identify himself as a '*homosexual*' or as a '*prostitute*'. But, the longer their involvement in sex work the greater the likelihood of their self-identification as a homosexual.

The majority of prostitutes in earlier research considered themselves heterosexual (Reiss, 1961; Weeks, 1981). These male sex workers developed complex strategies to maintain this conception of self (Weeks, 1981). For example, hustlers restricted the sex acts engaged in to those considered '*masculine*' (such as allowing the client to "*fellate them*") (see Luckenbill, 1985). The transaction was perceived as instrumental and thus rejected any attempts at more expressive physical contact, in that "[n]o matter how many queers a guy goes with, if he goes for money that does not make him queer. You are still straight" (Reiss, 1961, pp. 103-4). Whereas, Ginsberg (1967) found that heterosexually identified male sex workers will eventually identify as gay. The sexual norms ascribed by society and culture may be reflected by the behaviour and attitudes of individuals regarding their negative perception of the homosexual identity; resulting in the possible misidentification of sexual orientation collated from self-reports of male sex workers in earlier studies.

Caukins and Coombs (1976) found that the psychodynamics of the encounter were mutual hatred which originates from the symbiotic relationship between the client (who hates that he has to pay for emotionless/meaningless(instrumental) sex or hating that he is gay) and the sex worker (who denies being homosexual and self-identifies as heterosexual and hates his dependence on gay clients). Thus, the heterosexual male sex worker experiences stigma (due to their sexual orientation) and the client (for their homosexual desires). However, neither the recruitment method nor the sexual orientation of the sample was provided by Caukins and Coombs. The above illustrates the cognitive dissonance experienced by the male prostitute. '*Cognitive dissonance*' is the phenomenon experienced when two inconsistent cognitions simultaneously exist resulting in conflicting behaviour which can only be resolved by altering some of one's previously held beliefs (Festinger, 1957). Thus, one may have

decided in preference of one alternative despite the advantages for choosing the other (Myers, 1993). The male sex worker may reduce his '*cognitive dissonance*' by engaging in homosexual practices by clinging to the morally more acceptable heterosexual status. This may clarify research (Reiss, 1961) findings, which suggested that sex workers self-identified as heterosexual (Harris, 1973) but engaged in homosexual acts. Boyer (1989) questioned "*findings that refute a homosexual orientation (as opposed to the perhaps unavailable construct of "identity") among male prostitutes affirm a social desire and not a social reality: subject and researcher agreed upon a mutual denial of homosexuality*" (p. 155).

The majority of studies have relied on self-identification of sexual orientation which is subjective. Furthermore, Kinsey et al. (1948) found that the rigid dichotomy of homosexuality/hetero-sexuality was not the most appropriate of categorisations as "*human sexual behaviour*" exists as a "*continuum*" of sexual experiences (p. 639). The American Psychological Association's declassification of homosexuality as a mental disorder resulted in an increase in the visibility of these sexual minorities in society (Bimbi, 2007). The social recognition of the legitimacy of homosexuality may have had a consequent effect on the participant samples of later studies when more gay-identified male sex workers became evident (see Allen, 1980; Boyer, 1989; Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Earls & David, 1989; Davies & Feldman, 1991; Estep et al., 1992; Robinson & Davies, 1991; West & de Villiers, 1993). Previous research suggested the majority of juvenile male sex workers were heterosexual or bisexual (Deisher et al., 1969), whereas more recent research documents an increase in self-identified homosexuals within male sex work (see Bimbi, 2007). But, Davies and Feldman's (1991) caveat was that male sex workers should not be assumed to be gay by default. Contrasting research suggested that males recruited between 1994 and

1996 were more likely than those recruited later between 2000 and 2003 to be born and to self define as homosexual (Sethi et al., 2006). Other research notes the recent influx of economic male migrants (who reported having female partners) (Day & Ward, 2007) but are forced to engage in 'survival sex' in the commercial male sex industry due to limited job opportunities (because of poor English language or vocational skills).

Thus, the research findings regarding the sexual orientation of male sex workers are conflicting as a result of modes of sample recruitment and factors such as the age of male sex workers as well as the historical context. The location where acts of prostitution take place is also a pertinent factor regarding clients' perpetration of sexual violence against male sex workers.

3.1.8 The Phenomenology of Male Prostitution

Male sex workers who work at off-street locations are much more difficult to identify (than their street-based counterparts) and recruit (Allen, 1980), hence their limited presence in academic research. In the U.K. in 2003, the street-based male sex worker was a covert heterosexual, sleeping rough and addicted to crack cocaine and did not readily admit to selling sexual services (Working Men Project, 2003). Cameron et al. (1999) found that street-based male prostitution has declined (composing 2-5% of the London prostitution market) with the advent of mobile telephones and low cost advertising. The rest are '*call-boys*' or other off-street sex workers (see also Connell & Hart, 2003), although, the younger prostitutes still work the streets and, co-operative working (from a shared residence) acted as a barrier to protect them against hostile clients. Furthermore, prostitutes working off-street on a part-time basis are more difficult to estimate as a result of their mobility (Cameron, et al., 1999). Some off-street male sex workers may have initially worked on the streets,

via unlicensed brothels or massage parlours; while others had no previous experience of selling sexual services (Working Men Project, 2003). Those male sex workers who are street-based have been found to have experienced client-perpetrated sexual violence (West & de Villiers, 1993, Connell & Hart, 2003), however, the research findings are less clear regarding their off-street counterparts.

The mobility of off-street male sex workers is further facilitated by the mode of cyber communications for accessing clients, thus, the '*cyber hustler*' has emerged who "*...walks the street of the information super highway...[and] find their clients through chat rooms on the Internet*" (Lawrence, 2000, www.don-thomas.com/references.htm). In addition, Parsons et al. (2005) noted that:

....with the prominence of the Internet advertising for commercial male-to-male sex work has greatly increased. Internet-based escorts have websites that include photos and descriptions of their services and potential clients are able to e-mail these escorts or find them in popular Internet chat rooms (p. 4).

Thus, "[t]he most popular place to meet partners for commercial sex was through gay websites which were used by 41.1% of those who bought sex and 46% of those who sold it" (Weatherburn, Reid, Hickson, Hammond, & Stephens, 2005, p. 16). The Internet also facilitated the provision of advice and assistance to male sex workers (e.g., www.hookonline.org); however, it also debilitates the provision of "*traditional*" outreach by social service agencies such as the THT (Terence Higgins Trust) to street-based male sex workers (Terence Higgins Trust, 2002). Despite the increasing usage of the Internet to both contact clients and facilitate adapted outreach service provision to male sex workers, this mode of cyber communications is heavily underresearched within the UK.

3.1.9 The Clients

There is limited research available on male sex workers' clients compared to clients of their female counterparts (Knox, 1998) as they are difficult to engage in studies due to this practice being part of their clandestine lifestyle. The findings considered here will thus have inherent biases such as being self-selected samples which limit their transferability. There are also those clients whose profession or home life (if they are married), forces them to keep their sexual interest in same-sex partners secret (Knox, 1998). Knox's British client sample (the majority of whom identified as gay, and the remainder as bisexual (who were married with families), were recruited through advertisements in gay publications thus limiting the transferability of his findings. Browne and Minichiello's (1995) Australian research found there were two types of married clients, (i) those who want safe sex; and (ii) those who believe that because they are married they do not pose any risk and; expect the provision of unprotected sex. It is the second type of client who poses the most risk of sexual violence to the male sex worker, this issue will be discussed under 'Condom Usage' below. The client-sex worker relationship may be reduced to more basic terms (i.e. money is power over labour), whereby prostitutes can be reduced to dehumanised and exploited objects (Harris, 1973). Harris' research was about street based male sex work where the client evokes the power structures of patriarchal society to reinforce their ascription to hegemonic masculinity using money to subvert those possessing subordinate masculinities (the male prostitute).

However, in 2001, under the amendment to the Sexual Offences Act (1985) by section 71 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act (2001); there was a shift from the criminalisation of the prostitute to the client whereby clients now risk arrest if caught kerb-crawling. Nevertheless, male sex work workers are still more stigmatised than their clients, the next section will discuss this phenomenon.

3.1.10 Stigma

Heterosexual male sex workers stage managed the '*stigma*' (Goffman, 1963) by keeping their engagement in homosexual activities within the commercial sex industry secret (Calhoun & Weaver, 1996). West (1998) stated that the stigma of male sex work was less problematic for gay men as they were already stigmatised in society. But, Day and Ward (2004) are highly critical of the extensive use of the term 'stigma' suggesting that its broad usage regarding female sex work is devaluing its meaning. Their conceptualisations may also be applied to male sex work; as the stigmatisation of sex work obscures other inequalities such as those inherent in heterosexist society reinforced through patriarchal power structures which negatively affect women and men who are gender deviants resulting in gender and sexual orientation inequality. However, their main focus is still epidemiological regarding the reduction of ill-health.

Earls and David (1989) suggested male sex workers were depressed which may have been the result of the stigma of being gay in a homophobic society, internal dissatisfaction with the commercial sex industry, or a side-effect of cocaine use. Other research on male sex workers' identities found 33% considered themselves rent boys, 28% prostitutes, and 17% sex workers (Davies & Feldman, 1991), thus differing levels of stigma were attached to these labels. Although, more research is needed to clarify the sources of the stigma experienced by male sex workers illustrated in the

above studies (Earls & David, 1989; Davies & Feldman, 1991). The symbolic nature of the act of penetration according to Davies and Weatherburn (1991) is also important:

Penetration in our culture is paramount as an expansion of power, the ultimate violation of self. The penetration of the anus carries a particularly potent charge and lies at the basis of much homophobia. The act of anal intercourse, therefore, imparts not only a physical but symbolic pleasure: a pleasure that is essentially dangerous. To add to the thrill of this ambiguity the dangers of life-threatening infection only increases the statement of trust that accepting a man into your body makes (p. 113).

This quote summarises why homosexuality continues to be stigmatised today, because the power brokers in society are still the socially ascribed dominant heterosexual males within male hegemonic society. Therefore those males who allow themselves to be anally penetrated are labelled as those possessing subordinate masculinities. Furthermore, considering the interrelationship between male sex workers and the gay sub-culture, gay male sex workers may be doubly stigmatised.

But, with the advent of Internet facilitated escorting (Weinstein, 2001; Scott et al., 2005), it has become less of a stigmatised occupation (with male escorts more willing to reveal their identities) than was previously the case (due to the likelihood of arrest, shame and negative public reactions). Koken et al.'s (2004) study found that the majority of their respondents had an acute awareness of stigma regarding sex work. In order to minimise the cognitive dissonance experienced, the reframing of the title of '*prostitute*' to '*escort*' was considered to be less stigmatised, and thus, more socially acceptable. Recently, the stigma associated with being a sex worker has diminished within the gay community (Morrison & Whitehead, 2007). As can be seen

above there is symbolism attached to certain sex acts such as anal intercourse, the following section explores this topic further.

3.1.11 Sex Acts and Condom Usage

The sex acts performed by, or on male sex workers are pivotal regarding the negotiation of fees, and in consideration of the risks (to health and likelihood of violence) involved. Clients' engaging in unsafe sex was perceived as violence against male sex workers, placing at risk not only their lives but also their career (Browne & Minnichiello, 1995). In addition, the predominant form of communication during the sexual encounters was non-verbal (Browne & Minnichiello, 1995) this could lead to errors in judgment by clients regarding acceptability of additional sex acts to those negotiated at the outset which may result in rape.

Davies and Feldman (1991) support the findings of other studies which highlights the symbolism of the condom as a physical as well as a psychological barrier, facilitating emotional detachment by the male sex worker when engaging in paid sexual encounters. In other words, as familiarity increases, condom usage decreases (Browne and Minichiello, 1995, 1996; Davies & Feldman, 1991; Estep, et al., 1992; Estcourt et al. 2000; Weinberg, Worth, & Williams, 2001; Working Men Project, 2003). This may create problems with clients who may assume that due to the regularity of their encounters with the male sex worker the less likely condom usage would be required. Thus, the symbolic nature of condom use and its illustration of the discourse of power are important here. It has previously been mentioned about the strong resistance of clients to condom use (Browne and Minichiello, 1995). This resistance may result in sexual violence if male sex workers will not provide unprotected sex willingly, or deception may be used (Robinson & Davies, 1991) thus committing rape. The topic of client-perpetrated rape will be considered next.

3.1.12 Rape

Janus et al. (1984) found that the majority of their juvenile street-based sample of male prostitutes reported being raped while hustling, sometimes repeatedly. While, Boyer (1989) also found that many homosexual and heterosexual prostitutes reported being raped by clients, the former group on multiple occasions. But, a number of these rapes were street-related and experienced prior to their involvement in sex work. Thus, the above studies indicate that street-based sex workers may be more at risk of client-perpetrated rape; however, there is also an indication that sexual violence may also be experienced as a result of their lifestyle. However, more clarity is required regarding the contexts within which these sexually violent acts occurred. *“The worst thing that ever happened to me was being raped and not being believed”* (Boyer, 1989, p. 165). Another participant stated there was no point reporting the rape to the police because he was gay, and thus, was unlikely to receive any worthwhile response (Boyer, 1989). Boyer’s research suggests that male sex workers may be reluctant to disclose being raped by clients due to previous experiences of not being believed and their sexual orientation may also inhibit reporting their sexual victimisation to the police.

Male escorts working alone are considered as vulnerable as female sex workers (UK NSWP, 2004). However, the public conception of the prevalence of sexually violent acts committed by clients against female sex workers within the commercial female sex industry is not realistic. As according to research, a minority of clients were responsible for the majority of the violent attacks against female sex workers, thus, public perceptions of the prevalence of such encounters are inflated (Kinnell, 2004, 2008; Ward & Day, 2001). Nevertheless, this finding may be tempered by the recognition of the general under-reporting of sexual violence which

may be even more pronounced within the sex work context (Sullivan, 2003). Furthermore, these findings may not be directly transferable due to the qualitative differences between male and female sex work.

West and de Villiers (1993) provide similar accounts of police discouragement taking the case to court because the male prostitute had voluntarily entered the hotel with the client, and the prosecution would easily discredit his evidence in light of this information. In another case, a male prostitute reported being raped at knifepoint to the police at the hospital; later he identified the perpetrator on the street and notified a passing police officer, who subsequently arrested the assailant and put him in the back of the police van with the victim to be taken to the station. Another documented case was that of a rent-boy who was arrested and, while in his police cell, was raped by a police officer. Therefore, it can be appreciated why there may be under-reporting of male rape. It is not only the perception that the police may not believe the male prostitute's account, but also the insensitivity of their response, further reinforcing a lack of trust in the police. The prevalence of sex attacks during commercial sex encounters was similar to those occurring external to the '*rent scene*', thus being reflective of their street lifestyle, rather than their career choice. Although, "[i]nstances of anal rape by punters, either singly, or with the help of accomplices were the most dramatic and the most frequently cited examples of nasty experiences associated with prostitution" (West & de Villiers, 1993, p. 103). Also, there were those clients described as a risk to physical safety, who enjoyed '*acting out*' rape scenes and may use violence to have unprotected sex without the prostitute's consent (Browne & Minnichiello, 1995; West & de Villiers, 1993).

However, the historical context of West and de Villiers' (1993) research is noteworthy (regarding the anti-gay bias of the police being highlighted as well as the moralistic legal sanctions in response to homosexual acts resulting in the enforced clandestine nature of gay lifestyles). Thus, sympathetic and political undertones (a rejection of the social control of "evil" prostitution) are evidenced in their research. West and de Villiers also note the parallel dangers of risks of sexual violence inherent in street prostitution, and gay lifestyles, similar findings were noted regarding off-street sex work. But, they stated that sexually violent encounters perpetrated by clients against male sex workers were considered quite unusual when compared to the number of client-prostitute transactions which concluded uneventfully.

A number of participants in Browne and Minichiello's (1995) Australian study reported being "*...raped and/or pack raped and in all cases the rapists had not used condoms*" (p. 609), however, the frequency with which this occurred was not discussed. Alternatively, Farley and Barkan (1998) found that females and transgendered individuals were more likely than males to be raped when engaging in sex work (see also Weinberg et al., 1999). However, no explanation was given for this reported low level of rape within American male sex work. Barnard's (1993) Scottish study found the situational definition of rape (refusal of payment and forced sex or a violent attack with a loss of control and being physically overpowered) will affect the reported rapes as demonstrated in female sex work research. Nevertheless, Barnard prefaced this by stating most commercial sex encounters are unproblematic, but her conclusions are unclear as she then stated that female sex workers were unlikely to report rape due to their perceived lack of credibility because of the context of the rape.

Connell and Hart's (2003) Scottish study of the physical and mental health of sex workers, suggested client-perpetrated violence against male sex workers was widespread and that brothel work was particularly dangerous. They stated many male sex workers were raped on one or more occasions (see also Dorais, 2005; Knox, 1998). Gang rape was also reported, for example, a frequent ploy used was where the male sex worker would arrive at the flat with the client and find several men waiting. Another sex worker stated *"I've been raped twice, I've been battered, I've been used. I've done the business then didn't get the money..."* (Connell & Hart, 2003, p. 67). Street-based and off-street (e.g., brothels) male sex workers had been raped by clients which Connell and Hart state were not isolated incidents. Their study heavily contrasts with the aforementioned research which stated that client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers was unusual. However, Connell and Hart's findings were quite descriptive and could have been further deconstructed. Other research support Connell and Hart's findings; stating that *"[r]apes, muggings and assaults (of clients by prostitutes, of prostitutes by clients and of both prostitutes and clients by 'queer bashing' third parties) are commonplace..."*. (Bloor, 2004, p. 311) (These disputes were mainly about money.) Therefore, the available research on the incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers provide conflicting findings. The perception that these coerced sexual encounters may be rare could be the result of underreporting due to the lack of confidence in the police (see Man arrested for not paying male prostitutes, 2008), in that they would be disinterested, engage in victim-blaming, and provide a homophobic response.

Thus, there appears to be no published research that has solely focused on the incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers in the U.K., and the available findings of wider studies about this phenomenon are not in agreement. These divergent results may be the result of the age and location (street-based or off-street) of the sample and situational definitions of rape. In addition to which, few studies such as Boyer (1989) and Gaffney and Beverley (2001) used a social constructionist approach to deconstruct the context of the patriarchal power structures in heterosexist society within which male sex work takes place. The current study aims to contribute to the limited available research using a social constructionist approach to investigate the incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers.

3.1.13 Conclusions

There are a number of methodological concerns regarding male sex work research. For example, the lack of verification of whether many of the participants are actively engaged in the selling of sex within the commercial male sex industry when snowballing techniques are used as a method of recruitment (Allen, 1980; West & De Villiers, 1993). In ethnographic studies, naturalistic observation is the key determinant of those perceived to be sex workers and the lack of clarity of the role of the researcher may prove problematic (see McNamara, 1994); also there are ethical concerns when researchers pose as hustlers when conducting informal interviews (see Ginsberg, 1967) as there is a lack of informed consent. Furthermore, there may be inherent biases regarding the provision of socially desirable responses to unstructured interviews or “conversations” by a perceived peer (see Ginsberg, 1967) as opposed to a researcher. In addition, there may be self-selecting biases (Parsons et al., 2004) as a result of these male sex workers volunteering to engage with the research; as they may have quite different experiences from those male prostitutes who did not

participate in the study. It was also noted that few studies used control groups (Boyer, 1989; Earls & David, 1989; Janus et al. 1984), therefore the transferability of the majority of the research findings may be difficult to ascertain. There was also a lack of transparency of the methods and analyses used, and often a failure to identify possible limitations of the studies (for example, Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Ginsburg, 1967).

Paradigmatic shifts are evident from early male sex work research [which provided explanations for engagement in male prostitution as having a dysfunctional family background (Janus et al., 1984; Boyer et al., 1989), being a juvenile runaway (Harris, 1973) the result of child abuse (Boyer, 1989) or low educational achievement, ‘survival sex’ (Deisher et al., 1982)]; to later studies [which suggested a supplementary income (Koken, et al., 2004) was their goal; whereas other research had an epidemiological focus on public health concerns about unsafe sex practices resulting in the risk of transmission of HIV and other STIs between sex workers and their clients (Parsons et al., 2004; Browne & Minichiello, 1995)]. The above illustrates how researchers have alternated between criminalising and pathologising male prostitutes. These varying paradigms may influence male sex workers’ self-identification, potentially exacerbate their experiences of sexual violence and, reduce the likelihood of their contacting appropriate support services (if they know where to access them).

The lack of consensus regarding the sexual orientation of male sex workers is highlighted by earlier research (see Reiss, 1961) which suggested that many male prostitutes were heterosexual whereas later research suggested there was a predominance of homosexuality (Allen, 1980; Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Luckenbill, 1985; Weeks, 1981). In contrast, Sethi et al. (2006) suggested that in the

mid-1990s there was a tendency of male prostitutes to self-identify as homosexual whereas those recruited for research in 2000-2003 were predisposed to self-identify as heterosexual. Nevertheless, the majority of recent research however suggests an increasing tolerance of homosexuality within heterosexist society, whereby male sex workers feel more comfortable identifying as gay (Bimbi, 2007).

The association between homosexuality and male prostitution was highlighted due to the likelihood of the double stigmatisation of male sex workers which may further inhibit help-seeking behaviour when they have been sexually victimised. Condom usage was relevant to the current study due to the considerable pressure clients place on male sex workers to engage in acts such as barebacking (unprotected anal sex) and unprotected oral sex (which can result in health risks of HIV and AIDS). The refusal of male sex workers to accede to such demands may result in sexual violence being perpetrated against them.

Conflicting findings in the available literature were found to be more widespread about the extent of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers, with some researchers considering it a rare occurrence but highlighting its incidence and traumatic impact (West & de Villiers, 1993) while other studies found lower rates against male sex workers compared to their transgender and female counterparts (Farley & Barkan, 1998; Weinberg et al., 1999); and other research finding that it was prevalent (Connell & Hart, 2003). However, this topic has not been the sole investigation of any studies based in the UK. Male sex work has been underresearched and the focus of the current study is to assess the prevalence of client-perpetrated rape within male prostitution from a social constructionist perspective, as very little attention has been paid to this sex crime (Davies & Weatherburn, 1991).

3.1.14 Research Questions

The objective of this exploratory study was to investigate the incidence of sexual violence perpetrated by clients against male escorts. Factors investigated included: the context of the violence (such as the crime scene behaviours exhibited), the sex acts perpetrated, and the victim's response. This research, therefore, combines the two key challenging aspects from the outset: the '*invisibility*' of male sex workers and the sensitivity of studying sexual victimisation.

Researching sensitive topics makes substantial demands on researchers. They require skill, tenacity and imagination if they are successfully to confront the problems and issues which arise from research in various ways poses a threat to those who are studied...(Lee and Renzetti, 1990)... (Lee, 1999, p. 210).

Thus, while conducting sensitive research may be challenging, it is considered to be a worthwhile endeavour when findings can be applied to a real world context as in the case of action research. The above quotation highlights the skills and recognises the challenges of conducting this type of research. The ultimate aims of this action research were:

- (i) to contribute to the dearth of literature on this subject area regarding the incidence and context of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers.
- (ii) to inform the policies of agencies whose service users may include male sex workers (whose occupation doubly stigmatises them and may inhibit their help-seeking behaviour) who are victims of sexual violence perpetrated by their clients.

The triangulation of methodologies used to fulfil these objectives are presented in the next section.

3.2 Method

"Male prostitution is often a highly covert ... activity..." (Bloor, 2004, p. 310).

Bearing this in mind and that the current study was also on a sensitive topic (i.e. rape), the chosen methods had to take these factors into account. Therefore, it was considered that a triangulation method was the most appropriate for this research. Triangulation is a *"research strategy which involves using several methods to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical entity"* according to Denzin (as cited in Miller & Fox, 2004, p. 35). Miller and Fox (2004) state that it is inappropriate to try to develop an encapsulating theory about a *'single social reality'*, thus it is better to use different methodological approaches to connect varied perspectives; in this case they were multi-disciplinary perspectives.

The current exploratory study was originally devised to investigate street-based male sex workers' experiences of client-perpetrated sexual violence. However, due to access issues, this objective had to be adapted and considered retrospectively. Client-perpetrated sexual violence against male escorts has been largely neglected by researchers. Any study which examines sexual communities and subject areas that may be socially perceived as taboo, or behaviour which is contextualised within the twilight realms of legality, such as sex work, may be considered *'sensitive research'*. Lee (1999) states *"investigating sensitive topics usually introduces into the research process contingencies less commonly found in other kinds of study. Because of the threat they pose, sensitive topics raise difficult methodological and technical problems"* (p. 2). When researching sensitive topics the researcher has an even greater sense of their ethical responsibilities to safeguard the anonymity and confidentiality of participants. Researching *'deviant'* groups can be problematic especially when

studying areas relating to human sexuality, in that, according to Troiden's work (as cited in Lee, 1999), there is an '*occupational stigma*' inherent in this type of research resulting in both personal and professional risks. Thus, not only are challenges faced when recruiting participants and securing their trust, but also, from within the researcher's own academic and professional support, there may be stigmatisation by association.

The problem is that if researchers follow the path of least resistance and study only those settings which are easiest to access... the near at hand or the relatively innocuous will be reinforced. Moreover, because research which fails or which is never attempted is not usually reported, it becomes difficult to assess just how far the total universe of studies is weighted in a particular way (Lee, 1999, p. 141).

Furthermore, Sieber and Stanley (as cited in Lee, 1999, p. 16) suggest that researchers' avoidance of studying sensitive topics results in "*...an evasion of responsibility*".

It is also noted that positivist research is not commonly "*argued for*" or "*defended*" nor do researchers feel obliged to define the "*assumptions*" for their research as it is considered a "*given*" according to Fournier and Grey's study (as cited in Symon & Cassell, 2006, p. 310); this is a contrasting experience of qualitative researchers within the field. In addition, the factors typically used to assess quantitative methodologies may be inappropriately applied to qualitative approaches (failing to account for differing ontological and epistemological interpretations). Nevertheless, progress has been made in addressing such issues (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999; Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000). The concepts of internal reliability and external validity were not considered suitable in the context of the qualitative

methodology employed by the current study. Consequently, the concepts of “*credibility*” (relates to the trustworthiness of the research process and the resultant findings) and “*transferability*” (the application of findings to similar contexts as that of the initial research) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 300) were deemed more appropriate. These standards were maintained by ensuring the following criteria were considered during the course of this research:

- (i) The sensitivity to context such as an awareness of the available literature, cognisant of both the substantive and theoretical issues as well as the limitations of this study regarding generalisation about the representativeness of the sample population.
- (ii) Concerted efforts were made to conduct a study which was robust (rigorous method), transparent (to enable replication), and internally coherent (legitimate assumptions drawn from the data).
- (iii) The relationship between the researcher and the researched is recognised, particularly regarding the interview process (Millward, 2006).

The objective of this research was not only to investigate the prevalence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers but also to explore the context in which it occurs. ‘*Verstehen*’ (Weber, 1904/1949) (the subjective ‘*understanding*’ of the behaviour of others and how it influences their actions) is applied holistically to comprehend sexual violence (as it does not occur in a vacuum devoid of social interaction). Thus, according to a ‘*hermeneutic phenomenology*’ “*the aim is to construct an animating, evocative description of the human actions, behaviours, intentions and experiences as we meet them in the life world*” as described by Van Manen (as cited in Prins, 2006, p. 339).

Previous research on male sex work used predominantly qualitative methods due to the prevalence of limited sample sizes. Recruiting methods included ‘*snowballing*’ (see Connell & Hart, 2003) and ‘*cold contacting*’. While other methods included ethnography, participant and direct observation, unstructured interviews, a life-history approach (McNamara, 1994), focus groups (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001), (the exception being the use of quantitative methods such as factor analysis and principal components analysis (Cameron et al., 1999; Minnichiello et al., 2000) and semi-structured interviews. Piloting the interview schedules appeared to be unusual in the aforementioned research due to limited access to this population; however, some researchers did conduct pilot studies (e.g., Minichiello, et al, 2000; Robinson & Davies, 1991). But, the identification and selection of the samples were not rigorous in other studies (see Ginsburg, 1967), who selected his sample based on the dress code perceived to be that of the ‘*male prostitute*’ (leather jacket, white t-shirt and Levis). In addition, some researchers were not ethically responsible regarding the lack of informed consent when conducting participant research (see Ginsberg, 1967). In contrast, others went to extensive lengths to maintain high ethical standards in their research (see McNamara, 1994). Some studies also provided caveats regarding generalisations from their studies (for example, Robinson & Davies, 1991). The current research takes account of these limitations, and aims to provide a more rigorous and robust study.

3.2.1 Background Fieldwork for the Current Study

During 2004, a number of organisations were contacted whose service users were likely to include male sex workers, such as ‘GAYMENSTRAD.COM’ (website) and the ‘*Men’s Sexual Health Project*’ (MSHP), both based in Leicester - to provide a regional context of male sex work and, potentially to compare with male sex

work in London. However, the Director of '*Trade*' (another name for which was the Men's Sexual Health Project (MSHP) - this organisation was later renamed the '*Trade Sexual Health Project*') reported that the male sex industry was very limited in Leicester and that male prostitution was based in saunas (N. Broderick, personal communication, June 11, 2004). Thus, the planned comparative aspect of the research was not undertaken and male sex work in London was focused upon.

The most feasible way of reaching male sex workers in London was to access them through outreach workers from the Working Men Project (WMP) and SW5. The WMP provide a "*nurse-led confidential and specialist sexual health promotion and HIV prevention service for commercial male sex workers, based within a Genito-Urinary Department*" (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001, p. 135) in London. This organisation was established in 1994, and occupies a privileged structural and constant space within an ever-changing 'scene'. This strategic position enables the WMP to offer services concerning clinical issues and possible health concerns to men who sell sex from the street, brothels, massage parlours, and apartments, (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001), and, more recently, the Internet. Initial contact was made with the WMP in February 2004 to seek access to their service users.

At this stage, there were attempts made by outreach personnel to encourage a change in focus of the proposed research to street-based transgendered sex workers (as they were more likely to experience sexual and/or physical violence perpetrated by their clients) rather than male sex workers. It was suggested that SW5 (previously known as Streetwise Youth) should be contacted regarding the feasibility of conducting research on the incidence of sexual violence among transgendered sex workers, which I did in February 2004. SW5 provide free condoms, lubricants, access to medical professionals; other services include holistic therapies, counselling

(regarding exit strategies from sex work or relationship issues); advocacy; practical advice relating to legislation and immigration issues, and Internet-based outreach. All services provided by SW5 are free and confidential. A café for service users to relax and socialise and enjoy free food and drink is also available. The aim of many of their services is to assist male sex workers in avoiding social isolation, which may be experienced as a result of this type of work because of its nature, and the associated stigma.

In order to develop a working knowledge of the male sex work '*scene*' in London, a number of outreach sessions were arranged within different contexts (brothels and street-based sex work). Thus, I was introduced to a number of male escorts at a brothel, some of whom expressed an interest in participating in this research. At the brothel, the WMP outreach worker provided clinical advice on health issues, whereas the SW5 outreach worker informed the male sex workers of their social service provisions. The outreach sessions last for two hours from 8pm to 10pm at the brothel, where a bedroom is made available by the management for this duration. This demonstrates a '*duty of care*' to the sex workers who, although they work within the brothel, are considered self-employed and hire the room in order to circumvent legislation targeting sex work. Alternatively, it could also be suggested that the brothel owners are looking after their '*earners*' (because if the escorts' social and psychological health and well-being are maintained, this will increase their marketability and facilitate the provision of services to more clients, than if this were not the case).

To provide a holistic perspective regarding male prostitution, I also arranged attendance of an outreach session for street-based male sex workers concentrated in the Soho triangle. This session provided an example of the joint outreach provided by

the WMP and Central London Action on Street Health (C.L.A.S.H). C.L.A.S.H. is also affiliated to an NHS Trust, which is in Camden. They have been providing outreach to male sex workers in Piccadilly since 1993 (C.L.A.S.H., 2004). They have close links with The London Connection (a homeless charity organisation) and Mortimer Market Centre (sexual health clinic). A C.L.A.S.H outreach worker had arranged for me to accompany her on her street-based outreach work, the aim of which is to make contact with male sex workers who are more marginalised than their off-street counterparts. However, due to a last minute alteration to arrangements, the outreach worker and I remained at the drop-in clinic (which provides advice, refreshments and condoms) from 8pm to 10pm. There was also the Young Men's Outreach Team (who used the clinic as their base) so that if they made contact with male sex workers on the streets, they would encourage them to come back to the clinic with them. However, after over an hour they returned and stated that they had seen no one soliciting at the usual locations. The clinic runs for a period of two hours, and on this occasion only one person attended (who was suffering from some psychological difficulties resulting in lapses in the coherence of his conversation), and he was known to the outreach workers. I enquired whether it would be beneficial to travel to London on several further occasions but it was felt by the outreach team that the situation was unlikely to improve (due to their recent experiences).

It was decided that, as a result of the difficulties in recruiting the more marginalised street-based male sex workers, and the transition to off-street locations (such as apartments, brothels and hotel rooms); that off-street male sex workers and their experiences relating to sexual violence would be a more viable (if still somewhat challenging) sample population to research. It was anecdotally stated by the WMP that only 10% of their service users (male sex workers) were subject to sexual

violence (J. Gaffney, personal communication, February 13, 2004). However, as there were no specific research studies on this subject, it was decided to continue with the current research in order to provide a valuable contribution to the available literature, and thus worth pursuing despite discouragement from some relevant people/organisations.

3.2.2 Accessing and Recruiting Participants for Interview

The most feasible way of reaching male sex workers was to access them through gatekeepers, such as the WMP and SW5 organisations. The sampling method used was adopted from the science of geology, as drawn upon by Webb (as cited in Lee, 1999), and is described as “*outcropping*”. This practice may be applied by the qualitative researcher through “*relational outcropping*”. This involves identifying a location where the deviant group being studied congregates and subsequently using it as a base to recruit difficult-to-reach participants. When conducting my background research for this study I was informed by the WMP that there had been a transition from the street to off-street sex work in recent years with the advent of the mobile telephone and the Internet. Therefore, in order to retain and pursue the original objective, in an adapted form, it was decided to take a historical perspective regarding street-based sex work (especially considering the difficulty experienced accessing street-based sex workers in Soho as aforementioned). Thus, male sex workers engaged in escort work at off-street locations would be asked if they had been subjected to sexual violence by their clients in this context, or, retrospectively, if they had been sexually victimised when previously engaged in street-based sex work (if they had ever worked on the streets).

The interview schedules were piloted among outreach workers of the WMP and SW5, who provided useful and constructive comments. This method of piloting

was considered appropriate due to the outreach workers' knowledge of their service users. This knowledge informed their comments on the suitability of the format and content which increased the "*credibility*" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the questionnaire design. This process avoided drawing on an already limited opportunistic sample of sex workers.

3.2.3 Ethical Issues

It was ensured throughout this sensitive research that high ethical standards were maintained. This was facilitated through the use of consent forms, ensuring that informed consent was obtained for each section of the study conducted. A key concern was the potential problem of criminal disclosures, and I contacted Dr. Lorraine Gelsthorpe (having previously supervised doctoral research on female sex workers) at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge for advice on this matter. Dr. Gelsthorpe consulted a member of the British Society of Criminology's Ethics Panel and it was suggested that the instructions (on the draft consent form provided) could be slightly amended. The consent form was re-drafted in light of this information, (in order to protect both the participant and myself from the ramifications of the potential elicitation of criminal disclosures), a copy of which is provided in *Appendix 2.5.1* (the same format was used for both the web-based and tick-box questionnaire consent forms).

However, before male sex workers could be accessed through the WMP, it was emphasised that approval needed to be sought from St. Mary's NHS Local Research Ethics Committee (LREC). This was due to the sample of male sex workers being recruited through the clinic run by the Working Men Project based at St. Mary's NHS Trust Hospital. Initially, a qualitative content analysis of semi-structured questionnaires was to be employed. But, on recommendation from the WMP, semi-

structured interviews (based on the questionnaires) were used instead as they stated their service users would be unlikely to complete lengthy questionnaires at the clinic. Informal discussions were also held with service users of SW5 to help contextualise this research. The construction of semi-structured questionnaires was informed by the relevant available literature.

“Gatekeepers often allow researchers into a setting but use formal agreements and procedures in order to control their activities” (Lee, 1999, p. 125). The NHS was the gatekeeper with whom I had to negotiate with in order to access the WMP clinic. The time-line of the negotiation through the NHS LREC and Research and Development bureaucratic processes from April 2004 to June 2005 is included in *Appendix 2.1* to reflect the challenges in reaching the point at which recruitment of participants could begin. Having successfully attained LREC, and Research and Development Committee approval of the current study; it was disappointing that no volunteers presented at the WMP for interviews (during the June-December 2005 period). This was despite the study being advertised by the use of information leaflets at the WMP reception and promotion by their staff. St. Mary’s LREC and The Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review Committee Approval Letters are included in *Appendices 2.1.1* and *2.1.2*, respectively. As part of the negotiation process with WMP (the host organisation) it was agreed that a summary report would be provided to the organisations involved (on completion of this research), and I was also invited to speak at the Genito-Urinary Nurses Association’s Annual Conference on ‘*Male Rape Survivors*’ which I duly did. They also published an article based on this presentation in their journal, *GUNA News*.

Other methods were subsequently considered to engage this difficult-to-reach sexual community and are described in the following sections. The original semi-

structured questionnaire formed basis for the interview schedule was adapted for its placement online. These amendments involved increasing the breadth of questions, due to participants being recruited internationally.

3.2.4 Web-Based Questionnaires

Use of the Internet in the form of these web-based questionnaires was chosen for a number of reasons, such as ease of access, low cost, and anonymity of participants (Cooper, 1998). *"Internet communication affords qualitative researchers creative potential because of its geographic dispersion, multi-modality, and chronomalleability"* (Markham, 2004, p. 120). The web-based questionnaire was eventually chosen as the most appropriate mode of enquiry for this research for the following reasons: (i) the accessibility for a diverse group of participants (which could enable cross-cultural comparisons) (Hewson, Yule, Laurent, & Vogel, 2003; Riva, Teruzzi, & Anolli, 2003); and (ii) this method enabled immediate receipt and ease of access for analysis and reduced financial cost compared to other methods (Tourangeau, 2004).

Due to the sample population (i.e. male sex workers) being targeted they could complete the questionnaire when it was convenient for them (Binik, 2001). This internet mode of delivery is particularly suited for accessing difficult-to-reach populations (Bowen, 2005). The difficulty in recruiting members of the male sex work sexual community (Dorais, 2005) was highlighted in previous research (which consisted of six male sex workers and five clients) (Knox, 1998).

The online versions of the questionnaires were identical to the hard copies of the questionnaire, so these were sent to my on site supervisor (J.G.) at the WMP for additional comments. It was also attempted to pilot these questionnaires but none were returned. The feedback received from the WMP was incorporated, and the appropriate amendments made. Careful piloting to deal with any technical difficulties

(Hewson, et al., 2003) was conducted. This new format was then piloted among service users of SW5; in that a poster advertising this research was sent to SW5 with the website address and password (I did not wish the questionnaire to go 'live' until all efforts to pilot it among the sample population had been exhausted). However, no responses were received despite initial interest and reminders being given. Therefore 5 independent (unaffiliated to the WMP, SW5 or male sex worker community) male individuals were asked to complete the pilot questionnaire solely to identify any technical difficulties (in adherence to Hewson et al.'s recommendations).

By May 2005, the questionnaire was ready to go 'live' at www.malerape-survivor.com, and the canvassing of relevant websites was carried out to see if they would place a link to my questionnaire on them. *WMP*, *SW5*, *Hook Online* (a website for escorts by escorts), *SWEAT* (South African organisation which provides advocacy to sex workers); and *The London Connection* (which provides outreach to homeless and roofless young people in Soho and surrounding areas) were contacted. Other organisations that were e-mailed included *PACE* (London's leading charity which promotes the mental health and emotional wellbeing of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender communities); *Freedoms* (this scheme was launched in June 2000 and is a collaborative venture between the Gay Men's Team in the Health Promotion Service of Camden, and Islington Community Health Services NHS Trust and the Healthy Gay Living Centre (HGLC). *EscortX.net* (established by a retired escort – he provides advice regarding the commercial sex industry as well as resources); and the *ENMP* (European Network of Male Prostitution) were also contacted. Despite initial interest from *HOOK Online*, they never placed a link to this research on their website. The following publications were simultaneously approached for their assistance in advertising for male rape survivors' experiences of the police response received, and

for the current study on client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers. These were *Men's Health*, *Gentlemen's Quarterly (GQ)*, *The Pink Paper*, *Boyz*, *QX*, and *Attitude*, no responses were received, but, the *WMP*, *SW5*, *EscortX.net* and *ENMP* did respond and permitted links to be placed on their websites. Considering the significant challenges faced accessing this sample group, it is very understandable why there is a paucity of research regarding male sex workers. This highlights the value and importance of the research being conducted for this thesis.

"Sampling is a major problem for any kind of research. We can't study every case of whatever we're interested in, nor should we want to. Every scientific enterprise tries to find out something that will apply to everything of a certain kind by studying a few examples, the results of the study being as we say 'generalizable' to all members of that class of stuff. We need the sample to persuade people that we know something about the whole class" Becker (as cited in Silverman, 2005, p. 136). Theoretical generalisability, or the more appropriate concept of '*transferability*' was considered to be more relevant to the current study. '*Transferability*' relates to the applicability of findings from one context to another which are similar in nature. Nevertheless, sufficient information must be provided in order to facilitate replication of the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Purposive sampling (Robson, 2002; Smith, 2005) was used, in that there was a specific target population of this study composed of male sex workers who were service users of the aforementioned organisations or visited the selected websites on which links to the questionnaire were posted. Participants then voluntarily made an active decision on reading information about the research as to whether to participate or not.

It was considered that grounded theory was an appropriate form of analysis for the research question, which sought participants' perspectives; and it is also suitable for limited sample sizes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The complexities of grounded theory are clarified by Jones and Noble (2007):

First, grounded theory can be strictly emergent or can allow any combination of forcing elements in the form of pre-conceived phenomena, research questions, sampling techniques, interrogative questions, coding templates, and so on. Second, the grounded theory product can either be conceptual or descriptive. Third, the grounded theory product can be an integrative (core category) theory that pulls together all categories and sub-categories into an overall scheme, or it can be a loosely connected theory embedded in numerous narratives and stories, or it can be no theory at all. Fourth, the grounded theory process can employ either systematic, non-optional procedures, or a flexible mix of procedures from which researchers can pick or choose (p. 98).

The qualitative method of the current study, while not strictly adhering to purist grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), may be considered to be what Braun and Clarke (2006) define as “*grounded theory lite*”. Their definition of which is “... *a set of procedures for coding data very much akin to thematic analysis. Such analyses do not appear to fully subscribe to the theoretical commitments of ‘full-fat’ grounded theory...*” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Dey (2007) echoes their conceptualisation of the utility of grounded theory, although not strictly “*applied*” it was considered to possibly be productive for the theoretical perspective to “*inform*” his analysis. The

adapted form of grounded theory (as described above by Braun & Clarke, 2006) was applied in this research; therefore, the aim was not to develop a theoretical approach solely driven by the data. Instead, themes informed by the available literature were derived from the data.

It was considered that a self-completion questionnaire may increase the response rate and would reduce the potential for a social desirability response bias (which may have been inherent in the interview responses). Furthermore, the lack of direct contact is considered better for “....*dealing with sensitive topics*” (Robson, 2002, p. 238). The design of the semi-structured questionnaire involved the use of open questions (to facilitate respondents’ documentation of their experiences in their own words) and closed questions in order to encourage the answering of sensitive questions. On the front page of the questionnaire was an introductory paragraph, which provided the aims of this research and stated that all responses would be anonymous and confidential. I emphasised that the naming of individuals or places which might identify them must not be included. Informed consent was facilitated through the use of a tick box, which participants needed to tick, confirming they had read the introductory statement (Hewson, et al., 2003). Thus, they consented to participate in the study. The questionnaire was set up so that the completed questionnaire could not be submitted unless this box was checked. In order to safeguard the privacy of participants, a set of guidelines was provided whereby, if they used a shared public computer, they could erase the stored history of the websites they had visited. These Internet safety guidelines were used with the permission of the *Support Network for Battered Wives’ (SNBW)* website (www.snbw.org), based in the United States.

There were 27 questions, some of which contained multiple parts. Part 1 of the questionnaire asked innocuous questions regarding demographic information. Part 2 asked more specific questions regarding their involvement in the commercial male sex industry. The focus was on off-street based sex work, but the questionnaire did contain retrospective questions regarding any street-based sex work, which participants may have engaged in the past. Further questions were asked regarding whether the participant had experienced client-perpetrated sexual violence and the nature and frequency of these incidents. The final part of the questionnaire enquired as to whether the sexual violence incident(s) were reported to the police and the outcome of their case. A generic space was also provided at the end of the questionnaire for *'further comments'*, empowering participants to have their voice heard about any issues that particularly concerned them, which may not have been covered by the questionnaire. (This adhered to the action research principles of the current study.) The more sensitive questions were phrased in the colloquial language of respondents for ease of comprehension, as recommended by Bradburn and Sudman (as cited in Lee, 1999).

The completed questionnaires were sent from the website (www.mswrape-survivor.com - this domain name was purchased for the duration of this research study) direct to my university e-mail address. In addition, once the questionnaire was completed by the participant, a debriefing text (Hewson et al., 2003) with resources for rape survivors and specialist organisations whose social and health services are directed at male sex workers was automatically displayed on submission of the completed questionnaire. Confidentiality and anonymity is key when dealing with sensitive topics (Lee & Renzetti, 1993), and this was ensured at the outset by my request not to include any names and addresses which may identify them or others.

The questionnaire itself was by its nature anonymous (due to the request not to provide identifying details), and only the researcher had access to the data as the computer officer had automated all responses to be directed to my e-mail account. *"Time and date stamps attached to each data submission may help identify multiple responses from the same user, especially along with browser and host information"* (Hewson, et al., 2003, p. 86). This was not a problem as all e-mails contained the date and time; in addition, multiple responses by the same participant could be confirmed through the similarity of content.

The web-based questionnaires were active from June 2005 and were deactivated in January 2007. Despite this time period and the questionnaire's advertisement on the aforementioned sites (in addition to being available to participants on a global scale, to increase the transferability of the findings), as well as advertised in the London-based organisations of SW5 and the WMP; a numerically limited sample was recruited (n=7).

From the literature review of the available research, 99 nominally coded variables were derived from the questionnaire responses and entered into SPSS v.12. A code book is provided in *Appendix 2.2*. A descriptive analysis was conducted of the quantitative variables such as: the demographics of the male sex worker such as 'age', 'sexuality', 'ethnicity', and 'domicile'. In addition, experiential variables relating to street and/or off-street based sex work: 'yrstrade' (number of years spent in the 'trade'), and 'svoffstreet' (e.g., sexual violence experienced at off street locations) were also analysed. Other variables included 'noof' (number of offenders) and sexually violent acts perpetrated e.g. 'oralpenmsw' (coerced oral penetration of the male sex worker). Crime scene variables were also included: the male sex worker's rape resistance strategies, such as 'phyverbstrat' (whether physical or verbal

resistance strategies were used), and help-seeking behaviours - '*contctvs*' (contacted victim support), and '*vicagen*' (victim agency contacted). This process was to complement the subsequent 'grounded theory lite' analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The participant responses were coded as [MSW001it] (prefix **it** indicates an Internet response). These questionnaires were received immediately once the participant clicked the submit button, they were then deposited into a folder in my e-mail inbox. Once printed off, they were removed from my inbox to be stored on my personal computer. A copy of the web-based questionnaire is included in *Appendix 2.3*.

The level of qualitative analysis performed was also impinged upon by the detail provided by the small number of respondents. Braun and Clarke's (2006) '*grounded theory lite*' approach was conducted on the web-based questionnaires' qualitative data in order to identify the themes and subsequent sub-themes which contextualise the phenomenon of the client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers.

Themes were derived from the information, such as the motivation for involvement in male sex work, sex work experience, venues, sexual violence, protective strategies and advice. A complete list of the themes and sub-themes is provided in *Appendix 2.4*. As a result of the small number of participants, other methodologies were used to recruit additional participants, for example, via telephone interviews.

3.2.5 Telephone Interviews with Male Escorts

The telephone interview as a method has been considered appropriate for samples which may be geographically diverse (Thomas & Purdon, 1994). This would definitely be the case for male escorts who advertised in the *Gay Times* and were targeted by the current study. The use of the telephone interview optimises the time

available and reduces costs (Burnard, 1994; Ross, Mackenzie, Smith, Masterson, & Wood, 2003; Wilson, Roe, & Wright, 1998). These interviews are amenable to participants due to the brevity of time required (Ross et al., 2003) and this was of particular relevance for escorts for whom *'time is money'*. Therefore, the interviews were as concise as possible so that their mobile telephones were not busy for an extended period whereby they might have lost business. Telephone interviews facilitate the clarification of questions asked (Smith, 2005).

The telephone interview may also result in increased response rates (Thomas & Purdon, 1994). This method also reduces concerns about the personal safety of the researcher (Wilson et al., 1998), which could be a pertinent issue in the current study. It was decided to conduct telephone interviews as an attempt to increase the data regarding the prevalence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male escorts. If the individual wished to contribute further information (as the interviews were quite brief in accordance with recommendations, see Thomas & Purdon, 1994) he was directed towards the web-based questionnaire. The proactive practice of *'cold-calling'* escorts, whilst not ideal due to criticisms of being *'intrusive'* according to Baker (as cited in Smith, 2005) was employed, having had no response from e-mails sent to escorts' e-mail addresses. Some researchers suggested that there is an increased likelihood of responses using telephone interviews for sensitive topics, such as investigating the life-time prevalence of substance misuse (e.g., Pridemore, Damphouse, & Moore, 2005). Furthermore, this method may increase the distancing effect, facilitating an improved response rate to sensitive questions (Wilson et al., 1998). Before the close of the interview, debriefing regarding the current research was provided. An unstructured approach was taken when conducting the telephone

interviews, therefore the 'grounded theory lite' form of analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006) was deemed appropriate to analyse the data (Burnard, 1994).

A copy of the *Gay Times* "...which has the highest circulation of any gay issue publication among gay males in the UK" (Cameron, Collins & Thew, 1999, p. 1524), which contains advertisements for escorts and masseurs (including their pictures and contact details) at the back of the magazine, was used to identify a random sample (n=44) of participants from an available sample of 104 escorts who had advertised in that issue. These escorts ranged in age and ethnicity; so although the majority advertised for mainstream clients, two of the sample solely catered to BDSM (Bondage and Discipline, Domination and Submission, and Sadism and Masochism) clients. Purposive sampling (Robson, 2002) was used, as the escorts were drawn from a specific source and were selected for their intrinsic experience and knowledge of escorting. The telephone interviews were conducted in my workplace after 5pm to ensure confidentiality and access to resources.

I contacted the 44 escorts and one escort agency over a period of two months from October to November 2005. When I called a potential participant I first of all identified myself, explained about my study and then asked if they would like to participate in this research. This was to ensure informed consent was sought and provided. A limitation of the telephone interview was that it could be disrupted due to participant distraction or loss of mobile telephone connection (Thomas & Purdon, 1994). A friendly and conversational tone was taken from the outset to facilitate a rapport, as otherwise the participant maybe unlikely to continue with the interview (Robson, 2002). A telephone interview script was used to ensure concise and clear questions were asked, maintaining the focus of the research. Each telephone call was logged and the outcome recorded (e.g., busy, no answer, follow-up call required, not

interested), as recommended (Robson, 2002). The telephone script and accompanying log of the calls can be found in *Appendix 2.7*. If the call went unanswered, I called back at a later date. Of those who took my call, a total of 28 participants were interviewed briefly. The responses were coded as [MSWT1] (to indicate a telephone respondent). Those who were interested in participating further, I informed, texted or e-mailed them the link to the website address, www.mswrapesurvivor.com, to enable their completion of the web-based questionnaire. Before the close of the conversation, all participants were thanked for their engagement in the current study.

3.2.6 Gaydar

An additional web-based form of recruitment of participants was also attempted by advertising the current study via a profile on *Gaydar*. *Gaydar* is a website for posting gay personal advertisements. There is also a web page within this website solely for male escorts to advertise their services. However, having paid the registration fee, I was informed that using Gaydar to post a message on their message board about my research was not permitted, as it would encourage other researchers to do the same. Thus, my membership was withdrawn and fee refunded. It was stated that if they permitted one researcher to do this then their site would be inundated with similar requests by other researchers as this resource would provide an easy access route to the gay community (Gaydar personal communication, October 24, 2005). I understood their reasoning underlying this policy but it was nonetheless, disappointing.

3.2.7 Tick-Box Questionnaires

The aim of these concise questionnaires was to facilitate access to sex workers for whom English may not be their first language (as recommended by the Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review Committee). The

original semi-structured questionnaire was adapted to a tick box format. This was sent to my onsite supervisor (J.G.) at the WMP for comments on whether the questions were clear and coherent (considering his knowledge of the sample population and their level of language skills), this resulted in minimal amendments to the language used. Twenty of these questionnaires were originally sent to the WMP in September 2005 but were never returned. It is not known what happened to them as there was a changeover of staff and the person responsible for the coordination and dissemination of the questionnaires changed jobs. Thus, in September 2006 another batch of 20 questionnaires was sent to the WMP and made available at their clinic reception until December 2006. Over this period 13 questionnaires were completed and returned to the researcher; these were coded as [MSWTB1] (denoting a tick box respondent).

The information was coded into 82 of the original 97 variables, the omitted 15 variables were derived from open questions such as *'factinfldec'* (factors which influenced the victim's decision to report), *'howaffectlife'* (how the sexually violent incident affected their life), *'advfrend'* (what advice would they give a friend if in a similar situation), and *'furthcomm'* (further comments). The same items were used as in the web-based questionnaires to maintain both dependability and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For example, the escorts' demographics, their work experience, *'yrstrade'* (no. of years spent escorting); *'locoffstret'* (off-street based venues used); *'svoffst'* (incidents of sexual violence perpetrated against them at off-street locations); male sex workers' rape resistance strategies such as *'phyverbstrat'* (whether physical or verbal resistance strategies were used); and *'contctvs'* (help-seeking behaviours) - contacted victim support), *'vicagen'* (type of victim agency contacted). See *Appendix 2.2* for a list of all of the variables.

Quantitative analyses of the frequencies of age, sexual orientation, and length of time spent escorting as recorded in the tick-box questionnaire data were also conducted. But, of the 26 questions five had provisions for qualitative answers (these were analysed using the ‘grounded theory lite’ approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes identified were ‘*experience in the sex work industry*’, ‘*sexual violence in commercial male sex work*’, ‘*advice*’ and ‘*sex work as an occupation*’.

Nonetheless, the nature of the collated information did not enable qualitative analyses to be conducted. A copy of the tick-box questionnaire is included in *Appendix 2.5.2*

3.2.8 Interviews based at SW5

I also arranged with SW5 to hold a drop-in session on a specified day and date which was mutually convenient. Posters were sent to SW5 in advance, advertising this drop-in session, in order to maximise the likelihood of participation in these sessions. The poster highlighted the date, time, venue and the topics being discussed, for instance, how participants (a) became involved in the male sex industry; (b) the length of time they have been working as an escort; (c) how clients are contacted; and (d) issues or concerns they may have regarding this type of work. It was also specified that the information would be anonymised and their confidentiality ensured and that they would not be asked to name individuals or places.

It was also stated that the aim of these sessions was to enable their views of sex work in London to be presented at the annual conference held by the Western Region of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality Annual Conference on ‘*Unstudied, Understudied, and Underserved Sexual Communities: New areas for research, education and therapies*’ in San Francisco. Verbal informed consent was obtained (Wolfgang, 1981) and the interviews were digitally recorded (for ease of

transcription), and tape recorded (as a back-up measure) (see Burnard, 1994). Consent was also given by participants for the recording of these sessions. During a two hour period, three escorts volunteered to be interviewed. These escorts were of different ages, backgrounds, and catered to different types of clientele. The approach used to inform the interviewing style was casual and non-judgmental in order to create a “*framework of trust*” (Lee, 1999) and to prevent the power of the interviewer being a significant factor in influencing interviews. This power was relinquished to the interviewee to an extent as their experiential knowledge of sex work and its possible dangers was being sought. However, Brannen (as cited in Lee, 1999) noted that this power brokerage is two-fold, being exercised by both the interviewer (who dictates the structure and format of the interview) and the respondent (who controls the level of information provided).

The interviews lasted for approximately 30 to 40 minutes and were coded as [MSWP1] (to represent an interview participant). The interviews were transcribed and grounded theory lite analysis employed. Thus, from the respondents’ data, themes emerged regarding their experiences in the commercial male sex work industry (see *Appendix 2.6* for the interview schedule and *Appendix 2.6.1*, for the transcripts of these interviews).

3.3 Results

The findings are presented in four sections composed of the information collated via (i) the web-based questionnaires, (ii) the tick-box questionnaires, (iii) telephone interviews, and (iv) face-to-face interviews.

3.3.1 Web-Based Questionnaires

Participant characteristics

This sample (n=7) will be discussed together with the paper-based tick box questionnaires and those of the telephone and interview data.

Of the seven escorts who completed the web-based questionnaire the majority were aged between 23 and 31. Of these 71% were Caucasian, 14% were of French West Indian descent, and the remaining 15% did not provide this information. The sexual orientation of these escorts was: gay-identified (71%), whereas the remainder (14%) self-identified as bisexual, and 15% did not disclose this information. The country of residence was the UK (71%), Greece (14%), and 15% of respondents failed to complete this question.

Participant experiences in the commercial male sex industry

In order to contextualise incidents of client-perpetrated sexual violence, the experience of escorts was explored with regard to a number of factors. For example, their motivation for entry into male sex work, the length of time spent as an escort, mode of client contact, and the venues used. In addition, the protective strategies used and advice given to friends who had been subject to sexual violence were explored. First, the themes derived from the questionnaires will be presented.

3.3.1.1 Thematic Analysis of the Web-Based Questionnaires

Several sub-themes of the theme 'Motivation' (for entry into sex work) were identified, which could be grouped together under '*instrumental*' ('*Ambition*', '*Supplementary income*', and '*Lucrative*') and '*expressive*' ('*Attractiveness*', '*Peer-Related Interest*', '*Acceptability*', '*High Sex Drive*', and '*Increases Self-Esteem*'), these support previous research. However, the main focus here are the themes identified as '*Sexual violence*', '*Protective strategies*' and '*Advice*' which are discussed below.

Sexual Violence

Only one case of sexual violence was reported. This incident is explored in detail here. It took place when the respondent [MSW005it] was engaged in street-based sex work. The act perpetrated was male rape and the victim was also forced to manually masturbate his offender. He froze but used verbal resistance "*I pleaded, then I tried to persuade that someone might pass by or watch what was happening and call the police (it was open parking lot surrounded by buildings)*", which was not effective. These assaults took place at multiple locations (including a car and parking lot). There were two offenders; however, during the victim resistance phase of the attack, one offender left due to the fear of being caught. The remaining offender used psychological coercion:

"One of them was a cop, and even if it was a fake police i.d. (which is easy to get) male prostitution is illegal, I would get in trouble. I would get in trouble even if I wasn't a hooker. Cops in Greece usually harass fags who cruise"
[MSW005it].

Escorts who had been subjected to sexually violent incidents were also asked how these experiences affected them and their occupational behaviour. In the case of

[MSW005it] he did not perceive this particular incident as having affected him any more adversely than previous physical non-sexual assaults - *“I don’t know. I’ve been beaten before many times much worse. The rape thing didn’t matter that much, I just took it waiting to finish”*. However, he did change his soliciting behaviour in order to be more alert to possible dangers - *“I became more careful working the streets”* [MSW005it]. He also asserted that should a similar incident occur – *“next time I attack back. [H]opefully I won’t freeze again”* .

This theme was identified from a street-based sex worker’s experience of client-perpetrated rape.

Protective Strategies

It was also noted that, even when sexual violence was not experienced, escorts did use protective strategies, such as analysing the behaviour of clients and their tone of voice, and listening to their *‘gut instincts’*. The following male sex workers’ responses illustrate these practices:

“...analyze client’s behaviour, be aware of surroundings, listen to instincts, minimize risks, get out of threatening situations” [MSW002it].

“I never meet people who don’t sound normal on the phone, so by using this intuition I have never had any really bad experiences. If a client over stepped my boundaries I was able to control the situation” [MSW007it].

It was recognised by the male sex worker that there were risks involved in engaging in commercial sex work. However, it was perceived that if *“done right”* (as stated below) this places the escort at minimal risk:

“unlike a lot of escorts it’s something I had chose to do, I fully understand the risks I have taken but if done right it does reduce the risk, after working for 2 yrs I haven’t come across any abuse or abusive clients. I do think there is a lot of stigma within the industry that guys have been pushed into it or abused in past years but in my case and I’m sure in a lot of other escorts cases that this is not true”
[MSW001it].

The theme of protective strategies describes the importance of the risk assessment of clients and listening to their ‘*gut instincts*’ to safeguard against violent or abusive clients.

Advice

To identify organisations or support networks which sexually victimised escorts could seek help from participants were asked what advice they would give a friend who had been raped. The following response was provided - “*contact police & SW5*” [MSW002it]. This response suggests a willingness to report their sexual victimisation to the police, as well as contacting relevant organisations that provide dedicated services and outreach to male sex workers.

From the theme of advice it emerged that the male escorts would advise one of his peers who had been raped to contact the police indicating trust that they would take the case seriously. The SW5 organisation which provides outreach to this sexual community was also mentioned, suggesting an awareness of the services they provide. This theme is based on one respondent’s answer to this question.

3.3.1.2 Sex Work Experience

Their work experience in the commercial sex industry ranged from one to six years. Of these respondents 57% had never been involved in street-based sex work and 28% had engaged in both on- and off-street-based sex work. Respondents were also asked how they contacted clients, 71% used mobile telephones, 14% advertised through magazines and newspapers; and a further 14% made contact with clients through soliciting on the street.

3.3.1.3 Sex Work Venues

The venues used were predominantly the escorts' own apartment (57%), opportunistic locations, such as cars (14%), clients' apartments (14%), as well as hotel rooms (14%).

The next section focuses on the responses elicited from male sex worker respondents using tick-box format questionnaires (formulated for non-native English speakers) which were made available from the WMP clinic.

3.3.2 (ii) Paper-Based Tick Box Questionnaires

The sample size was small (n=13) but this is not unusual regarding this sample group, as male sex workers who work from off-street locations are challenging to access (Shaver, 2005). First, quantitative analyses in the form of descriptive statistics were conducted on the following data: (i) the demographics of the sample, (ii) the entry points at which male sex workers' entered 'the industry, (iii) the number of years they have worked in the male sex industry and (iv) the variety of sex work venues used by individual escorts. Second, the qualitative data (obtained through a number of open questions included in the tick-box questionnaires) pertaining to male

sex workers' experiences of the commercial male sex industry were analysed using thematic analysis.

Participant Characteristics

3.3.2.1 Age

The demographics of this sample were quite varied as the ages of the escorts ranged from 20 to 32 (the mean age was 26.23). Thus, the escorts were young and of a similar age to those from the web-based sample.

3.3.2.2 Country of Birth

Country of birth included Malaysia, New Zealand, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, USA, Italy, Kuwait, Costa Rica and the UK. The countries which were most represented were the UK (21.3%), Brazil (15.4%) and (7.7%) omitted this information. Figure 3 below provides the division of the sample according to their country of origin.

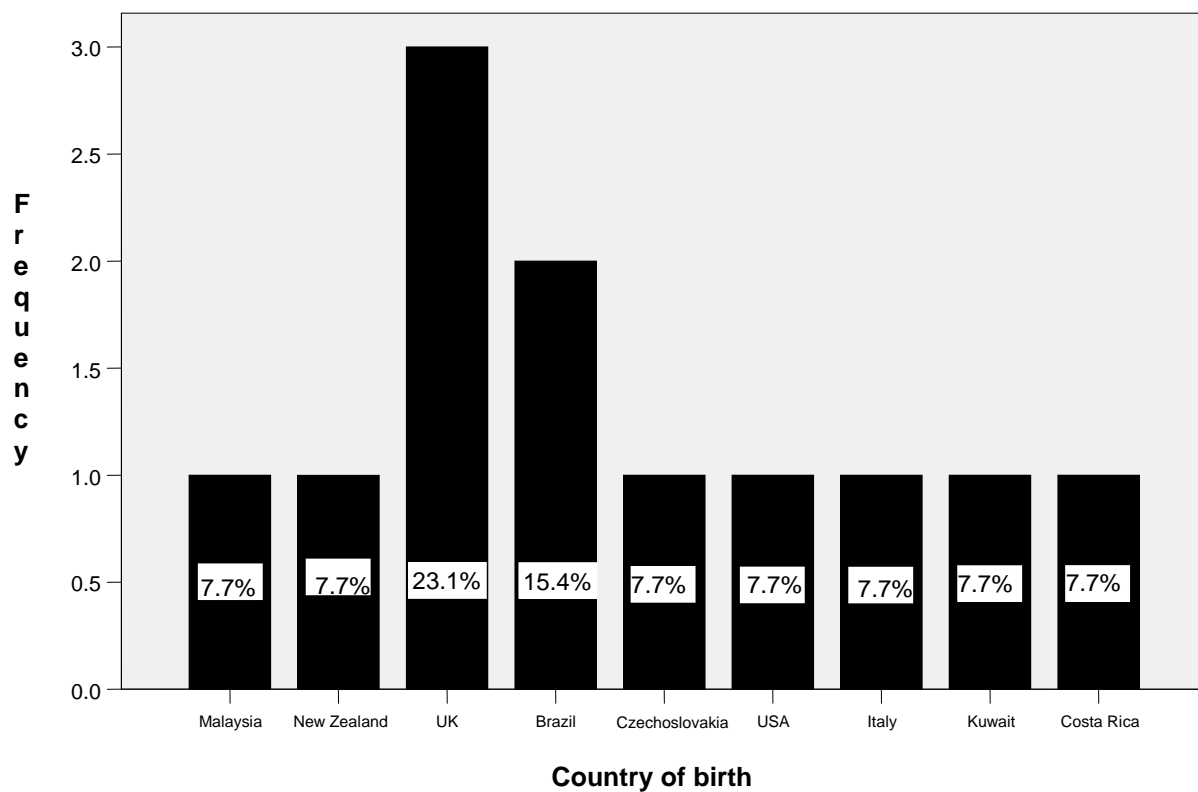


Figure 3.

These escorts travelled to different countries to work and entered the commercial sex industry for a variety of reasons (e.g., to pay their college fees, save for a house or because they had a high sex drive). These notably differ from the motivations previously reported by street-based sex workers (see Allen, 1980; Coombs, 1974), either relating to the seduction-reward hypothesis or that this was just one of a number of criminal activities they were involved in (hustling enabled their initiation into a criminal gang).

3.3.2.3 Sexual Orientation

The sexual orientation was predominantly gay (84.6%), bisexual (7.7%), and the remainder did not provide this information.

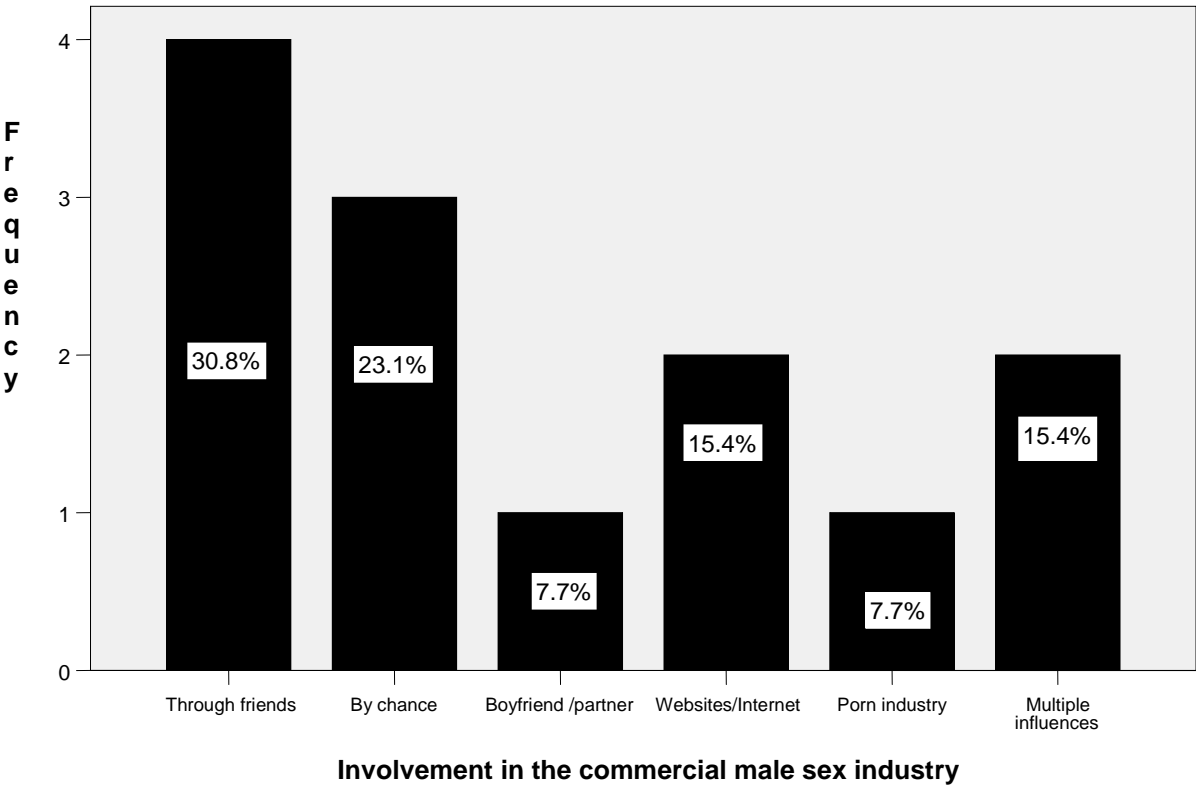


Figure 4.

3.3.2.4 Sex Work Experience

In order to gauge their cumulative experience of the commercial sex industry, respondents were asked to state the number of years they have worked as an escort. The responses have been summarised in Figure 5 below.

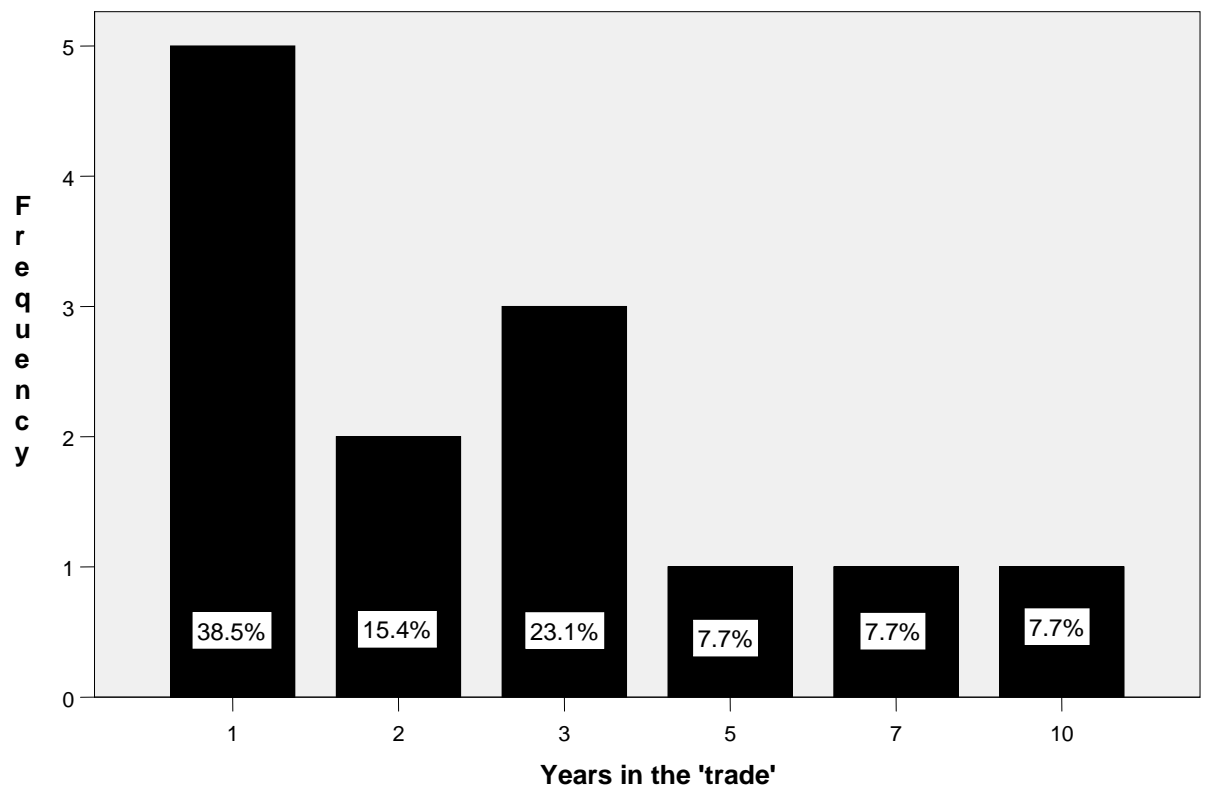


Figure 5.

The majority of the respondents appear to cluster around one (30.8%) to three (23.1%) year time period. Few escorts within this sample remain in the industry on a long-term basis (up to ten years).

3.3.2.5 Sex Work Venues

Of those respondents who stated where they took their clients, hotel rooms, clients' apartments, escorts' own apartments, as well as saunas, cottages (public toilets), cars, brothels, and film studios were reported. It was also noted that two of the three escorts who used multiple venues, used hotel rooms, clients' and their own apartments; the third escort used cars, cottages and saunas. Where only two venues were used these were the clients' and the escort' own apartments. Therefore, the use of apartments, either their own or the client's seems to be the preferred type of venue. Figure 6 presents the frequencies of how often each venue type was used by escorts. Four escorts used one type of venue, one escort used two types of venue, and three escorts used multiple types of venue. (The remainder did not provide this information.)

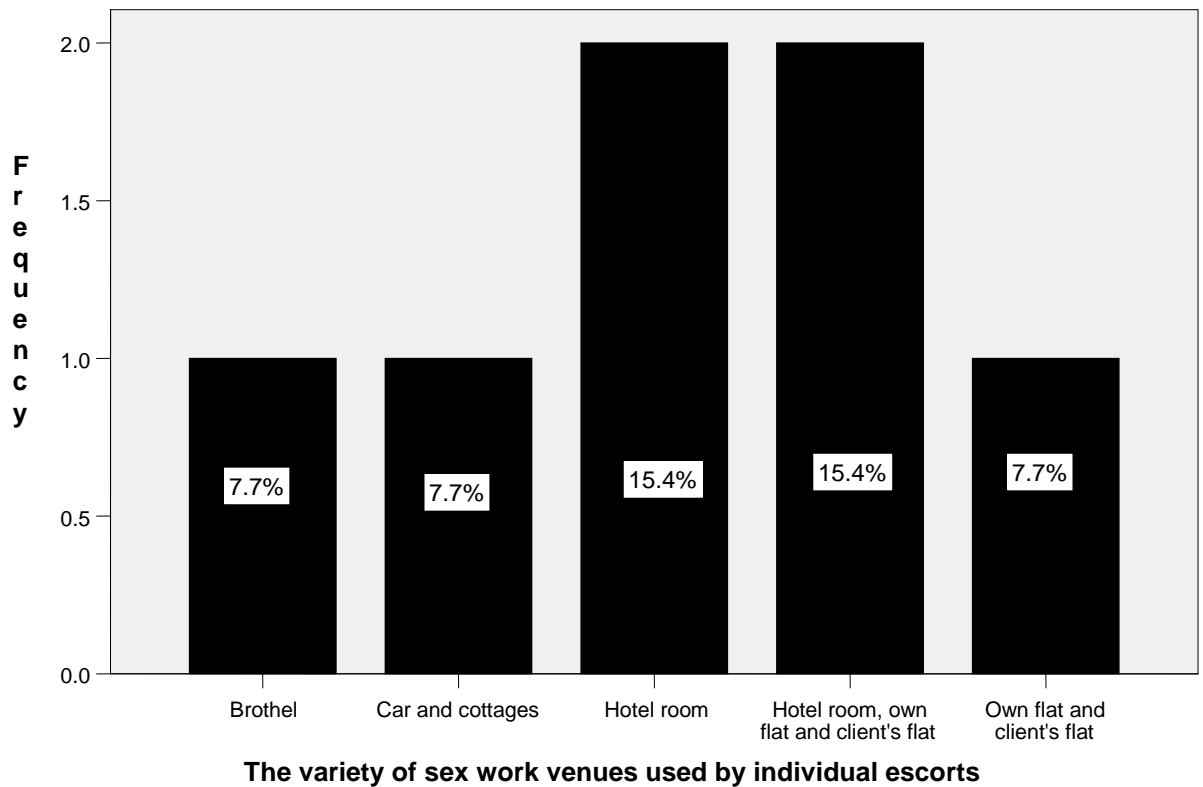


Figure 6.

3.3.2.6 Male Sex Workers' Experiences of the Commercial Sex

Industry

The themes identified from the male sex workers' responses were '*sexual violence*', '*protective strategies*', '*advice*', and '*sex work as an occupation*'. The quantitative analyses of the frequency data of tick-box questionnaires were provided under the headings: '*initial involvement*', '*sex work experiences*', '*venues*'. (These are similar themes to those identified from the web-based questionnaires.)

Sexual Violence

Coerced sex acts

There was a low incidence of sexual violence reported by the 13 respondents. Three respondents (23%) stated they had experienced this type of violence during the course of their work. Two escorts reported that forced penile-oral penetration was the most frequent sexually coercive act experienced, whereas another respondent stated that it was forced penile-anal penetration. Coerced digital-anal penetration was considered to be rare by two of the three respondents who experienced sexual violence; although one respondent said they experienced this as frequently as forced penile-anal penetration. There were also varying findings regarding forced anal penetration with an object, with one respondent saying they had frequently experienced this act, while another stated that it had happened only once. Similarly, forced rimming by a client was reported by one escort as being a frequent occurrence, but another participant had only experienced this as a rare incident.

Drug and alcohol consumption and condom use

In two of the three cases of client perpetrated sexual violence against an escort, alcohol, and drugs had been consumed. The drugs used by these clients were cocaine, although in one case crystal methamphetamine, ketamine, and ecstasy had also been ingested. In the third case, the client had taken crystal methamphetamine, steroids and “juice” (PCP), and then forced the escort to perform sexual acts. This escort had drunk wine, but had not taken any drugs. The incidents that led to client-perpetrated sexual violence in two of these cases were disagreements over condom use, “...tried to fuck without condoms and held me down” [MSWTB3]. In the third case no additional information was provided to explain what pre-empted the sexual violence.

Resistance strategies

The resistance strategy stated by one respondent was that he froze. However, he did use verbal strategies in the post event period. “...*Then verbal strategies to get him to have a test with me. [H]e also told me I wanted it, and that I had taken off the condom which I had not!*” [MSWTB3]. This particular incident of sexual violence lasted for half an hour, and had a profound impact on the participant’s psychological wellbeing (he felt depressed and exploited). There also appeared to be some confusion as to why the client would wish to perpetrate such violence and actively transmit HIV. “*Why someone would want to try hurt someone else and try to pass on HIV*” [MSWTB3].

Impact on lifestyle

Participants were also asked how these incidents of sexual violence affected their lifestyle. It was highlighted that they now found it difficult to trust people. “*I don’t trust anymore*” [MSWTB3]. When asked whether they reported the incident to the police it was stated that: “...*not much would get done about it*” [MSWTB3]. This statement implies a perception that the police will not take the case seriously, especially because of the context of the assault (i.e. that the offender was a client).

There were a number of sub-themes (‘*coerced sex acts*’, ‘*drug and alcohol consumption, and condom use*’, ‘*resistance strategies*’ and ‘*impact on lifestyle*’) encompassed under the theme of ‘*sexual violence*’ that provided the context and aftermath of the attack.

Advice

Participants were also asked what advice they would give a friend who found themselves in a similar situation of having been sexually victimised. The following responses were provided: “*Ist to get PEP treatment to make sure you don’t get HIV*

then everything else is 2nd, Health is 1st” [MSWTB3]. Thus, for this respondent, healthcare was the primary issue. The suggested advice provided below focuses on the ways in which the potential dangerousness of a client may be evaluated: *“You need before to meet up with clients, hear the voice them before. You need look when they are coming to you. After that, you decide if you want to be sexy with them or not”* [MSWTB13].

The theme ‘*advice*’ suggested that the health implications of the attack needed to be dealt with first whereas another escort stated that preventative measures should be taken regarding the risk assessment of clients.

Sex Work as an Occupation

Varied perspectives were reported concerning the type of work engaged in. For example, one respondent stated *“...I very much enjoy my job”* [MSWTB6], and rejected any suggestions that there may be inherent dangers with this career choice or that it was *“sordid”*. However, another participant reported that the context of the sex work engaged in is pivotal regarding the danger of violence. *“...for people selling sex on the street it is a very dangerous game to be playing, where I am in the porn industry and there is no risk of ever being a victim of any sex crime, and little or no risk of catching any STI and STDS as we are screened p.m.”* [MSWTB12].

The theme of ‘*sex work as an occupation*’ resulted in very different responses, from escorts reporting their enjoyment of sex work, and recognition of its legitimacy (denial of it being a sordid occupation), to the dangerousness of street-based sex work and relative safety of the porn industry regarding lower risks of sexual violence and catching STIs.

3.3.3 Telephone Interviews with Escorts regarding their Experiences of the Commercial Sex Industry

A sample of escorts (n=44) were '*cold contacted*' over the telephone to increase recruitment of the web-based questionnaire. Nevertheless, due to the anonymity of the questionnaires it is extremely difficult to discern if any of those contacted went on to complete the questionnaire, unless they explicitly made contact afterwards, stating they had completed it. Only one of the escorts did this. The ages (where stated by the interviewees) were from 19 to 57 years, with those aged within the early to late twenties age range predominating. The ethnicity was diverse (Caucasian, Black, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Canadian, Asian-Indian, Asian-Chinese, Latin American), which has been reported in previous studies (Cameron et al., 1999). Of those who took my call (n=28); six (21%) were not interested in participating in the study (two of whom explained they had never been a victim of client-perpetrated sexual violence).

3.3.3.1 Absence of Client-Perpetrated Sexual Violence

The remaining 22 escorts (78%) also stated that they had not been victims of client-perpetrated sexual violence but provided some contextual information regarding their experiences of male sex work. Escort [MSWT2] stated that although he had been working as an escort for quite a while (he did not specify the duration), he had never experienced any sexual violence from clients.

3.3.3.2 Emergent Themes

Young escorts at risk

One escort [MSWT1] suggested that young escorts who work from brothels and take drugs with their clients are more at risk of client-perpetrated sexual violence.

Lack of Political Organisation and Out-dated Government Policies

[MSWT2] also highlighted the lack of political organisation (with regard to lobbying for changes to legislation pertaining to male sex work) of male sex workers compared with their female counterparts. Moreover, that government policies were quite outmoded as the focus is still on street-based female prostitution, and neglect the majority of male escorts work from off-street locations.

Although participants stated that client-perpetrated sexual violence was rare. An emergent theme was '*young escorts at risk*' as due to their inexperience and use of drugs they were more vulnerable to sexually violent clients. A further theme '*Lack of Political Organisation and Out-dated Government Policies*' suggested the lack of political agency of male sex workers and the invisibility of off-street male sex workers in government policies on prostitution.

Sexual Violence

One incident was reported by [MSWT3] where he was subjected to non-consensual sex by a male with HIV, but this was prior to becoming an escort. Thus, it was within the context of his previous lifestyle not due to his involvement in the commercial male sex industry.

The theme in this case '*sexual violence*' related to an incident previous to the escort's involvement in male sex work.

3.3.4 Interviews

3.3.4.1 A Thematic Analysis of the Interview Data

Participant interviews were conducted at SW5 and provided a contextualisation of the commercial male sex industry (as perceived by male escorts) in London, through a discussion of their individual experiences of the commercial male sex industry. The information provided was subjected to a ‘grounded theory lite’ (Braun & Clark, 2006) analysis and the following themes were identified:

- Phenomenology
- Access to Clients
- Stigma
- Drug Misuse
- Barebacking
- Sexual Orientation
- Absence of Sexual Violence.

The themes above will be discussed, drawing on the experiences of the three male escorts interviewed.

Phenomenology

This first theme identified was regarding where escorting takes place, such as the clients’ or escorts’ apartment, hotels, and saunas. [MSWP1] stated that it is mainly women and transsexual sex workers who are street-based and that gay male escorts predominantly work from off-street locations.

Phoneboxing

Regarding ‘*phoneboxing*’ or ‘*carding*’ (the placing of cards with their pictures and contact numbers in telephone boxes), [MSWP1] has only done this once, as this is the more usual practice of transsexual sex workers.

“...the closest I got to...street-based is, I done a bit of ‘phoneboxing’...I’ve never mmm gone in the streets to find a client, no...For women and transexuals you can do it...[but] unlikely to find a gay man who does street work” [MSWP1].

“When I did ‘carding’ I was getting, they were like a ‘straight’, ‘straight’ clients, they were not clients that were coming to see me, just obviously got a bit too horny and ‘oh let’s see what it’s like with a boy’...and (laughs) it just really didn’t work out too well...so I wouldn’t do it again...when I did it I just did it, I thought, well, to see if I could get any clients and I got a couple but I wouldn’t do it again and I don’t think any other boys would” [MSWP1].

Street-based sex work

When asked about street based male sex work in London, the response from [MSWP2] was: *“Yeah, doesn’t really exist anymore”* [MSWP2]. Furthermore, [MSWP1] stated that those male sex workers who are working the streets are marginalised and likely to have crack cocaine habits.

Alternative venues

Other venues, such as saunas, may also be used; *‘cottaging’* was mentioned, and when I suggested that it is normally not paid for - the response was: *“...yes, I know but I think it is possible, if someone is gagging for it and they’ve got the money in their pocket....I think might probably make about £20 or something like that”* [MSWP1]. When asked did he work from his own home, [MSWP1] stated - *“No, I use, I work from my friend’s apartment”*, or he will go to the client’s hotel.

Brothels

One of the escorts did work from a brothel earlier in his career, but he had the freedom to make his own arrangements. “...*a place round the corner obviously run by a man, he is very laid back ...like pimping as he is running a brothel...you do whatever you want kind of thing*” [MSWP1].

[MSWP2] also stated that many Eastern European male sex workers mainly work from brothels, although some do work independently: “*Immigration issues...some based in brothels...others independent*”.

Multiple venues

[MSWP3] stated “*Sometime from my own apartment...sometime hotels...*” He predominantly works from his apartment, hotels, clients’ apartments, and sometimes engages in street-based sex work.

When asked whether he worked through brothels, from his own apartment or travelled out to clients? [MSWP2] stated “*I do them all really*”. This escort thus confirmed he works from multiple venues.

Geographic locations

It was also mentioned that other areas where male escorting is present are “...*Soho*”, “...*the focal point definitely is Earl’s Court*”, “...*I know a lot of them they work in Canary Wharf*” [MSWP3].

“*Yes. Earl’s Court...*” [MSWP1]

It was agreed by these three interviewees that Earls Court was the centre for off-street male escorting. They also unanimously confirmed that street-based sex work had declined in recent years and that the majority of male escorting takes place in off-street locations.

Pimping

When asked about '*pimping*' [MSWP1] agreed that male escorting was more independent than female escorting. He stated that the closest parallels to pimping would be working from brothels.

The sub-themes of '*phone-boxing*', '*alternative venues*', '*brothels*', '*multiple venues*', '*geographic locations*', and '*pimping*' (was included due to the escort's perception of the process being similar to the management of brothels) are encompassed under the '*phenomenology*' theme as they relate to the physical context of male sex work.

Accessing clients

Gay publications

This theme illustrated how escorts made contact with their clients. A number of modes were identified such as advertising in magazines, (e.g., the *Gay Times*, and *Boyz*) depending on the type of client they wished to attract.

One escort stated that if he were to advertise anywhere besides the Internet, he would advertise in the *Gay Times* but "...wouldn't show his face...[through the] *Gay Times* you get quite a classy client [but] with *BOYZ* you don't really tend to get...they're a bit skint" [MSWP1]. [MSWP2] contacts clients through his *Gaydar* profile, although, sometimes he uses chat rooms to make contact with clients. [MSWP3] tried advertising his services in the *Gay Times* and then in *Boyz* but was not successful in attracting clients.

The Internet

Profiles on *Gaydar* were also used, as was the less frequent practice of meeting clients in chat rooms. [MSWP1]: "*I would use the Internet, Internet profiles, I did work for an escort agency for a little while and now I've started using Internet profiles and advertising*". There are a number of modes that are used to make contact

with clients. It was stated that there is a special section on *Gaydar* for escorts to place their profiles (which has their photo and mobile number). When asked what the most popular modes of access were it was stated:

“Yes, it would be Gaydar...Sleepyboyz and things like that...On the profile, I have got a picture, yeah, and my mobile number will also be on the profile, once they have browsed your picture you will get a call, which is what happens most of the time. You can go into the chat room, ask what do you want, chat for a bit and then they might give you a call” [MSWP1].

The Internet is the commonly used medium to access clients. *“I would use the Internet, Internet profiles, I did work for an escort agency for a little while, but now I’ve started using Internet profiles and advertising”*[MSWP1]. *“....when I am sat at the computer...I don’t use magazines only the Internet...”* [MSWP2]. The Internet was considered a more useful resource than advertising in magazines, and [MSWP3] has used *“Gaydar,..Gay London Escorts (that is quality one), [and] Escupedo...”* .

Older clients

Another escort stated that his clients were of a particular age group, in that, they tended to be *“older”* [MSWP2]. He stated that the clients that contacted him are more *“mature”*, usually in their *“fifties”*, thus he has quite a select clientele.

Saunas

He does not use saunas as *“...I can’t stay in the sauna...[they are] Really expensive, actually £14/£15 just to go there”* [MSWP3], thus the admission charges make it prohibitive for the more marginalised sex worker. He also stated that saunas were quite depressing and de-motivating places considering the inferior clients that frequents there, which was another reason that he didn’t like going to saunas.

Difficulties in attracting clients

"I advertise in magazines, Internet, everything..." [MSWP3]. He has used the *Gay Times*, and *Boyz publications* but was not successful, *"no feedback...don't receive too much calls"*. Advertising on the Internet proved to be more productive for him with regard to accessing clients. However, an influx of Eastern European male escorts has led to an increase in competition: *"Yes. But you know, I think more Eastern Europeans, things have really changed. I don't know..."* [MSWP3]. This was confirmed by another escort who also stated that there has been an influx of Eastern European sex workers into the London commercial male sex industry: *"Yeah, there is now I would say"* [MSWP2]. Thus, competition for clients is increasing.

The theme 'accessing clients' was then categorised into the sub-themes of 'gay publications', 'the Internet' (was the most frequent mode of advertising), 'older clients' (the selectivity of clients), 'saunas' (inferior clients) and 'difficulties accessing clients' (the importance of aesthetics and sex workers as commodities).

Stigma

The fourth theme identified was '*stigma*' which has historically been associated with male sex work. *"...rent boys more respectable probably because they don't work on the street"* [MSWP1]. He suggested that escorting was now more acceptable, especially within the gay community, in general and in comparison with female sex work. [MSWP1] stated that male escorting remains quite stigmatised, although rent boys are still more respectable than female sex workers. This was his perception, as rent boys wear *"nice clothes"* and live in *"nice houses"*.

The Gay community

[MSWP2] stated that male sex work was more accepted in the gay community and generally a “*lot more*” accepted. “*I think definitely more in the gay community but I know girls who would never have dreamed of doing escorting are doing it now*” [MSWP2]. He has only told some of his friends that he is escorting. When asked as to whether his friends accepted his choice of occupation, he stated that “*some do and some don’t, that it depends on the person*” [MSWP2].

Family Reaction

[MSWP1]’s mother became aware that he had been escorting and after a prolonged negative reaction, reluctantly accepted it.

“I am pretty close with my family, my mum did find out, she...she was a bit annoyed she accepted it and things. But...Soho...and then she couldn’t handle it any more...she was then pretty cool with it, but she didn’t like me doing it at least not all the time. I didn’t tell her, she found out....” [MSWP1].

However, she believes he has quit escorting and is not aware that he has returned to it.

The theme ‘stigma’ was divided into the sub-themes of ‘the gay community’ (increased acceptability of escorts) and ‘family reaction’ (lack of acceptance and angry rejection by family members).

Drug Misuse

A further theme was drug misuse, with differing attitudes expressed by male sex workers in relation to taking drugs with clients.

Recreational drug use

[MSWP1] suggests that “*...lots of clients use poppers...but escorts don’t...*” because of the side effects, such as headaches. He also stated that many male escorts in his experience do not do drugs with clients:

“they ask you to do it with them, some people do it and some people don’t...” but instead *“take them when they go out clubbing at the weekend... “None of them have addictions...I mean obviously some of them have addictions but on the whole they take them recreationally in the club, but they don’t have addictions and things obviously...”*.
[MSWP1].

Taking drugs when with clients

[MSWP2] stated that in the past, if a client was taking drugs and offered them to him, he would accept. *“...I used to not mind doing it, doing drugs, but I’ve stopped doing drugs now...”* [MSWP2].

One of the escorts stated that if the client took cocaine or crystal methamphetamine, then he will take it if it was offered. *“Actually it is my choice, if they [clients] are taking drugs then I will too...[but]I don’t like taking cheap drugs too much”* [MSWP3]. This escort suggested that he was selective about taking drugs and prefers those which are better quality when available.

There seems to be the likelihood of social desirability responses by these escorts as only one takes drugs at weekends; another no longer uses drugs and the third escorts just takes them when offered by clients.

Barebacking

Pressure to engage in ‘barebacking’ (defined as *“intentional anal sex without condoms”*) (see Bimbi & Parsons, 2005, p. 89) was referred to in all three of the interviews conducted. It was highlighted that clients resisted the use of condoms, despite the risks of sexually transmitted diseases. Clients also feigned ignorance of the risk of such diseases. [MSWP1] stated he practices safe sex, and always uses a condom with his clients.

He stated:

“I am quite strict with clients and sometimes clients will get annoyed because, you are wearing...protected...as I would never want to catch something, and am very funny about it, even if I was to give oral sex I would use a condom. Sometimes, the client...you’ve got...I would say I just don’t want to catch anything... and if I had something now, I could give you something...But I’m clean, but if they are having sex without a condom, they are obviously not going to be clean, and I put it in them kind of term[s]...There isn’t really any excuse not to ask for no condom...in my eyes they are complete idiots...that actually offer to have sex without a condom” [MSWP1].

However, he explains it is for their protection as well as his and that under no circumstances would he do barebacking. [MSWP2] also does not engage in barebacking with clients and always practices safe sex, as he stated clients are unaware of the risks. When asked how he deals with clients who wish to engage in sex without a condom, he stated:

“Just says no”, but “...I think a lot of people like around fifty, they never really...they’ve been married and then they got divorced, and even if they are married, they still have a lot of problems around them then the young ones do.” [MSWP2].

[MSWP3] stated he tries not to engage in barebacking. But, he said that clients often pretend not to know the risks, in order to facilitate unsafe sex. *“...Sometimes, I say, sometimes...especially asked for ‘barebacking’ I try to don’t do that...Only one time I did like that...” [MSWP3].*

The ‘barebacking’ theme was pervasive as this practice seems to be a persistent request of clients, however, the escorts’ refusal was dependent on their self-perception of their desirability as escorts.

Sexual Orientation

‘Sexual orientation’ was also identified as a theme. The escorts considered sexuality as a fluid concept which developed along a continuum. It was highlighted that particular escorts were reticent about disclosing their sexuality. However, two of the three escorts interviewed were candid about their sexual orientation.

[MSWP1] self-identified as gay.

[MSWP2] identified himself as gay/bisexual. He also highlighted that there were:

“...more straight men doing it [escorting]...now mostly Eastern European and/or Brazilian, they say they are straight and then change to bisexual when they’ve been doing after a while...they are just not open about their sexuality [and others are]...I know some of them who send the money back home to their family and have shown me pictures of their children and things”.

[MSWP3] was more reluctant about disclosing his sexual orientation but said he was bisexual.

The theme of ‘sexual orientation’ illustrated that two of the three escorts considered their sexual orientations as being a continuum (Kinsey et al., 1948) rather than a discrete category. It was highlighted that there was an influx of economic migrants from Eastern Europe and Brazil entering the commercial male sex industry. Furthermore, many of these new escorts initially self-identified as heterosexual and

later identified as bisexual it was emphasised that these escorts are more reticent about disclosing their sexuality.

Absence of Sexual Violence

The theme of most relevance was that of the '*absence of sexual violence*', which suggests the reported lack of this type of violence directed at male escorts. The findings are presented here to assist in the explanation of why this might be. [MSWP1] stated he had never had any violent clients but some had been rude. "...*I have had rude clients and stuff but I've never had any that've been violent and stuff like that*" [MSWP1].

Gay men non-confrontational

[MSWP1] stated that gay clients were "*less confrontational*".

"...I think with the gay, the gay kind of escort as well is that, first of all, if your client is a gay man, then a lot of gay men are a lot more mmm a lot less, I don't know like confrontational...and wouldn't so much do things like that ..."[MSWP1].

Secretive nature of clients

It was also noted that '*straight*' clients would want to keep a low profile, and therefore, would not do anything which may attract attention regarding their clandestine lifestyle.

"...and the clients that are supposedly 'straight' and are obviously trying to keep it [their sexual orientation] a secret they just pay the money, they wouldn't try and rip you off 'cause they wouldn't want to risk someone finding out what they are doing, so I think it is a lot less...I mean it does happen, but I think it is a lot less common than [in] other escorting services" [MSWP1].

'Lucky'

Another sub-theme was that these escorts felt lucky that so far in their escorting work they had not experienced any sexual violence perpetrated by their clients. "...*No, I've been quite lucky...*" [MSWP1]. Another escort stated that he had also never experienced any aggressive clients. He said he had been quite "...*lucky, I think*". [MSWP3].

Young inexperienced male sex workers at risk

[MSWP2] suggested that it is the younger inexperienced escorts who are most at risk and may be targeted by violent clients. [MSWP2] had not experienced problems with clients not paying for his services and had not suffered from client-perpetrated sexual violence.

"No, not really, I don't think I have" [MSWP2].

However, he did state that on the Internet, specifically the chat rooms, that you get a few clients who are dubious. Furthermore, when asked whether he had heard of any escorts having experienced problems with abusive clients, he said that: "...*about a year ago here, a Chinese escort was murdered*" [MSWP2]. Nevertheless, this type of extreme violence was believed to be rare. In addition, he suggested that it is more likely that "...[violence is] *directed at younger male escorts than older ones*" [MSWP2], especially those aged 18 or 19, whereas when the escorts are older "...*the clients are afraid of them*". [MSWP2]. Thus, there may be an inverse age/power differential in the escort-client relationship.

Emergent themes

Female sex workers as victims of sexual violence

When the comparison was made between female sex workers suffering more violence, [MSWP3] stated that "...[it is] *because they are more vulnerable*". Thus, there appears to be the implication that female prostitutes are more at risk because

their male clients are heterosexual, and thus more likely to engage in violent sexual behaviour.

Intoxicated clients

The level of drunkenness was a factor in the decision-making process of one escort as to whether to provide sexual services to a potential client or not. He has a rule about not accepting any clients who are drunk, although he stated that: “*It depends which way drunk...*” [MSWP3]. In other words, he may accept a drunk client, but it depends on their level of intoxication.

No formalised warning system

Participants were asked whether there was any formal system of warning other escorts about dangerous clients similar to the ‘*Ugly Mugs Scheme*’. This is a joint initiative by the Linx Project and the Merseyside Police – but is now rolled out to other female sex work projects) there are four elements (i) Incident Report Forms - providing intelligence on attacks/attackers, (ii) Trax database – identifies dangerous individuals and ‘*hot spots*’ by the analysis of these report forms, (iii) the Ringmaster System, which prioritises cases resulting in an information exchange system disseminating relevant details to saunas, and (iv) Ugly Mug summary sheets, which outline the key information to be distributed among the female sex workers themselves (Hester & Westmarland, 2004). [MSWP1] stated that there was no such system within the male sex work community but that sexual violence is “*quite rare*” and that, should such an incident happen, information about potentially dangerous clients would circulate rapidly through ‘*word of mouth*’, as “*everyone knows everyone*” in the escorting business.

The emergent theme of the *'absence of sexual violence'* resulted in numerous sub-themes: *'gay men as non-confrontational'*, *'secretive nature of clients'*, *'lucky'*, *'young men more at risk'*, *'female sex workers vulnerable'* *'no formalised warning system'*. Gender, sexuality, and age were considered as influential factors regarding vulnerability to sexual violence; otherwise they were just *'lucky'*. The *'word of mouth'* considered sufficient by escorts to warn their peers about dangerous clients.

3.3.4.2 The Escort Agency

It was also considered important to further contextualise the escorts' responses by contacting a well-established escort agency to ascertain whether they ever had incidents of client-perpetrated sexual violence incidents reported to them. The manager of well known escort agency, which has been operating for twenty-five years, was contacted. During that time he stated he has never heard of any of their escorts being subjected to client-perpetrated sexual violence. This escort agency therefore confirmed that reported client-perpetrated sexual violence was rare in the commercial male sex industry.

The themes and sub-themes identified here are considered in more depth in the following discussion section.

3.4 Discussion

"Now as ever, what is dubiously called 'the world's oldest profession' is still a mystery to many, especially when its practitioners are men" (Dorais, 2005, p. 100).

This exploratory study investigated the incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers and has made a valuable contribution to the available literature.

There have been conflicting findings regarding client-perpetrated violence against male sex workers. For example, while some research has documented that sexual violence is a rarely experienced phenomenon within male sex work when compared with the incidence experienced within female sex work (Farley & Barkan, 1998; Weinberg et al., 1999; Ward & Day, 2001). But, Scott, et al. (2005) stated that *"...[a] significant body of research has indicated that male sex workers and their clients are likely to suffer from various forms of interpersonal violence including verbal and physical harassment, physical assault, sexual assault, and rape"* (p. 325). There has not been any detailed study of this phenomenon with regard to male escorts who work from off-street locations in the UK or from a cross-cultural context (including other countries). Although, previous UK based research highlighted sexual violence perpetrated by clients against street-based male sex workers (West & de Villiers, 1993) despite also stating that it was rare, whereas in contrast other research stated that this type of violence was pervasive within the male sex work industry (Connell & Hart, 2003).

In order to contextualise this research regarding client-perpetrated sexual violence, questions regarding the commercial male sex industry were asked of the male sex workers who participated in this study. A number of themes were identified and will be discussed here: *age, phenomenology, legislation, the impact of the mode*

of advertising on the perception of customer type; competition, sexual orientation, drug misuse, and sexual violence.

It was noted that, in accordance with previous research (Bimbi & Parsons, 2005), the mean number of years spent in the commercial sex trade was two. This was confirmed by those escorts who responded using the web-based and tick-box questionnaires. This information was unavailable for those escorts who were interviewed by telephone. It is therefore suggested that escorting is not a long term career choice particularly due to the veneration of youth and attractiveness within the commercial male sex industry (illustrated by the age range of participants below). Also, for those part-time escorts their sex work is a 'means to an end' (to pay their way through college or while undertaking unpaid work experience) in many cases.

Age

In accordance with previous research findings on the young age of escorts (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001), it appears that the veneration of youth within male sex work continues to persist; as the majority of the respondents in this study were aged between 20 and 30 years (with the exception of some of the escorts who were contacted by telephone). As aforementioned older escorts tend to provide more specialist services involving BDSM (Bondage, Domination and Sado-Masochism). Age and vulnerability were described as being related, in that, young and inexperienced male sex workers were considered to be more at risk. This topic will be revisited regarding the subject of client-perpetrated sexual violence discussed below.

Phenomenology

The phenomenology of male sex work explores the different venues which were predominantly used by the escorts in this study. As hotel rooms, clients' or their own apartments are used, this explains why it is difficult to make contact with this

group of escorts. Furthermore, they must be accessed through gatekeepers, such as outreach workers or specialist clinics (WMP), which means that it is extremely difficult to access a random sample. The results confirmed that the male sex workers who are street-based are predominantly more marginalised within the commercial male sex industry. For those men engaged in street-based sex work it is much more dangerous than for those who have become involved in sex work through the pornographic film industry, for example. This is for a number of reasons, such as the security enabled through working from a studio, as opposed to opportunistic locations. The health risks are reduced, as sex workers are health screened on a monthly basis in accordance with the policy of the studio. The clients of these escorts are more likely to be more open about their gay lifestyle than those of street-based or other types of off-street sex work which may suggest why there is a low incidence of sexual violence within this type of escorting.

It was also noteworthy that the manager of the escort agency who was interviewed, stated in the 25 years his establishment has been in operation, client-perpetrated sexual violence against male escorts was rare. However, there could be a number of reasons underlying this response; first, that his agency would not condone such behaviour; second, that escorts were not reporting such incidents to the agency because they may have felt no action would be taken; or third, that there is a shared collusion in portraying male homosexual clients as non-confrontational in marked contrast to their heterosexual counterparts within the commercial female sex industry. Thus, reinforcing the socially constructed stereotype of the passive homosexual, as a defence against the historically constructed deviant aggressive homosexual targeted by legislation, in order to maintain society's morals, and socially control such subversive behaviour.

The type of clients targeted by male sex workers is dependent on the mode of contact used. For example, for a better class of client the Internet or the *Gay Times* are used, whereas if the escort is less discerning they will advertise through the magazine *Boyz*. This conceptualisation regarding the targeting of a particular client type as a result of the mode of advertising used is interesting and further demonstrates the agency of these escorts. Regarding the advertising of male escorts, the print media were suggested as being a popular medium, and the publication chosen to advertise their services reflected the type of client they wished to attract. A further influence on their choice of publication was their available economic resources. For example, at the lower end of the spectrum, the *Boyz* magazine offers free advertising to escorts but attracts an '*inferior*' quality of clientele, compared to those that charge a fee for advertisements such as the *Gay Times*.

Competition for clients

It was reported by some escorts that there has been an increasing number of immigrant males entering the commercial sex industry, particularly from Eastern Europe and South American countries, such as Brazil. However, although concerns were raised by one escort regarding the availability of clients to purchase sexual services from the increasing number of escorts, this concern was not voiced by the other escorts. They stated that, because each escort has his own client base (i.e. supplying the particular demand of customers: being tall, toned and dark, for example), there is enough business for them all. One of the reasons why there may have been a discrepancy in the attitudes is that [MSWP1] and [MSWP2] escorts were aware of the superficiality of the commercial male sex industry. Their youth, physical appearance, personality and level of English guarantee their attractiveness to particular types of client. This echoes Gaffney and Beverley's (2001) study, which

highlighted the emphasis placed on physical attractiveness within the commercial male sex industry. For example, [MSWP1] said that he needed to develop his body a bit more before placing a picture in the *Gay Times*: pressure to have that '*perfect body tone*' in order to attract potential clients persists. Aesthetics within the male sex work industry are accentuated so that if the escort is not physically attractive then they will have difficulties attracting clients, unless they have other qualities which may improve their marketability. Alternatively, those economic migrants from the aforementioned countries become increasingly marginalised through their poor language skills or due to not being conventionally attractive. These escorts may thus be financially coerced into engaging in increasingly risky sexual practices which could result in client-perpetrated sexual violence as the client may assume that as this is 'survival sex' for the escort, on paying their fee that can do whatever they want and also due to their illegal status they will not report them to the police.

Sexual Orientation

The fluidity of sexual orientation (Bem, 1996) was particularly highlighted when discussing Eastern European male sex workers, whom it was stated initially self-identify as '*straight*' and later identified themselves as bisexual. Parallels may possibly be drawn here with self-identified heterosexual males who are '*turned out*' in U.S. penal institutions and engage in homosexual behaviour while incarcerated but return to their heterosexual lifestyle on release (Sagarin, 1976). However, further research is required in order to investigate, if the escort is no longer subject to coercive economic pressures whether they revert to a heterosexual lifestyle, or maintain their bisexual orientation to prevent cognitive dissonance.

Stigma

Stigma is still associated with male sex work, and the power of labelling persists. The participants who were interviewed expressed a preference for being called '*escorts*' (this was perceived to have been less stigmatised than the term '*rent boy*'). Koken et al. (2004) highlighted the practice of '*passing*', which is actively used by those escorts interviewed, as not all of their friends were aware of their occupation. It was felt that they could only entrust certain friends with this information. The reason for this selectivity could be suggested as reducing the likelihood of their being negatively perceived by their peers. It was also noted that, of the escorts interviewed, different individuals perceived their female counterparts in varying contexts. [MSWP1]'s perception of female sex workers appears to focus on street-based sex work, whereas [MSWP2] appears to be considering female sex work within a broader context, including off-street sex work. This led to differing opinions regarding the differences between male and female sex work, in that, female street-based sex work was considered more stigmatised than male sex workers, such as '*rent boys*'.

The gay community seemed more accepting of male escorts than wider society, possibly because members of this sexual community are already marginalised, and, thus, are more tolerant of alternative lifestyles. It should also be noted that two of the three interviewed male sex workers mentioned depression (one in relation to starting out doing sex work and the other because he was having difficulty accessing clients). Further research is required in order to assess how prevalent depression is within the UK based male sex work industry.

Shaver (2005) highlighted that there is a tendency for sex workers to provide socially desirable responses, and this practice was highlighted when questions were asked of the escorts regarding drug misuse. [MSWP1] presented escorts' drug use as unproblematic, but a later statement contradicts this as it was stated that obviously some do have habits but the majority do not. [MSWP3] was more matter of fact about his drug use, and did not try to present his drug using behaviour in a socially desirable manner unlike the other escorts (who may have wished to appear more discerning regarding their possible drug use than perhaps was the reality).

3.4.1 Client-Perpetrated Sexual Violence against Male Escorts

The focus of this exploratory study was initially to investigate the incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence in male sex work due to the dearth of literature in the UK on this topic, with the exception of Connell and Hart (2003) and West and de Villiers (1993). The preceding paragraphs have provided the contextualisation for such incidents. Previous U.S. researchers have found that sexual violence within male sex work is scarce compared to female and transgender sex workers (Farley & Barkan, 1998; Weinberg et al., 1999) but this topic was not the focus of their research. Findings within a British context by the current study support their findings but contrasts with those of Connell and Hart (2003). However, despite client-perpetrated sexual violence being considered rare, it is interesting that the phrase used by several of the escorts was that they were '*lucky*' not to have been sexually victimised (suggesting that this is a possible risk of escorting). Thus, it is interesting that '*lucky*' is used to refer to such a rare as opposed to frequent occurrence. The current study also found that the perpetrator had usually consumed alcohol and/or drugs when sexually violent incidents were perpetrated which supports earlier research (West &

de Villiers, 1993). Thus, alcohol may have lowered the clients' inhibitions regarding the use of violence. Alternatively, according to Perkins and Bennett (as cited in Weinberg et al., 1999), these substances may have amplified emotions of sexual guilt and humiliation, which were then transformed into anger-motivated sexual violence. It was also emphasised that younger escorts were more vulnerable to client perpetrated sexual violence, thus age is a risk factor.

The context of the sexually violent incidents reported in this study centred on disagreements over condom use, where the clients resisted wearing them or objected to the escort using them. '*Barebacking*' seemed to be a constant source of coercive pressure from clients. It was also noted that older clients feign ignorance or may be unaware of the risks of unprotected sex (having been married for many years, for example). The clients therefore wanted to engage in '*barebacking*' rather than '*safe sex*'. One of the sex workers who experienced client-perpetrated sexual violence, self-identified as a transsexual (male-to-female) sex worker. The gender incongruity of the sex worker was discovered by the client during the encounter (and possibly resulted in them questioning their ability to differentiate between male and female and, also anger at being deceived) may have instigated a hate-motivated sexually violent attack.

The prevalence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against female sex workers was considered by participants to be because they more vulnerable than male escorts. The point was also made that gay men are non-confrontational. This evidences possible gender and sexual orientation stereotyped perceptions of escorts regarding the prevalence of client-perpetrated sexual violence in male sex work.

The current study provides a base to stimulate further research regarding the breadth of male sex work, including escorts, rent-boys, and male actors in the pornographic industry in the UK. The research presented here may be developed by

comparisons with other countries using larger samples and exploring possible cross-cultural differences. Despite a web-based study being used in this research, the current sample was not large enough to identify any significant cross-cultural similarities or differences. The literature is dominated by Australian (Browne & Minichiello, 1995; Browne & Minichiello, 1996; Estcourt, et al., 2000; Perkins, 1991) and American (Allen, 1980; Bimbi & Parsons, 2005; Coombs, 1974; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Ginsberg, 1967; McNamara, 1994; Reiss, 1961; Shaver, 2005; Weinberg, et al., 1999; Weinberg, et al., 2001) research. Thus, research conducted in the United Kingdom regarding the commercial male sex work industry is underdeveloped, which is why the current study, despite its inherent limitations (discussed below), provides an important contribution to the available literature. Finally, a key point regarding this research is that it is exploratory; therefore, these findings are transferable but only to similar contexts.

3.4.2 Limitations

There are a number of limitations of this research study, particularly the methodological challenges regarding participant recruitment of this difficult-to-reach population. In addition, there was a reticence of male sex workers to become involved in any research due to the concerns regarding confidentiality and the topic. The nature of the questions may also have deterred participants, particularly as I did not have the opportunity to provide a personal introduction to participants. However, if interest had been shown by service users of the WMP regarding being interviewed, I had offered to attend the clinic and answer any questions that potential participants had concerning the current research.

Seven web-based questionnaires were completed, which is a low response rate; however, this is not unusual for self-completion questionnaires (Robson, 2002).

The small samples sizes across all of the methods (web-based questionnaire, tick-box questionnaire, face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews) employed in the current study was expected (but not to the extent that was realised). However, Gobo (2007) suggested that “...a few cases, mirroring a pervasive phenomenon in society, may be enough if its population is quite homogenous” (p. 415). In the current study, the combined sample appeared unanimous in their agreement that client-perpetrated rape was rare in male sex work. Factors which may have had a negative effect on the response rates might have been the combination of the sensitivity of the topic researched, the nature of the population (both off-street and street-based sex workers being difficult to contact (due to the venues used - their own, or client’s apartment or hotel room), and the marginalised position of street-based escorts who are quite difficult to engage in research. It is recognised that the sample was self-selected and, therefore, may not be the most representative of the wider community of male escorts who advertise their sexual services on the Internet; this limitation has been noted in previous studies (Bimbi & Parsons, 2005).

However, this is why transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the findings to parallel contexts would be more appropriate than generalising to the wider male sex work community. Furthermore, the web-based questionnaire length may have been problematic as it has been suggested that this can negatively affect response rates according to Smith (as cited in Hewson et al., 2003). The limited response rate regarding the telephone interviews may be due to some of the escorts not answering their mobile telephones as they may have been screening their calls, and the university telephone number was displayed as *‘private’*, *‘unavailable’* or *‘unknown’*, thus making them suspicious. But, each methodology was chosen as being the best approach for that particular population at that time, and to offset the limitations of the

triangulation of methods used. In addition, the limited time scale of telephone interviews may have reduced the quality and hence the validity of the data obtained according to Baker (1994). However, the concerns regarding the “*dependability*” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the data were limited by the opportunity for these participants to complete the web-based questionnaire.

Despite these limiting factors regarding the different methodologies, the sensitive topic and hard-to-reach population, the findings serve to underscore the importance of highlighting this heavily underresearched sexual community. Their marginalised position within academic research is further emphasised in comparison with the volumes of research conducted on female sex work. It has also been highlighted that Internet-based escorts are understudied (Bimbi & Parsons, 2005), thus the current study does provide a contribution to the limited research available on male sex workers in the UK.

The results will be disseminated to the relevant service providers who assisted with this research so that these findings can be fed back to the participants where feasible.

3.4.3 Conclusion

There were very few incidences of client-perpetrated sexual violence found in off-street prostitution as identified by participants within male sex work in the UK according to the current study. This result precluded the assessment of directed needs of this group of male victims of client-perpetrated sexual violence (whose occupation doubly stigmatises and inhibits their help-seeking behaviour), and, therefore, no suggestions for changes to the policies of relevant agencies could be provided. However, the current study’s finding of the low incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male escorts does support earlier American research (for example,

Farley & Barkan, 1998; Weinberg et al., 1999). Nevertheless, there could be a number of reasons why the incidence of client-perpetrated rape may be perceived to be rare; first, that it is underreported due to the double stigmatisation of the sex crime and the context within which it occurred; second, the problem of situational definitions (such as not being paid) of rape as highlighted by Barnard (1993) regarding female sex work; third, protecting the gay community from demonisation (emphasising this is a problem with heterosexual clients); and finally, a gender issue in that males are considered less vulnerable than females. The perceived rarity of client-perpetrated sexual violence in the commercial male sex industry is interesting and warrants further research about why there is such a distinct difference between male and female sex work. It could be that client-perpetrated sexual violence in the female sex work industry is used to reinforce patriarchal power structures of gender inequality within society; but further research is required.

3.4.4 Implications

The present study provides a limited, but valuable, contribution to the dearth of research on male sex work within a British context. It has highlighted fundamental differences between male and female sex work. First, because of the male gender of both the escort and client they may each perceive themselves as equals within the business transaction, as the inherent power structures within this context mirror those in society. Second, as emphasised by one of the escorts themselves [MSWP1], this low incidence of sexual violence could be because (i) gay men are not confrontational and thus unlikely to engage in such violence, or (ii) due to some of their clients being married and, thus, wanting to keep this alternative lifestyle secret and not attract any undue attention (therefore they are unlikely to engage in any behaviour which may involve the authorities). Third, the majority of male sex workers were working from

off-street locations, which may reduce the likelihood of violence due to the type of clients differing from those who seek out street-based male sex workers. Nonetheless, this low incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence does not mean that there is an absence of rape and other types of sexual assault in the male sex industry, but that it may not be reported as frequently as it is in the female sex industry.

3.4.5 Further research

Further research is required with larger samples where feasible, to investigate a question inspired by the findings of the current study as to explanations *why* there is such a low incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence compared with its perceived prevalence in female sex work.

Does the Print Media provide a Gender-Biased Representation of Rape Survivors?

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will first outline the nature and portrayal of rape by the press. Then, the legislation relevant to the dissemination of information by the print media will be considered. Next, the print media's sources of information will be examined, followed by an exploration of the criteria used to select news. After that a review of the research on the print media will be presented, together with an examination of how the different types of newspaper cover topics. Finally, the influence of the gender of the journalist on his/her reporting of news will be investigated.

The print media's interest in crime has a long history. For example, “[t]he evolving medium of newspapers has, at least since the eighteenth century, contained a healthy ration of crime as part of the daily or weekly diet of either national or provincial newspapers” (McEvoy, 1996, p. 183). There are a number of reasons for this intense interest in crimes. First, the public's interest is in the potential danger of criminal victimisation in their daily life. Second, their morbid curiosity about the more gruesome of crimes was highlighted by the sheer volume of coverage of the crimes of the serial murderer ‘*Jack the Ripper*’ during the late nineteenth century (Walkowitz, 1982). This example was one of earliest instances of how profitable the reporting of crime could be for newspaper companies. Later printed portrayals of serial killers such as Dr. Crippen, Dennis Nilsen, ‘*the Yorkshire Ripper*’, Ted Bundy, Ed Kemper, and Jeffrey Dahmer also evidence this public fascination with violent crime.

There are also social norms and current political and moral perspectives which serve the powerful elements within society. This social function is of particular interest regarding the crime of rape and the gender role attitudes portrayed which are fundamental to the presentation of rape in the print media. According to McEvoy (1996), print media research can be divided into three strands which focus on (i) the media's misrepresentation of the reality of crimes (Benedict, 1992; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Roshier, 1981; Young, 1998); (ii) the socialist perspective (see Lichter, Rothman, & Lichter, 1986); and (iii) the media as a tool of capitalists within society representing their interests; and thus being the prime controllers of power in this regard (for example, Chomsky, 2002; Chomsky & Herman, 2006).

Newspaper reporting does not take place in a social vacuum. The media "*captures facts about our social world*" (Cotter, 2003, p. 422), but this is not a uni-directional process. There is a "*pseudo-dyadic relationship between the news community and community of coverage...[but the importance of the]...reciprocal transmission*" [and the interaction between the] *texts, creators and audience* [should not be underestimated] (Cotter, 2003, p. 422-23). Humans have a limited capacity regarding the extent to which they can individually experience the world; this necessitates a reliance on the media to provide the social facts which they are unable to directly experience within society. However "*...at best those reports will offer only some of the facts; often they may be prejudicial 'faction'*" (Wykes, 2001, p. 21).

Newspapers, especially tabloids, are both the means of communicating with the crowd and, on occasions, claim to be the voice of the "people"; however, the techniques of newspaper communication, when examined in a more detailed fashion, show the complexity and tacit interactiveness of mediated public narratives (Peelo & Soothill, 2000, p. 132).

Thus, the print media are key disseminators of knowledge and set the agenda regarding the framing of reported criminal (often violent) behaviour for public consumption. Richardson and May (1999) state that “*social definitions of violence revolve around culpability, victimisation and what is deemed socially appropriate behaviour in particular contexts*” (p. 309). These definitions refer to violence generally; but, they are particularly relevant to sexual violence, especially to rape and sexual assault. They are also quite pervasive in the framing of narratives by the media (which will be explored in this chapter’s section on media representation). There are also implications relating to media stories, where contextualisation of the sexual crime committed and the ‘*behavioural responsibility*’ of the victim are evidenced. These representations are reminiscent of the theoretical conceptualisations of victimologists (discussed in the preceding chapters) who advocated ‘*victim-blaming*’ (Amir, 1971). Furthermore, it is suggested that in newspaper reports there is a continuum of the seriousness of sexual violence, which makes some stories more newsworthy than others. The extensive coverage of stranger rape attacks, in newspaper accounts compared to sexual attacks where the perpetrator is known to the victim, for example. It is also illustrative of the gap between the reality and frequency of rape and sexual assault (which is contradictory to their media representation). “*Criminologists have cited this media emphasis on publicising the atypical crime as a serious source of misinformation and false perceptions of the true nature of the crime for the public*” (Surette, 1998, p. 68).

Nonetheless, newspapers are an important medium for social, political, and cultural interaction which is influenced by editorial agendas and the social construction of gender normative behaviour especially relating to sex crimes.

4.1.2 The Nature and Portrayal of Rape

“While comfortably hidden under the cloak of objective crime reporting, sexual violence can be endlessly exploited for its titillating value, its crypto-pornographic quality and its sexist slant” (Los & Chamard, 1997, p. 294). It should be noted that the portrayal of both male (Scarce, 1997) and female rape victims in the press can have an impact on reporting practices (Soothill & Walby, 1991). This is due to the selection of stories which tend to reinforce myths of what constitutes a *genuine* rape (Korn & Efrat, 2004). Thus, females dressed provocatively, who had been drinking, may feel inhibited about reporting being raped. This reticence by female victims to report the rape to the police may stem from the perception they will be held accountable (due to their mode of dress or deportment) for their victimisation. Particularly, if they were acquainted with the rapist as the incident does not adhere to a ‘*real rape*’ (Estrich, 1987) script (i.e. a blitz attack by a stranger with a weapon outside after dark) (Kahn & Mathie, 2000).

This daily diet of representations of the most brutal forms of sexual violence constructs the world outside as well as inside the front door as highly dangerous places for women and girls, one in which sex crimes have become an ordinary, taken-for-granted feature of everyday life (Carter, 1998, p. 231).

The physical appearance of female rape victims (Benedict, 1992), and male rape victims (Brosnan, 2004), presented in the print media can infer culpability for their sexual victimisation or provide mitigation for victims’ lack of resistance. Similar to female rape victims, there are also rape myths constructed about male rape victims. For example, (i) men cannot be raped (Stermac et al., 2004); (ii) males should be able to defend their sexual zones (Groth & Burgess, 1980); (iii) only gay men get raped

(Stermac et al., 2004); (iv) men cannot sexually perform unless sexually aroused (Smith, Pine, & Hawley, 1988); (v) men are sexually available at all times to take advantage of opportunities for sex (Clements-Scriber & Rempel, 1995); (vi) the impact of rape on men is less severe than on female rape victims (Stermac et al., 2004).

Males do not appear to have a socially constructed '*rape script*', unlike females who are socialised from a young age to be aware of their corporeal and sexual vulnerability (Scarce, 1997). Thus, males are physically and socially unprepared when subjected to rape. However, there are some parallels with female rape which are suggested by the findings: that male rapes perpetrated by strangers are more likely to be reported to the police than acquaintance rapes (Hodge & Canter, 1998). Considering the police are a key resource for journalists seeking criminal case information, this may explain the prevalence of stranger rape accounts. Male rape victims may feel that their cases would be taken more seriously if the rapist was a stranger, and if the offender had inflicted physical violence. It has also been noted that gay men were unlikely to be perceived as '*innocent*' victims of violence (Richardson & May, 1999). Nonetheless, the high levels of the underreporting of male rape that have been documented (Coxell et al., 2000) indicated a lack of confidence in the police. In contrast, female rape victims in recent years are increasingly reporting acquaintance rapes to the police (see Feist et al., 2007; Marhja, 2008). This is reflected by the fact that accounts of acquaintance rape of female victims are more frequently reported in the print media than historically was the case.

Male rape research provides conflicting findings due to the limitations of the samples as discussed in the introduction. For example, some studies found that stranger rape predominated (for example, Groth, 1979; McLean et al., 2005), whereas

the majority of studies found acquaintance rapes were actually more prevalent (see Hillman et al., 1990; Mezey & King, 1989). The age range of the male victims documented by the available literature tends to be young, between 16-25 years (Walker et al., 2005; see also Mezey & King, 1989; Stermac, et al., 1996) and this finding could be influenced by the sampling methods of these studies with younger men being more likely to report, as illustrated by the available research (e.g., Stermac et al., 2004). However, Jamel (1999) found a broader age range among male victims, who tended to be older than their female counterparts. Furthermore, research suggests that male rape is perpetrated indoors (Hickson et al., 1997; Hillman et al., 1990; Mezey & King, 1989; Walker et al., 2005) with a few studies suggesting outdoor locations were more common (see Groth, 1979, Hodge & Canter, 1998; Huckle, 1995).

The findings regarding methods of approach (blitz, confidence, or surprise) and control (threat of a weapon or weapon use) vary (Groth, 1979; Hillman, et al. 1990; Huckle, 1995; Stermac, et al., 1996; Walker et al., 2005). Alcohol consumption by male victims (Mezey & King, 1989; in acquaintance rapes, Stermac et al. 2004) and perpetrators had parallels with the intake of alcohol by female rape victims and their assailants (Amir, 1971; Zawacki, Abbey, Buck, McAuslan, & Clinton-Sherrod, 2003). Alcohol consumption by female and male rape victims may also deter them from reporting the crime to the police due to their belief in rape myths. For example, because they had been drinking they may be held more accountable for their victimisation (see Finch & Munro, 2005). In addition, underreporting by male rape victims could also be the result of the stigma of the offence, and/or apprehension about their sexuality being questioned (McMullen, 1990).

Furthermore, the low conviction rates for female rape of 5.7% (Feist et al., 2007) and the heavy underreporting of male rape result in a lack of service provisions for male rape victims which are needs-directed (McLean et al., 2005, Washington, 1999).

Recent research on the media representation of female rape has focused on crime scene characteristics and suggested that the context was often included in detail to indicate the culpability of the victim based on their behaviour (Marhia, 2008). The crime scene context was therefore considered as likely to inform the journalistic tone regarding the culpability of the rape victim in the current study. Marhia (2008) found 54.4% of the cases reported were attacks committed by strangers, with 36.8% of assaults committed by rapists known to the victim.

Marhia also found that 13% of rapes occur outdoors but that these accounted for 54.4% of the rapes reported in the print media. Furthermore, this was one of the key factors (which included an unknown attacker, and the perpetration of excessive violence) in the social construction of the '*innocent*' female rape victim by the press.

Physical build or appearance was also noted in the newspaper articles analysed with an emphasis on the victim's "*slight build*" excusing her inability to fight off her attacker, and the offender's "*physical strength and brutality*" used to subdue her assured her "*genuine*" victim status (Marhia, 2008, p. 40). This absolution of responsibility also applied regarding the passivity of the victim in drug/alcohol-facilitated rape (Marhia, 2008).

Newsworthiness factors regarding rape accounts were noteworthy regarding sex crimes at the extreme end of the spectrum. For example, "*the press disproportionately covers [female] rape cases involving excessive additional violence including grievous bodily harm, and murder, the use of a weapon or intoxicants,*

abduction and kidnapping and/or multiple assailants" (Marhia, 2008, p. 4). The individualisation of the rapist, by depicting the perpetrator as an anomaly; has the corresponding effect of normalising acquaintance rape, possibly resulting in the victim not recognising the act as *'rape'*.

Detailed accounts within newspaper articles of rape victims' behaviour enables the reader to discern from the journalistic tone the culpability of the victims for their sexual victimisation. The journalistic tone is defined as the *"emotive nature of the article"* (Nichols & Chase, 2005, p. 310).

4.2.1 Victim demographics:

Richardson and May (1999) discuss the social construction of violence as being *"...a highly gendered process. Women are more likely than are men to be blamed for making themselves vulnerable to violence by being in the 'wrong place' at the 'wrong time'"* (p. 313). This suggests that women are more at risk of being the subject of criminal victimisation than men. Thus, men may be less likely to be considered as potential victims of crime despite official statistics indicating the contrary (Richardson & May, 1999). However, Sacco (1995) stated that gender was consistently highlighted throughout media reports of crime with males predominantly presented as criminal perpetrators. It was also found that the sex of the assailants was normally stated or was inherently explicit in the article. Nevertheless, the gender differential is not the only significant factor which impacts on the media narratives of sex crimes. The demographics of age and ethnicity within newspaper reports have also been considered by research.

In their study of homicide newspaper reports in New Orleans, Sheley and Ashkins (1981) found that age was mentioned in most of the rape and homicide cases, whereas race was noticeably absent, except where the perpetrator was still being

sought, or when the offence was robbery. Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson, and Ackerley (2004) also found that ethnicity was not a relevant factor in relation to the homicide victims in news stories covered by two of the newspapers analysed, '*The Times*' and '*The Mirror*', or offenders, in all three of the newspapers examined (i.e. the aforementioned publications plus '*The Mail*'). Thus, ethnicity was largely ignored within the newspaper articles analysed.

4.1.3 Legislation in England and Wales

Legislation pertaining to the reporting of sex crime cases has evolved and changed in accordance with political changes in government. The Criminal Justice Act (1967) severely limited the reporting of committal proceedings after which there was a shift in media focus to the sentencing stage of the trial. The name of the complainant could not be disclosed if reporting restrictions were sought by the magistrate or significant others. Nevertheless, these reporting restrictions were unusual. There was a steady increase in the reporting of rape by the tabloid press (e.g., *The News of the World*), over the following years, 1951 when 18 cases were reported, 1961 during which 38 cases were published, and in 1971 when 58 cases were cited. Nonetheless, by 1971 there was a decline by a third of instances of the disclosure of the complainants' name and address (Soothill & Jack, 1975). No explanation was provided in their study for this decrease in the identification of the complainant.

The Sexual Offences Amendment Act (1976) "*stated that the victim (and the accused, unless convicted) should remain anonymous*" (Hay, Soothill, & Walby, 1980, p. 214). This brought about a pivotal change in the way in which rape was reported in England and Wales, as previously identifying details (such as names and addresses) of the victim and offender could be provided. Therefore, the stigma and fear of reprisal would have been a real concern for the victim. Hay et al. also

suggested that there are some authors who argued that permitting victims to remain anonymous allowed the individual to falsely accuse ‘*innocent*’ people of being rapists with little risk of such individuals’ identity being disclosed. Unfortunately, Hay et al. did not identify these authors. Some journalists circumnavigated these reporting restrictions by reporting details which would help identify the victim such as their work place or other demographics. The lack of recognition of male rape victims at this time was addressed to an extent under the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (1992) which protected the identity of male victims of buggery and indecent assault. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, anonymity was not extended to male rape victims until the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) was passed. The latter also put a limit on the details of the victims’ sexual history which could be used in the courtroom.

As the main source of information for newspaper journalists is the courtroom, this limitation also served as a curtailment of their reporting of sexual history case details. However, there were loopholes [which have since been tightened under the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (1999) (see www.opsi.gov.uk/Acts/acts1999/ukpga_19990023_en_1)]. In particular, while sexual history evidence may not be allowed, any previous sexual relationship between the complainant and the accused could be drawn upon at the judge’s discretion. This information was seized upon by the tabloid press for the titillation of their readership. Thus, the inescapable perception of newspaper reporting during the late 1970s and early 1980s was one where the narratives of sex crimes were being used as ‘*soft pornographic fodder*’ for the masses which resulted in lucrative sales of newspapers (Hay et al., 1980).

However, it was not just the aforementioned legislation which constrained the reporting practices of the press; newspaper journalists also operate under their own

professional code of practice. To adhere to this code they must not mislead or misrepresent the public. In addition to the above instruments which serve to regulate the press on particular issues, journalists are at risk of incurring financial penalties if they are successfully sued by individuals through the civil courts for defamation of character (Soothill & Walby, 1991). There are also differences between the reporting practices and the constraints under which they operate in other countries. For example, in the United States the freedom of the press is considered sacrosanct. This is as a result of the First Amendment of the Constitution which protects and advocates the freedom of speech. This liberty is not without limits as journalists in the United States (with its litigious culture) are acutely aware of the balance. The salaciousness of a story may garner a large readership, but it may also incur libel and defamation lawsuits.

4.1.4 Sources of Information

There are four main sources from which newspaper journalists obtain their information and the selection process begins. First, there are the courts as mentioned above. Second, there are the coveted police sources or those who may be indirectly involved in the rape case, for example friends or family. Third, they may also draw on '*parliamentary proceedings*' and changes in legislation. Fourth, in the context of rape, academic papers may also be referred to. Journalists may also play the '*devil's advocate*' and challenge the political and official '*lines*' and instigate public enquiries. Nevertheless, the police and the print media have a somewhat symbiotic relationship as their needs are reciprocal as sources, for example, newspapers facilitate access to the public by requesting their assistance (on behalf of the police) in providing information on crimes (Soothill & Walby, 1991). Thus, the media tread a very fine line in not being persistently over-critical of the police or other agents within the

criminal justice system as they do not want to risk losing their potential sources of information. According to Chibnall (1981) it was also in the interests of the print media not to criticise the agencies of social control too extensively because this would decrease public confidence in the police and threaten the “*established order*” (p. 92).

4.1.5 Selection of News

Tannen (1998) through her analysis of the framework, nature, and impact of the media has made a pivotal contribution to the available literature, particularly, by highlighting the media framing of both public and media discourses regarding news items defined as ‘*important*’ issues. According to Roshier (1981) there were two fundamental processes regarding the selection of crime news. First, that which was selected with regard to its competition with other categories of news, for its ‘*newsworthiness*’. Second, was the selection process which focused on particular types of crimes and criminals. In other words, as stated by Epstein (1974) it was important to note that “...*news reporting concentrates on what is atypical in events [thus]...comparisons and generalizations have little value*” (p. xiii). Although Epstein was not specifically discussing crime news but news in general, these comments can still be applied to the former and specifically to rape. There are possibly many rapes reported to the police every day (although as has been noted in the introduction, these are still not reflective of the ‘*dark figure*’ of those unrecorded and unreported crimes) and although some of these cases eventually progress through the court system fewer again are selected as being of ‘*public interest*’.

Factors which contributed to the construction of news narratives according to Chibnall (as cited in Greer, 2003, p. 46) were “‘*immediacy (speed/currency), dramatisation (drama and action), structured access (experts, authority), novelty (angle/speculation/twist), titillation (revealing the forbidden, voyeurism), convention-*

alism (hegemonic ideology), personalisation (culture of personality/celebrity), simplification (elimination of shades of grey)'''. In addition to these selection criteria, there were those which specifically relate to crime news such as “*visible and spectacular acts, graphic presentation, deterrence and repression, sexual and political connotations and individual pathology*” according to Chibnall (as cited in Greer, 2003, p. 46). Examples of how some of these criteria may be used to frame the public discourse on rape include that the immediacy, and proximity of this crime may suggest that anyone can be sexually victimised (Greer, 2003). To develop Greer’s point further, it could be proposed that the print media framing of rape may be used as an acceptable form of social control of women and men. It was also noted that there was a reluctance to publish articles on male rape (A. Smyth, personal communication, March 30, 2006); which implied that information which challenged the social ascription to male invulnerability was less palatable both to the editorial decision makers, and their perceived target audience.

Greer (2003) highlighted that there had been a substantial reduction in relation to the use of stranger-danger terminology in the dailies between 1985 and 1997. He also described the commonplace imagery of the sex offender which reinforced the fear of sex crime already instilled in the public – “*‘presence (lurking in dark alleys or wastelands), personality (manipulative, predatory, evil) and appearance (unkempt, dishevelled, wild-eyed) are all prominent features of the popular stereotype of the sex offender’*” (p. 185). In addition, Greer states that this conceptualisation and its pictorial accompaniments are being more frequently challenged, which is encouraging with regard to the potential for more accurate reporting.

The pivotal role which the news media play in the dissemination of socially constructed information by providing perspectives of the powerful and controlling elements within society such as the government and criminal justice agencies in this context is also highlighted within the available literature (McEvoy, 1996).

Discourses upon crime within newspapers and other media are unique cultural artefacts, telling us much about the social, political and moral order of our culture and, as such, playing an important role in the development of an individual's sense of self (McEvoy, 1996, p. 179).

This is not to suggest that the audience is a passive receptor and absorbs this information without question. McEvoy observed that *"newspapers are not simply a vehicle for our culturally programmed dialogue, 'hypodermic syringes' injecting information into the social corpus in a one way stream of information"* (p. 180). Alternatively, newspapers do provide a basis upon which opinions are formed or may be selectively used to reinforce public opinions. This latter psychological process is described as the exhibition of the *'confirmation bias'* (where information confirming the person's beliefs are accepted or recalled and conflicting evidence is rejected) (Jonas, Schulz-Hardt, Frey, & Thelen 2001; Marks & Fraley, 2006). It is therefore suggested that the print media perpetuates socially constructed *'facts'* within published articles which reinforce the *'routineness'* of this type of normative thinking, thus contributing to the structure of patriarchal dominance, or defined by Gramsci (1971) as *'hegemony'*. This is exemplified when sex crimes against adult females are highlighted while those against adult men are overlooked, as the latter threaten the social perception of the invulnerability of males. Franiuk, Seefeldt, Cepress and Vandello's (2008) findings suggest that the print media thus play a *"...role in perpetuating rape myths..."* (p. 299).

Nevertheless, there are further influences at work here, not only the control exerted by the editor and sub-editors, but also the effect of the interactions between sources and journalists, and between the reporters themselves. Therefore “...*the editorial cultures within which selection decisions are made, are not context free or socially-isolated vacuums*” (Soothill, Peelo, Francis, Pearson, & Ackerley, 2002, p. 419). Other factors which also have an impact are the monetary, bureaucratic, and technological controls, in addition to the gender, age, and ethnicity of the individual victims involved.

4.1.6 Research on Media Representation

Before the print media representation research on sex crimes are focused on, it is important to locate this corpus within the wider context of the general analyses of the news media. There has been extensive consideration of the media representation of social identity, reality and criminal behaviour (for example, Chibnall, 1981; Cohen, & Young, 1981; Gamson et al., 1992; McEvoy, 1996); of crime (see Peelo et al., 2004; Peelo & Soothill, 2000; Reiner, 2002b); and to a lesser extent of sexual offences (Benedict, 1992; Greer, 2003; McEvoy, 1996; Soothill, 1991, 2004; Soothill & Jack, 1975; Soothill & Walby, 1991; Roshier, 1981; Young, 1998b).

Through their socially constructed accounts, journalists may reinforce prevailing public conceptualisations which are positively predisposed towards the police, and are negative towards those exhibiting deviant behaviours which threaten the established social order (Chibnall, 1981). Thus, it could be suggested that the media also act as gatekeepers of social morality and what is deemed as acceptable behaviour within society. Peelo and Soothill (2000) suggest that public narratives involve an interaction between the media and their audience, which are emergent from, but also impact upon, public attitudes, thus, providing a conduit for enabling a

“mass endorsement of morality” (p. 136). These symbolic boundaries encourage conformity amongst the members of the public to adhere to socially established rules such as legislation. The units of analyses used in the content analysis of printed texts such as newspapers range from comparisons of column inches to examining representations of crime through officially recorded crime statistics (for example, Roshier, 1981).

During the 1970s rape was uppermost in the media’s attention, but there had to be some unique element to an incident of rape for it to make it into the headlines (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). However, by the 1980s and 1990s its elevated position was claimed by the phenomenon of child abuse.

Limited research has been carried out in relation to the representation of sex crime in the print media. Whilst, some research has found that people are *“abhorred”* by these crimes, and that low conviction rates persist (Soothill & Walby, 1991). West (2000) stated that *“the category of rape of a female shows the largest proportionate increase of 250%, whereas the number of offenders convicted of rape has increased only slightly”* (p. 401). While, Harris and Grace (1999) found that this rise was not due to an overall increase in the prevalence of rape. Instead, there was a steep rise in the reporting of rapes committed by acquaintances or intimates suggesting that there is more confidence in the police investigating this type of rape, whereas the reporting of rapes perpetrated by strangers remained static. Nonetheless, the continuing poor detection and conviction rates of stranger rapes were highlighted as a concern by Harris and Grace (1999). A possible reason for the low level of convictions in acquaintance rape cases is that when the rape has been perpetrated by a person known to the victim it is rare that this results in the prosecution of the case due to the likely complexity of the issue of consent.

The types of cases chosen by the newspaper print media to report are those considered to be in the '*public interest*'. It has been suggested that there is an active news selection process involving the gatekeeping of information by journalists in the first instance, and then, by editors (Steiner, 1998). According to Graber, the audience then interprets these news items filtered through their individual directly or indirectly experienced realities (as cited in Gamson et al., 1992). Soothill, Peelo, Pearson, and Francis (2004) state that there are also cultural differences regarding newspaper reporting. For example, they consider the United Kingdom and United States to be vastly different in their reporting habits. They also highlighted newspapers which "[help validate] *who is included and who is excluded from public concern* [thus] *they contribute to a distancing of the public gaze from the actuality of the crime*" (p. 274). This framing of criminal acts, in this case homicide in the United States, was considered as misleading the public and thus it affects their conceptualisation of the appropriate policies which should be enforced (Sorenson, Manz Peterson, & Berk, 1998).

Most of the research which has been carried out on the print media (Peelo et al. 2004; Soothill, 1991, 2004; Soothill & Jack, 1975; Soothill & Walby, 1991) has focused on English newspapers, both the broadsheets (including national Sunday papers) and tabloid publications. These include *The Times*', *The News of the World*', *'Sunday Mirror'* to name but a few. As far as it can be discerned from the available literature there have been few studies (Peelo et al., 2004) which have crossed international boundaries. This research examined a variety of phenomena such as the differential reporting of sex crimes by broadsheets and tabloid publications, the extent of anonymity provided, the number of days the story was covered, and the '*newsworthiness*' of the article. Furthermore, the print media promoted a retributive

justice stance even though this contrasted with the attitudes of the public and survivors; this was highlighted by the extensive usage of the term '*rape*', which consequently normalised this crime. As the cases reported (stranger, serial or gang rapes) did not reflect the prevalence of this crime or its reality, it was suggested that further investigation was required (Soothill & Walby, 1991).

A comparative analysis study of court profiles was carried out by Lloyd and Walmsley (1989) on (a) the changes in rape offending and sentencing, and (b) media profiles of the early 1970s and mid-1980s. Information was found which contradicted the previous presentation of such cases in the print media. In particular there was a larger proportion of acquaintance rapes (where the offender was a relative, friend or ex-partner) documented in the articles. However, this finding, while surprising in the late 1970s to mid-1980s has been supported by later research (Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1997), and is closer to reality than the constructed '*stranger-danger*' regarding sex offenders presented in the press. Furthermore, despite the impression that rape happens outdoors in public places, Lloyd and Walmsley's study found "*...an increase in intimates convicted of raping the victim indoors*" (as cited in Soothill, 1991, p. 391).

4.1.7 Differences Between the Type of Newspaper and Subject Coverage

Research on the representation of crime in the print media further suggests that while the more esteemed '*quality*' daily broadsheets tended to focus on the government, cite expert opinions and pressure groups; while the tabloid newspapers were found to devote more attention to the opinions of the victims, their relatives and; sought the perspectives of those suspected or convicted of crimes. It was also noted that space limitations, caused tabloids to carry fewer crime news items on their front pages than quality newspapers. The crime stories that were reported were "*twice as*

likely to feature violent crimes against the person (45% as against 22%)” (Schlesinger, Tumber, & Murdock, 1991, p. 414). Although the tabloids were more likely to place sex crime stories on the front pages than the quality newspapers.

However, the gap between the tabloids and broadsheets was noted to have narrowed. In recent years, the reporting of sexually explicit content has been gradually adopted by the ‘*quality*’ broadsheets (but their subtle discursive style was used) (Soothill & Walby, 1991). “*National newspapers cull their stories from all over the country – often, indeed from all over the world. In many respects they define what is of national concern, while not having any specific geographical constituency to answer to*” (Soothill & Walby, 1991, p. 35).

The reporting of criminal cases, the public demand for which is constant, has led to the evolution of a new type of reporter, that of the ‘*investigative journalist*’. They specialise in covering stories which involve the seedier, darker, and criminal aspects of society. Furthermore, the selection of sources (i.e. the judiciary and criminal justice agencies) also indirectly control the framing of cases through the level of information provided (Soothill & Walby, 1991). Journalists at times thus reinforce the myths which serve the interests of the powerful elite within society. For example, by emphasising the culpability of rape victims, and the provocative nature of women’s sexuality, they are highlighting what is acceptable and reaffirming socially ascribed gender normative behaviour. The dichotomy of female representation as ‘the virgin’ or ‘whore’ prevails through the media (Benedict, 1992). Benedict also noted that the words used to describe female victims of sex crimes involved a linguistic style which was patronising and paternalistic.

The public are like “...a resident population...upon which the imagination could play; through which historical, moral and social fears, problems, [and] dichotomies could be articulated” according to Morrison (as cited in Sinnot, 2000, p. 436). The suggested “dichotomies” (refer to transgendered identities in the above quotation) may be applied to the stereotypical portrayal of women in the press. The image of the woman as the temptress/victim as depicted in rape cases may then inform the discourse of self (regarding female rape survivors). This may explain the difficulties which women continue to experience regarding attitudes to rape, while simultaneously explaining why male rape victims are experiencing even more challenges in response to their advocacy needs. That is to say, how can a male be a ‘victim’ when he is usually conceptualised and presented as the assailant?

Schank and Abelson’s (1977) work on cognitive schemas could be used to explain how difficult it may be to change the attitudes of both the public and criminal justice agencies when they are constantly being bombarded with information which contradicts the reality and reinforces individuals’ schematic conceptualisations of rape which conform to gender stereotypes rather than to actuality. Gender stereotyped reporting is clearly illustrated here by replacing “*she*” (Jennifer Levin) with “*he*” in the New York Times report on the 1986 Preppy Murder. For example “*He was tall and beautiful; a bright, bubbly, young man about to start college and begin a career*” (Benedict, 1992, p. 20). Thus, it would be extremely unusual for a male rape victim to be presented in this way. As can be seen above there is a gender bias regarding the coverage of rape victims, however, this type of biased reporting may also be noted in relation to female political candidates (Heldman, Carroll, & Olson, 2005).

The representation of women as ‘victims’ of male dominance and male violence as in the case of rape is constantly highlighted by feminists advocating the

re-conceptualisation of women's status within society. However, this feminist approach fails to address the difficult question of the 'agency' of women. In other words, if females are perceived as being 'victims' of patriarchal society, does not this deny them independent agency over their own futures? (Alcoff, 1996). Thus, *"feminists today are struggling to develop new concepts of the self which can make sense of these complexities and to produce social ontologies which are not based on the manichean binarisms of victim/victimizer, oppressed/oppressor"* (Alcoff, 1996, p. 26). Feminists therefore need to redress the position of women as 'victims' but also further re-conceptualise the status of men not only as agents but also as 'victims' of sexual violence as highlighted initially in the mid-1970s (Brownmiller, 1975) and developed upon by other feminists in their research on rape and sexual violence (for example, Lees, 1997).

In the mid-1980s there was a serial rapist known as Malcolm Fairley who attracted extensive media coverage for the number and variety of rapes committed. He *"...[committed] heterosexual rape; [the] rape of women when their husbands, brothers, boyfriends were watching, [and] homosexual rape (for which he got five times as long a prison sentence as for heterosexual rape)..."* (Soothill & Walby, 1991, p. 61). The differential sentencing for the rape of a male is of interest here. The inference being that male rape was taken as being more anomalous than the female rape and thus the rapist's sentence was increased to reflect this. The increase in sentence could emphasise the perceived rarity of this type of crime, partly resulting from its neglect by academics engaged in the study of the print media's representation of sex crime.

However, the few academics who have examined sex crime representation predominantly focus on female rape victims (Benedict, 1992; Soothill, 1991; Soothill & Walby, 1991). A notable exception was Soothill and Walby's (1991) research which provided an analysis of how male victims were portrayed by the print media. Nevertheless, the study focused on young male children as opposed to adult male victims. When sex offences against male adults are referred to in the print media, it is regarding cases where there was some aspect of celebrity attached (no matter how tenuous the link) which increased the likelihood of the stories being reported in the press. This celebrity-related context improved the newsworthiness of the story, however; even those cases were discussed fleetingly. Furthermore, it was noted that indecent assault and gross indecency cases do not commonly feature expressive violence, thus cases which typify violence are unusual and thus inherently newsworthy.

McEvoy (1996) drew on the philosophies of Baudrillard and applied them to media representation and made an interesting analogy using Wilde's literary work of *'The Picture of Dorian Gray'*. He suggested that "...the light thrown upon our reality by the 'mirror of representation' offers unique insights, it reflects back and therefore distorts the original reality" (p. 192). This quotation is particularly relevant to the portrayal of rape in the print media and the image of the victim of this crime, wherein the majority of crimes appear to be carried out by lone perpetrators who are strangers to their potential victims, who target scantily clad, inebriated females out late at night alone (females who have in some way deviated from socially ascribed gender normative behaviour). Thus, the preconception that the rape victim must be gay is slowly being rejected at a superficial level. The reality that previously "...within medical, legal and psychological discourses, homosexuality...[has] been seen as the

deviant other to the heterosexual norm” (Stacey, 1991, p. 288), also suggested that print media representation has historically reinforced misconceptions (such as only gay males are raped) considering journalists’ sources of crime news include the police (perceived as being anti-gay, see Lees, 1997) and the courts.

The ‘*ideal victim*’ is the female who follows the ‘*real rape*’ script once attacked, in that, she immediately reports the matter to the police and proceeds with the trial. She is then praised for her “*bravery*” and “*courage*”. The print media thus suggested that she was “*self-sacrificing*” and did her moral duty for the common good by preventing the rapist from attacking anyone else (Marhia, 2008). The research by Marhia was feminist orientated and therefore when she discussed gender-biased reporting, she failed to consider the impact of this type of reporting in relation to the male rape victim.

4.1.8 The Influence of the Journalists’ Gender on Narrative Styles

The journalists and their sources may inherently influence the selection of material included in their articles as a result of their own preconceptions informed by socially instilled rape myths (Franiuk, Seefeld, Cephress, & Vandello, 2008), these articles may be further manipulated according to editorial agendas (Tunstall, 1971). Tuchman (1972) suggested that an objective (fact-based) narrative style was used to avoid libel suits. As the media profession is dominated by males this is also likely to impact on how news is reported. Tuchman (1972) stated that narrative objectivity (fact-based) is prized by male journalists, and thus in an attempt to conform to this perceived form of professional news reporting; female journalists may also adopt this approach. There has been much written in media studies on the subject of female reporters and the influence of their presence within the profession on the reporting of news as well as the provision of stereotyped responses and the undervaluing of these

journalists' skills within the workplace (Steeves, 1987). However, van Zoonen (1988) in the Netherlands found no difference between male and female journalists in their choice of news stories to cover, and despite positive discrimination in the employment of female journalists, had not led to apparent qualitative or quantitative changes in news production processes (van Zoonen, 1988). This could be due to female journalists trying to progress their careers by replicating the male objective style of reporting (Gill, 2007) or the pervasive factor of male editorial decision-making.

Editorial decision-making in framing the news was considered to be influential by Kraft and Wanta (2004) who found male-dominated news agencies tended to have more of a negative focus highlighting hostilities or “*‘bad news’ ...[that is] ‘if it bleeds it leads’*” (p. 135), and that male journalists were also assigned the prestigious ‘*beats*’ (specific news stories). In contrast, female editors demonstrated a positive focus and there was an equality of *beats*, so that male and female journalists had an equal chance of being given a prestigious news item to cover. Males still dominate across the media profession from journalists to editors despite increases in female employment within this sector in recent years (Hemlinger, 2001), and this may impact on the framing of sex crime. More recently, Marhia (2008) noted: “*The presence of women [in the media profession], however, does not automatically lead to more gender sensitive reporting or gender balanced representations*” (p. 7). Even with increases in female employment within this profession this under-representation and resultant implications are still of concern (Kim, 2006).

Thus, while significantly more females have entered the profession, there has been but a subtle influence detected as a result. The reporting of sex crime by female journalists may also not routinely present victims in a more sympathetic manner as they can be as socially conditioned as males are with regard to their unquestioning

acceptance of rape myths (Benedict, 1992). This lack of sympathetic reporting by females could also be due to the influence of editorial processes or down to female journalists' attempts to mimic the '*professional*' and objective reporting style of their male colleagues (Gill, 2007).

In contrast, other research suggests that female journalists may, in fact, be more empathic to the plight of female victims of male violence, and aware of the obstacles they face within the criminal justice system. Thus, the by-lines and headlines of their stories can be more informed. Nevertheless, these stories on female rape written by female journalists are rarely located on the front page or feature in prominent locations (Soothill & Walby, 1991). Therefore, the possibly more realistic view of sex crimes by female journalists may be suppressed through obscurity in order not to challenge the public's preconceptions about sex crimes such as rape and sexual assault.

Furthermore, according to linguistic research by Tannen (1990), the language used by males and females differs in the style and tone. For example, female discourse tends to be more "*supportive*" and "*relational*", whereas male discourse is more "*assertive*" and "*competitive*". Thus, females employ "*rapport talk*" whereas males engage in "*report talk*" (Tannen, 1996). This gender difference in conversational style could leak into their narrative styles of reporting. Aries (1996) criticised Tannen for emphasising gender differences but recognised she was facilitating understanding in the hope of improving gender relations. Aries also suggested that a range of other factors also influences conversational style such as context. The point is that the gender of the journalist may influence the narrative style in which the news article is written. Finally, in a study by Guerin (1994), it was found that "*...there was a strong tendency of participants to write about their own gender in*

ways that made them appear more positive. Their desirable behaviours were made more abstract and dispositional, and their undesirable behaviours were made more concrete and situational” (p. 7). The suggestion is that communication styles can be gendered.

Therefore, a conflict in the literature is evident regarding the expectation that females should automatically be sympathetic to the plight of the female rape victim on the basis of their being of the same gender. This conceptualisation is based on stereotypical gender role characteristics of females being more ‘*sensitive*’ and ‘*caring*’ than their male counterparts. Russ stated that “[a]ccording to the prevailing mythology, women are peculiarly unable to transcend their bodies or their personal involvement with others. Therefore, they simply cannot write their way out of their bodies that men can” according to (as cited in Steiner, 1998, p. 147). However, even if this were the case, there are other influencing factors, such as career progression enabled through the attainment of narrative ‘*objectivity*’ in their reporting. There is also the powerful influence of the newspaper editors resulting in the style, content, and tone of the newspaper article irrespective of its original reporter (Steiner, 1998).

Furthermore, the type of publication (e.g., tabloid or broadsheet) has previously been found to inform the content of print newspaper articles (Soothill, 1991, Greer, 2003), in that the more salacious reporting of sex crime tended to be provided by the tabloids. However, Soothill and Walby (1991) stated that the broadsheets were not reticent regarding the reporting of sex crimes for the titillation of the masses, motivated by the financial rewards, as well as the pressure to increase circulation numbers, which could be enforced by the newspaper editors.

The police are a key source of information. However, information provided to journalists regarding rape cases can be biased (as a result of poor reporting practices

that is, victims' underreporting of this crime). Thus, even before the print media selectively choose their articles, there are already inherent biases as to the type of sex crimes and perpetrators identified. Therefore, many factors may influence the construction of the printed newspaper article.

There is limited research material available regarding the print media representation of sex crime, particularly with regard to male rape victims. Also overlooked by academic research is the journalistic *tone* of the narrative style of newspaper articles which may be influenced by the gender of the rape victim and/or journalist.

4.1.9 Summary

The review presented so far in this chapter has described a variety of factors which impact on the reporting of crime within the print media. Crime reporting is a complex process which is filtered through its '*sources*' (police and the courts), '*selection*' (by the reporters), '*presentation*' (which may be affected by the gender of the reporter), '*editorial review*' (editors), and in some cases whether the news story is in the public's interest (such as individuals are at risk of a serial attacker or as a cautionary tale about risky lifestyles). Alternatively, sometimes, instead of serving social agents of control, the print media challenges such authority on certain issues.

It is also interesting to note that a common element in the studies conducted in the 1990s was that interpersonal (particularly sex) crimes continued to be overrepresented in the media, and this trend was increasing (Reiner, 2002b). There was also a tendency in the research to focus on homicide as opposed to sex crimes, with some exceptions (see Benedict, 1992; Greer, 2003; Soothill, 2004). However, even those commentaries that are concerned with the representation of sex crime in the media tended to neglect the adult male rape victim, choosing to concentrate on

female victims (Benedict, 1992) or child abuse (Greer, 2003). The presentation of female and male rape in the media is of key importance as they are the most accessible information resource for victims. Thus, “...*the portrayal of raped women in the press may be considered likely to deter women from reporting rape to the police*” (Soothill & Walby, 1991, p. 9). At present, the impact of the representation or non-representation regarding male rape survivors has yet to be determined. The current exploratory study aims to provide a base from which to launch further research into this understudied phenomenon of the representation of male rape victims in the press.

The following research propositions were inspired by Robinson (1996 as cited in Goddard, De Bortoli, Saunders, & Tucci, 2005) :

“Is any account apparently neutral or are evaluative terms used to discredit some of the actors?” (p. 279)

Research Proposition 1: In rape cases, the journalistic *tone* (e.g. sympathetic, myth-laden, non-judgemental) will differ according to the gender of the reporter.

Research Proposition 2: The journalistic *tone* will also differ according to the gender of the rape victim.

Research Proposition 3: There will be an effect of rape victim gender on the press reporting of the *location* (outside/indoors) and *context* (stranger/acquaintance) of the rapes.

4.2 Method

A qualitative methodology was deemed appropriate for this study. This was because the latent content of the newspaper article would be the main focus, this required a more interpretative framework as opposed to a reductionist approach; more suited to the analysis of manifest data. Thus, the methodological approach of the current study was data driven. Classic content analysis in its various manifestations is routinely used in print media studies (Greer, 2003; Hay et al., 1980; Rowe, Tillbury, Rapley, & O'Ferrall, 2003; Soothill & Jack, 1975; Soothill et al., 2002). According to Holsti (1968), content analysis in its broadest sense is “*any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages*” (p. 608). Latent content refers to the “*deep structural meaning conveyed by the message*” (Berg, 2001, p. 242) and in the present study this was interpreted as pertaining to the journalistic tone. Manifest content relates to factors which *are* “*physically present and countable*” (Berg, 2001, p. 242), which in the present study pertains to the gender of journalist and of victim. According to Holsti the content analysis method:

...allows for coding of information with low subjective inference (e.g., using manifest content of words present) and/or with high inference (e.g. using latent content to interpret meaning or make judgment) by researchers across a number of categories created for analysis (as cited in Boots & Heide, 2006, p. 421).

Krippendorff (2004) criticised Holsti's interpretation of these characteristics for not incorporating the analyst's subjective interpretation into a satisfactory analysis of the text, and for not showing its relevance to the research aims. The current study addresses this subjective aspect by considering ‘*by whom*’ and ‘*how*’ the article was

written. The journalist's gender is usually evident from his/her name except when the name is gender neutral such as 'Pat' or 'Alex', or when it is of an unfamiliar ethnic origin (the gender of which may be difficult to distinguish).

The types of codes used are what Strauss (1987) described "*in vivo codes*" those which "...tend to be the behaviours or processes which will explain to the analyst how the basic problem of the actors is resolved or processed" (p. 33). The units which were coded and studied were the *crime scene behaviours* (e.g., approach, sex acts, use of a weapon, physical violence), *stage of the process* (for example, sentencing disposal or initial investigation of the crime), *victim-offender relationship*, the *gender of the journalist*, and the *type of newspaper*. Rape victims' age, gender, and ethnicity were also analysed. This analysis was carried out to contextualise the findings vis-à-vis the inherent tone of the newspaper articles. The content analysis dictionary and qualitative analyses are included in *Appendices 3 to 3.3*.

The next stage of analysis required open coding of the crime scene behaviours, stage of the case, and type of newspaper. The term '*open coding*' relates to the initial analysis of the data; according to Berg (2001) the "*central purpose of which [open coding] is to open inquiry widely*" (p. 251). Thus, the initial codes developed are described in Table 5. After the open coding stage, '*axial coding*' was then used to further divide these codes into the actual behaviours of the victim and the assailant; stage of case (initial investigation, sentencing, post-sentencing), and the type of newspaper (regional tabloid, regional broadsheet, national tabloid, national broadsheet). Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined '*axial coding*' as "[t]he process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed '*axial*' because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and

dimensions” (p. 123). In the current study the focus was on how the newspaper articles were reported.

The *tone* of the article was identified through “*discourse markers*”, which are linguistic items that function in *cognitive* (illustration of ideation through language), *expressive* (language used in portrayal of social characteristics indicating the perspective), and *social* (the manoeuvring of inter-relationships between the individual and their audience) domains (Schiffrin, 2003). The journalistic tone as aforementioned denotes the expressive nature of the article. Halliday and Hasan focused on written texts and spoke of an *analysis of cohesion* (differentiating text from a random collation of sentences), with *cohesive devices* including “...*reference and repetition*...” (as cited in Schiffrin, 2003, p. 55) rather than discourse markers such as ‘*because*’ and ‘*to sum up*’. The current study takes these ‘*markers*’ a step further by using words which are emotional descriptors, for example “*ordeal*”, and “*brutal*”, and cohesive phrases such as ‘*It hadn’t occurred to him that he could be vulnerable to a sexual assault*’ to signify markers indicating the journalistic tone of the newspaper article (these ‘*markers*’ are highlighted within the newspaper articles in *Appendix 3.1*). This approach was in accordance with the work of Krippendorff (2004):

- I. The presence or absence of a reference or concept is taken to indicate the source’s awareness or knowledge of the object referred or conceptualised.
- II. The frequency with which a symbol, idea, reference or topic occurs in a stream of messages is taken to indicate the importance of attention to, or emphasis on that symbol, idea, reference or topic in the messages.

- III. The number of favourable and unfavourable characteristics attributed to a symbol, idea or reference are taken to indicate the attitudes held by the writers, the readers, or their common culture toward the object named or indicated.
- IV. The kinds of qualifications – adjectives or hedges – used in statements about a symbol, idea, or reference are taken to indicate the intensity strength, or uncertainty associated with the beliefs, convictions, and motivations that the symbol, idea, or reference signifies.
- V. The frequency of co-occurrences of two concepts (excluding those that have grammatical collocational explanations) is taken to indicate the strength of associations between authors, readers, or audience (p. 59).

The tone of the article was defined by manually analysing the text and the following tones were identified: *sympathetic* (empathetic emotional phrasing) (Marhia, 2008; Benedict, 1992), *myth-laden* (rape-myth reinforcement – culpability-inferred language) (Benedict, 1992, Chapleau et al., 2008), or *non-judgmental* (fact-based-narrative) (Gill, 2007; Tuchman, 1972). These tones were developed based upon the available research on the print media and its representation of sex crime.

The sample size was insufficient for computerised content analysis. Furthermore, it is suggested that the use of automated coding is more beneficial in studies where there are ideally 50 to 60 categories when compiling content analysis dictionaries with the aid of computer software (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Therefore, because the number of content categories (see below) in the current study was 39, the content analysis was carried out manually. The manual method was also chosen in

accordance with Viney's statement (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2003) that while computerised content analysis dictionaries are continually evolving they still cannot "*parse certain subtleties of meaning reflected in context*" (p. 285).

Younger child victims (aged 16 and under) were excluded due to the unequal chance of the newspaper article being written in a *non-judgmental*, *sympathetic*, or *myth-laden tone*. The likelihood would most likely to be a *sympathetic* or *non-judgmental* tone as it would be unusual for a *myth-laden* tone to be evident.

4.2.1 The Main Study

The Lexis Nexis Executive online database of news publications was searched for articles using the search term '*rape*' and '*All News in English*' as the delimiter. The results exceeded 1,000 newspaper articles and were prevented from being displayed due to the volume. The '*Major World Publications*' delimiter option was then selected to search the Lexis-Nexis database using a variation of terms such as '*ATL4 (RAPE**)* and *female adult*' and 880 results were returned. However, when the same search delimiters were used to search for related terms regarding '*ATL4(RAPE**)* and *male adult*', results were unable to be displayed due to the identified newspaper articles exceeding 1,000 articles. The presentation of such extensive results could not be handled by the Lexis Nexis database system due to their volume. This was an unexpected outcome, so the search had to be refined further. The delimiters '*Major World Publications*' and '*include web sources*' (to include online versions of print articles) were selected and the Lexis Nexis Executive database was used to search for the terms '*male rape victim*' and '*female rape victim*' to ensure consistency of trustworthiness and credibility across these searches. Only English language publications were chosen due to the limitation of financial resources available for the present study which precluded the use of translators.

Description of the sample

The publications included both regional and national papers from countries such as Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States, South Africa, and Australia. The searches resulted in 419 articles. Of these, 285 newspaper articles were identified by the search term '*male rape victim*' and 134 by '*female rape victim*'. Each newspaper article was then given an identification code of MRSNA (Male Rape Survivor Newspaper Article), FRSNA (Female Rape Survivor Newspaper Article), and after each code the number of articles would be included e.g., MRSNA001, or FRSNA001, and so on. As stated above, only adult cases of rape (victims aged 17 and older) as covered in the articles were included in the content analysis.

Regarding the male rape articles, 267 were rejected due to a number of factors which included duplicated content and insufficient detail. This replication of article content resulted from incidences where a news story was printed in one newspaper and then selected by several more newspapers (probably due to its '*newsworthiness*'). It is suggested that the newsworthiness of particular stories, may have led to articles being selected from Press Association resources and published with little or no additional detail provided by other newspaper journalists. This resulted in the provision of insufficient material for latent content analysis purposes to identify the journalist's tone. Furthermore, duplication of content was also highlighted by the initial stages of content analysis when the newspaper articles were coded and entered into SPSS v. 14 to ascertain whether they were suitable for further analysis using the analysis of cohesion markers to identify the journalistic tone.

In addition, male and female newspaper articles were rejected if they included vague terminology such as there was a '*sexual element*' as opposed to making a specific reference to rape. Also, some newspaper articles did not report on a specific

case but discussed cases more generally in a feature type article. These were also excluded due to insufficient content regarding individual cases. Furthermore, only adult cases of rape (victims aged 17 and older) covered in the articles were included in the content analysis in accordance with the legal definition of rape outlined under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 in England and Wales and Sexual Offences Act 2003. Also, if the journalist's name was not cited or their gender was unable to be discerned due to its ethnic origin the article was also excluded. However, some lengthy features did report a number of cases and from these the most detailed cases were selected for latent content analysis. Thus, from this relatively large sample of '*male rape victim*' newspaper articles, the final sample of male rape newspaper articles that was appropriate for analysis was 18. The male rape survivor articles mainly originated from United Kingdom and the United States.

Similar issues related to (i) insufficient case detail and (ii) duplication of content negatively impacted upon the available sample of female rape newspaper articles that was appropriate for analysis. This sample ended up as one. This very limited sample prevented a comprehensive examination of the research propositions. (The implications of this will be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.)

The publication year of the articles spanned from 1986 to 2007, giving the coverage of a 21-year period. Thus, the findings identified may be considered stable across time. It was decided to conduct a qualitative analysis, and limited quantitative analyses, such as frequency and descriptive statistics which were used where feasible.

4.2.1.1 A Content Analysis of the Newspaper Articles

In relation to the use of the high-inference or latent content analysis, Boots and Heide (2006) stated the robustness of reliability needs to be ensured through the use of independent coders. In the current study, the test for inter-rater reliability was conducted to satisfy concerns regarding the subjectivity of the researcher's tri-partite coding framework. Articles were assigned through latent content analysis under the following categories of *sympathetic*, *non-judgmental* or *myth-laden* journalistic tones. The independent raters checked one of three categories for each of the randomly selected newspaper articles. Regarding the content codes, 20 percent of the randomly selected male rape victim newspaper articles were dual coded by two independent coders which gave rise to 88% inter-rater agreement. However, the percentage agreement could be seen as inflating the reliability. To offset this possible inflation, a parallel reliability measure gave an unbiased reliability of 78.6%. This measure is "...used to assess the consistency of the results of two tests constructed in the same way from the same content domain" (Trochim, 2006, www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/reotypes.php).

In accordance with previous research (Benedict, 1992) which highlighted that the physical appearance of the female rape victim informed the framing of the newspaper article, it was decided that, where appropriate, male and female rape victim newspaper articles would be analysed to determine whether this remained the case irrespective of gender. Brosnan (2004) noted that physical characteristics (the youth of the offender, and the older age of the victim) had been highlighted by a judge in an Irish male rape case in 2004 and had undoubtedly influenced the ruling as a three-year suspended sentence was subsequently passed down.

Crime scene variables were included in order to contextualise the content of the newspaper articles as they may inform the tone of the journalist. A description of the physical characteristics of both the victim and the offender were included in the male rape victim newspaper articles, however, the sample size of the female rape victim articles negated their inclusion. Furthermore, previous research on media representation tended to focus on particular aspects of the rape being reported.

A quantitative analysis using descriptive statistics was conducted on the following variables which included the newspaper's "*year of publication*", "*country of origin*", "*journalistic tone*" (once it had been identified through latent content analysis) of the article. The contextual value of the newspapers' framing of events regarding the culpability of the rape victim (see Marhia, 2008) by highlighting particular crime scene characteristics was investigated. Variables such as "*location*" (as this was considered likely to differentiate between male and female victims) (Jamel, 1999), and the "*approach*" used by the offender were analysed. In addition, the frequency of alcohol or drugs being consumed by offenders ("*offalcohol*" and "*offdrugs*"); and/or victims' voluntary or coerced consumption of alcohol and/or drugs ("*vicalcohol*", "*vicdrugs*") were also subject to descriptive statistics. The demographics of the victim and offender (where known); variables such as their age ("*vicage*", "*offage*"), sexual orientation ("*vicsexorient*", "*offsexorient*"); and physical appearance ("*vicphycharac*", "*offphycharac*") were also analysed. The variables which were analysed using descriptive statistics are presented in Table 5 and explained below.

A complete description of all of the variables analysed is provided in *Appendix 3*.

All of these factors may influence not only the public perception of the phenomenon of '*rape*' but also its perception of how victims and offenders are treated by the criminal justice system. The aforementioned crime scene and demographic characteristics were included as they could influence the perception of the behavioural culpability of the male rape victim (Daugherty & Esper, 1998) and female rape victim (Marhia, 2008).

The format of the rape and sexual assault newspaper articles either provided (i) "*search for the offender*" (Soothill et al., 2004, p. 4) narratives where the police asked for information from the public in order to locate the offender in question; or (ii) were court based reports of cases; or (iii) were feature articles raising awareness on the topic of male rape.

A database was compiled of the content categories using the software package ‘Statistics Package for the Social Sciences v.14’. Table 5 provides a break-down of the 39 variables used in this analysis.

| Newspaper | Article | Reporter | Crime Scene | Victim | Offender | Reporting Practice | Stage reached in Criminal Justice System |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|
| Year of publication | Words | Journalistgen | Vicoffrel | Vicage | Offage | Reportrape | Trial |
| Type of publication | Tone | | Vicphycharac | Vicethnicity | Offgen | Reportphya | Sentence |
| Country of origin | | | Location | Vicsexorient | Offethnicity | Agencyreport | |
| | | | Context | Vicalcohol | Offsexorient | | |
| | | | Approach | Vicdrugs | Offalcohol | | |
| | | | Offphycharac | Prevsexhist | Offdrugs | | |
| | | | Vicdescclothing | Descvicalcohol | Offenderid | | |
| | | | Typphyviol | | | | |
| | | | Threatweap | | | | |
| | | | Weaptyp | | | | |
| | | | Weapused | | | | |
| | | | Sexacts | | | | |
| | | | Noff | | | | |
| | | | Homophobic attack | | | | |

Table 5. Content categories for the media representation studies

In order to supplement the current study's limited sample size an additional study was conducted which replicated the aims of the main analyses but used different search terms. The purpose of this was to identify whether the search terms '*female sexual assault victim*' and '*male sexual assault victim*' would result in any larger sample sizes regarding rape cases as sometimes the terms '*sexual assault*' and '*rape*' terms are used interchangeably in the media. Lexis Nexis Executive database was used and the resources selected were '*Major World Publications*' and '*include web sources*'.

4.2.2 Supplementary Study I

This study analysed newspaper articles on female and male sexual assault regarding the journalistic tone used, and investigated if there was a gender effect as a result of the gender of the journalist and/or the victim. The inclusion of the term '*victim*' restricted the results excessively and was consequently removed as these exact phrases ('*female sexual assault victim*' and '*male sexual assault victim*') were not frequently reported. Thus, the amended search terms used were '*male sexual assault*' and '*female sexual assault*'. The time period covered for the female sexual assault newspaper articles (despite following the same procedures as the previous searches) was more limited, covering the years 2002 to 2005 inclusive. The limited time period appears to have been reflective of the frequency of usage of the search terms '*male sexual assault*' and '*female sexual assault*'.

The number of identified newspaper articles reporting on female sexual assault (n=39) was smaller than the sample of male sexual assault newspaper articles (n=61). One article was suitable for content analysis and the remainder of the sample were excluded. The reason for exclusion, was that there were insufficient details of the female rape cases to enable identification of the journalistic tone. The gender of the

journalist was omitted or not discernible, and many of the newspaper articles were features regarding rape survivor service provisions; or focused on male rape with references to female rape in order to draw comparisons. The newspaper articles were coded as MSANA (Male Sexual Assault Newspaper Article) and FSANA (Female Sexual Assault Newspaper Article). As the terms '*sexual assault*' and '*rape*' were often used interchangeably, it was considered that a larger sample size of articles may be obtained if the '*sexual assault*' search term was used.

4.2.3 Supplementary Study II

This additional study was informed by the findings of the above study of the print media representation of male and female rape victims. The main study would not be complete unless a consideration of the representation of the term '*rape victim*' addressed the possible inherent female gender bias as indicated by the Main Study. For this reason the Lexis Nexis Executive database was once again used and the resources selected were '*Major World Publications*' and '*include web sources*'. The term '*adult rape victim*' was then used to search these resources. (The inclusion of '*adult*' in the search terms was to filter out any child abuse cases as these were outside the scope of this study). The date of publications ranged from 1987 to 2007, thus, a broad selection of twenty years was available to provide an indication of possible changing representations of rape. The range of years across which the sample of articles was identified was a reflection of the usage of the precise combination of search terms '*adult rape victim*'. From the sample (n=348) of '*adult rape victim*' newspaper articles, the final number of cases eligible for content analysis consisted of only eight cases. The underlying reasons for this reduction in the number were similar to those outlined above. The newspaper articles were coded as ARVNA (Adult Rape Victim Newspaper Article). The limited sample size restricted the quantitative

analysis which could be performed; thus, descriptive statistics were used on the eight cases entered into SPSS v.14 and coded as per the categories in Table 5.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 The Main Study

The 'Male Rape Victim' Newspaper Articles

Cross-cultural composition of sample publications

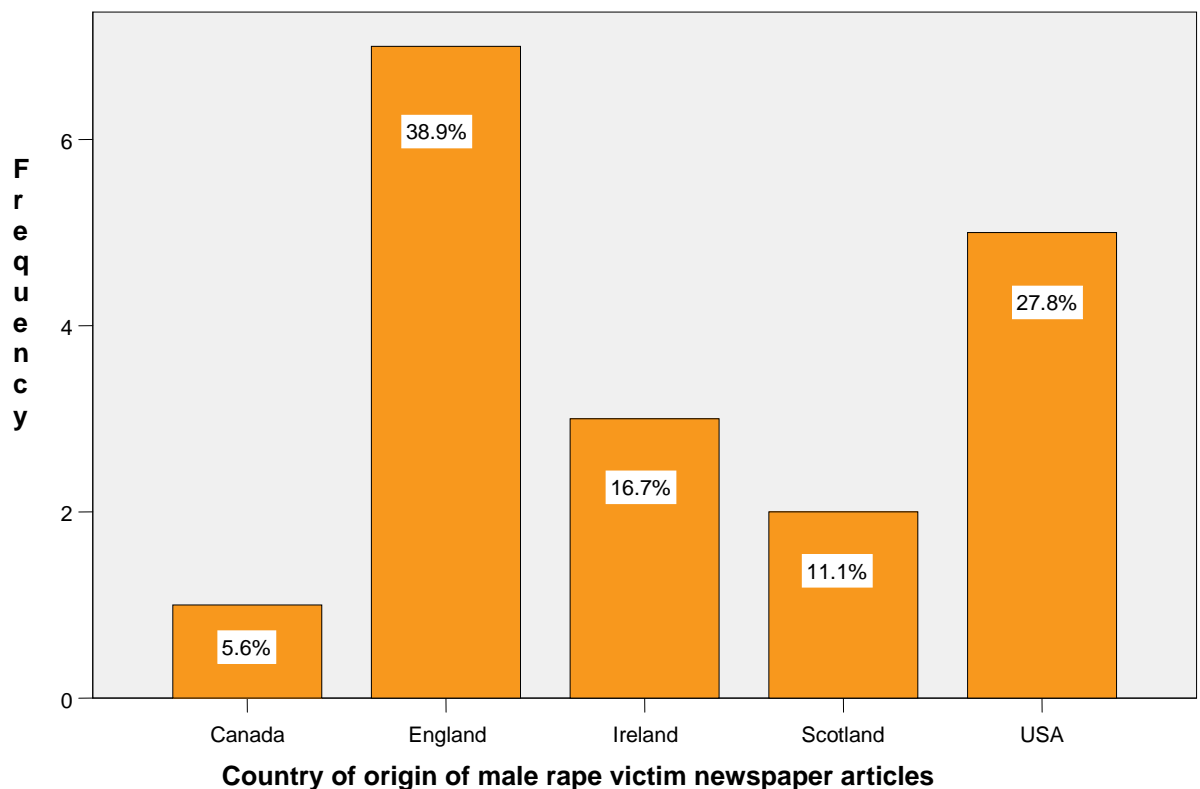


Figure 7.

To contextualise the findings, the country of origin of the publications, regarding male rape are illustrated in Figure 7. The newspaper articles identified predominantly originated in the United States and England. It may thus be suggested that male rape continues to be perceived as an anomaly in the United States and England, and therefore is newsworthy. In the other countries, male rape may be more hidden, and therefore may not appear to be a problem because of low reporting rates. Further research would need to be carried out regarding which of these possible

reasons may be the more robust explanation. The available literature discussed earlier also suggested that academic attention regarding male rape also appears to be divided between England and the United States.

4.3.1.1 Type of Publication

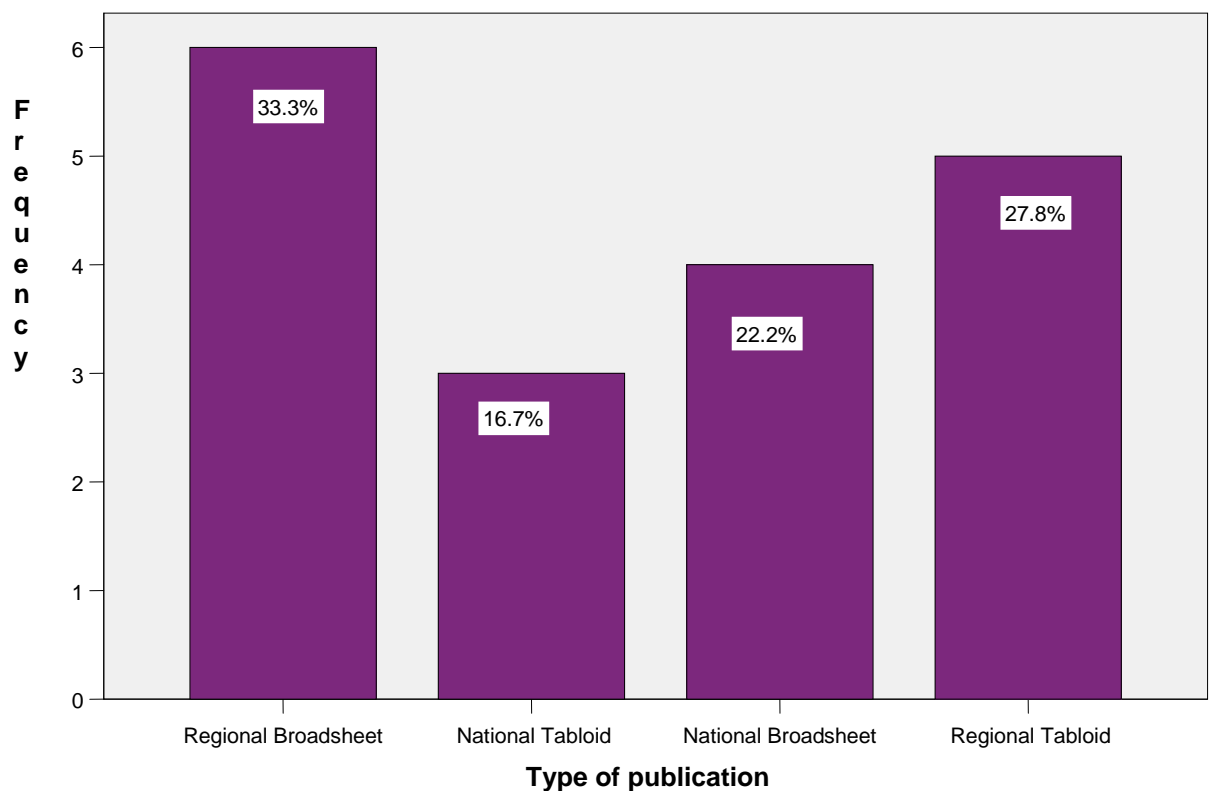


Figure 8.

As can be seen from Figure 8, Regional Broadsheet (33.3%) and Regional Tabloid (27.8%) newspapers dominated in the 'Major World Publications' category selected on searching the Lexis Nexis online database when the search criteria 'male rape victim' was used. In particular, the prevalence of regional broadsheets may have impacted upon the findings regarding the tone of the articles (see Figure 9),

considering the variation in narrative style between the tabloids and broadsheets in relation to the portrayal of sex crimes in the media (see Benedict, 1992; Greer, 2003).

4.3.1.2 Journalistic Tone of the 'Male Rape Victim' Newspaper

Articles

In the next section, the tone of the articles on male rape will be analysed to assess whether they are considered *myth-laden* (such as drawing on stereotypes of male victims being predominantly gay or alluding to this through their content); or whether they were *non-judgmental* (and just outlined the facts of the case); or whether they expressed a more *sympathetic* tone (empathised with the victim in an attempt to encourage other male rape survivors to come forward and report their victimisation to the police).

Five of the 18 male rape newspaper articles were identified by latent analysis as being *non-judgmental* in journalistic tone (of these four male journalists and one female journalist were identified through manifest analysis). Eleven of the 18 male rape articles evidenced a *sympathetic* tone. The gender of the journalists who adopted a sympathetic tone were five females and six males. Two of the articles were identified as being *myth-laden* by latent analysis, and manifest analysis found that one journalist was male, the other female.

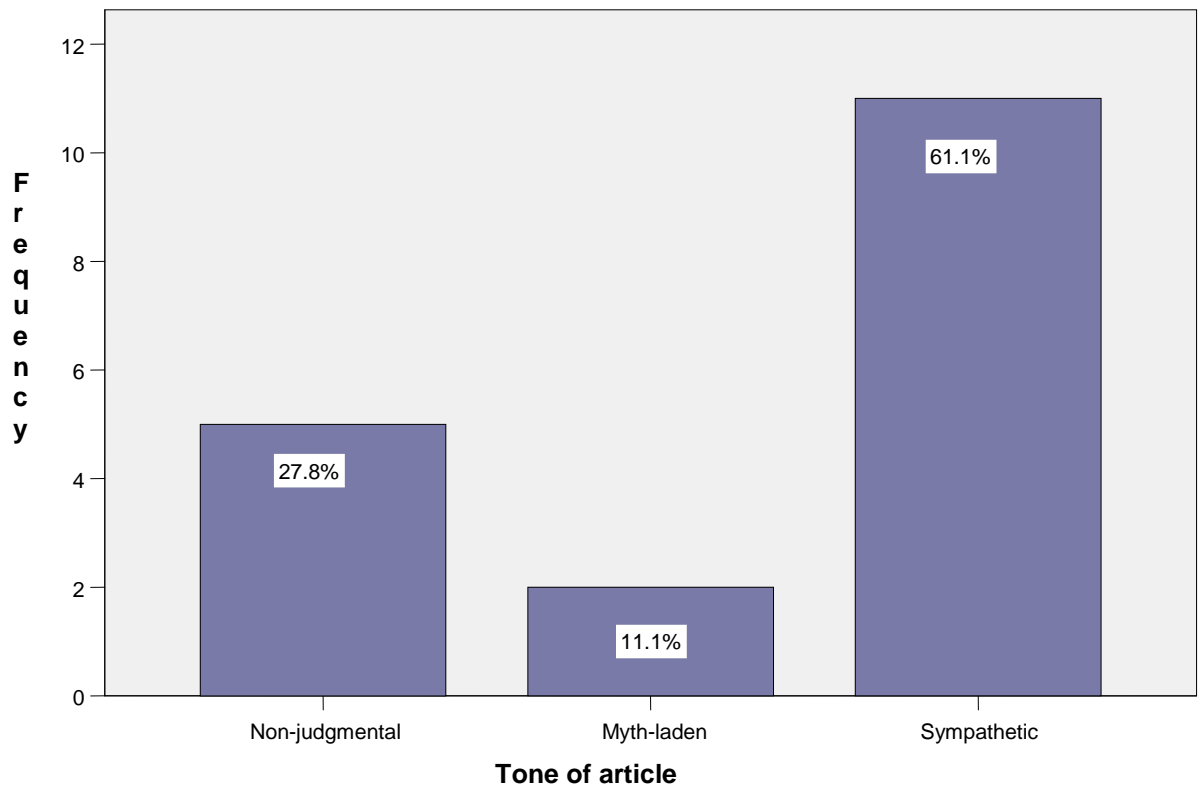


Figure 9.

As can be seen from Figure 9, the findings contrast with earlier print media representation research about female rape. The present study found that the majority of the male rape newspaper articles were *sympathetic* (61.1%). Just over a quarter were *non-judgmental* (27.8%); and a small percentage were *myth-laden* (4%), in the description of the documented male victim's experience.

4.3.1.3 Gender of the Journalists

The journalists' gender identified in the male rape victim newspaper articles analysed, were that 61% were male and 38.9% were female. This suggests that the number of males still exceeds those of female reporters even though women are increasingly entering this previously male-dominated profession (Hemlinger, 2001).

However, as aforementioned, although the gender employment gap is narrowing within journalism, it is the location of their articles (i.e., front page headlines versus the obscurity of the middle or back pages) which carries with it the power and status within the print media (Soothill & Walby, 1991). It should also be noted here that in general the majority of journalists are male, and thus it is predominantly male journalists who report on male rape victims in the current study.

4.3.1.4 A Latent Content Analysis of the Journalistic Tone of the Male Rape Victim Newspaper Articles

Non-Judgmental

The content analysis identified the following phrases as denoting the non-judgmental tone. For example, the neutral statements used by a male journalist included *“the jury had been told”*, *“later the youth told the jury”*, *“He is alleged to have made a sexual approach to the youth but was rebuffed”* and *“He claimed he was raped on the bed after the defendant put the couch under the door so nobody could come in”* [MRSNA059]. In article [MRSNA100], the male journalist stated that the *“police are investigating an allegation of male rape”*, *“the victim...was said to have been attacked on Brighton beach”*. There were few details provided, but a *non-judgmental* tone was evident, as solely the facts of the case were reported.

Article [MRSNA157] involved the *“prison rape of a male sex offender”*. However, the victim was only briefly referred to in the article apart from mentioning the offence for which he was incarcerated. Thus, there was no sympathy indicated for the victim, or any male rape myths evidenced. Instead, factual statements were used such as he *“...was awaiting a sentence for raping a woman”*. It was the offender who was demonised by the article describing him as a *“sex beast”*; but simultaneously outlining mitigating circumstances regarding his abusive childhood which may have

led to his offending behaviour. The newsworthiness of this article was due to it being the “*first prison rape to be reported and successfully prosecuted in Ireland*”. In this article neither side was taken by the male journalist.

In another article [MRSNA194] the charges of “*aggravated rape and aggravated oral sexual battery*” were cited, and it was also stated that the perpetrator “*forced the victim at knifepoint to perform oral sex*”; after which he “*sodomized the younger man*”. The rapist freed the victim “*threatening to kill him*” if he reported the incident to the police. Also, during this article the female journalist drew on quotations from professionals in the field highlighting the rarity of male rape reports. Nevertheless, the article also stated that those few male rapes which are reported usually have taken place in prisons. Although, to balance this perspective, the female journalist was careful to highlight that despite male rapes rarely being reported, this does not mean that they are not happening in society. Thus, not only are case details given, there is also an informational aspect to the article (raising awareness regarding male rape).

The *non-judgmental* tone of article [MRSNA213] takes a more fact-based legislative perspective regarding male rape. The male journalist discussed law reforms which evolved from the needs-based evidence of “*police and counselling agencies [which] believe ...many cases of male rape...[are] unreported*”. A case of male rape is featured, which has taken place in prison: “*...his cellmate...raped him and threatened to beat him if he shouted out*”. Statistics were also provided: the aim of the article apparently to raise public awareness regarding male rape.

Sympathetic

The following excerpts from newspaper articles illustrate a *sympathetic* tone demonstrating a marked difference from those discussed above as a result of the use of emotive phrasing and adjectives. In article [MRSNA015] the focus is on sexual assault in the military and its “*troubling incidence*”. The female journalist spoke of these victims having “*languished in the shadows*”, “*completely unremarked*”. She then provided details of a number of cases where one male rape victim who was “*beaten and raped*” complained he was called a “*training failure*”, and “*required to leave the service*”. Another victim who was “*raped*” was “*finned for an offense*” which remained unspecified by his commander. Also, a young officer who stayed at his friend’s house after going out for drinks (due to the time being past their curfew) was raped. The female journalist here mentioned that this male victim was “*slender*” with “*trim blond hair*” who fell asleep only to awake to his friend raping him. He “*threw off his assailant enraged*” and “*beat him*” until his assailant escaped. He reported the incident to his superiors in the military, and despite initially suggesting they believed his side of the story, they later encouraged the victim to accept culpability for the incident. They forced him to state that he had “*participat[ed] in consensual sodomy*”, and to admit “*beating up the other man*” or “*face a court-martial*”.

The female journalist also discussed the impact that this particular case had on the victim’s father who was “*shattered*” and “*devastated*” by the ‘*emotional storm*’ surrounding his only son...and then ‘he [the father] cried’. The final case discussed in this article was that of an 18-year old soldier who was raped by a fellow serviceman in Vietnam. Again, the journalist described both the offender (“*large*”) and the victim (“*scrubbed face Iowa boy with coke bottle eyeglasses*”). The victim was asleep in his

bunk and *“another soldier slid in behind him”*. The incident is then described by the victim, who recounted how he tried to prevent his legs being forced apart but was unsuccessful. The journalist stated how this event changed this man’s *“life forever”*. The journalist highlighted how the male victim had *“struggled”* and that he had *“attempted suicide at least four times”*. *“But among the veterans interviewed by the Globe there was a clear sense that...reporting an offense led to trouble not so much for their assailant as for them”*.

Furthermore, the victim had to accept the charge of consensual sodomy and received an *“other than honourable discharge”* said this still *“burns like shrapnel”*, according to the journalist. It was quite clear in this article that due to the use of such subjective phrasing, and reported impact on these victims and their families; the female journalist was *sympathetic* to these male rape victims’ experiences as evidenced by her tone. She also highlighted the difficulties experienced by a male rape victim in the military whose trauma was intensified by the closed system of military protocols.

In article [MRSNA086] by a male journalist, the first sentence sets the *sympathetic* tone *“Men have been victims of sex crimes for as long as women, but do not get the support women do...”*. The male victim was described as feeling *“low”*. Having just broken-up with his girlfriend, he met an acquaintance [Frank] on the street. Frank invited him for drinks at his place. Later, he fell asleep and awoke to find Frank on top of him. The victim *“struggled”* but Frank *“became threatening”* and forced him to be still, and *“raped him”*. When the victim reported the crime to the police, *“...he was made to feel weak...[and]...as if he had brought it on himself”*. It was also highlighted that *“quite often”* when a man reports being raped *“his sexuality*

is called into question". Thus, male rape victims are being treated the way *"female rape victims were 30 years ago as if they asked for it in some way"*.

In article [MRSNA101] by a female journalist the sympathetic tone was evidenced by the comment that both sexes were vulnerable to rape, but that men were less prepared. The case was that of a man who was raped after 10pm on a *"public street"*, *"downtown"*, *"before midnight"*. He was asked the time before being *"hit"* *"pulled into the bushes"*, *"robbed"*, and then raped. The prevalence of female rape was highlighted and then compared with the scarcity of documented male rape. The journalist was sarcastic in her comments that the smaller known percentage of male rape victims was discussed as *"if it were good news"*, and that males have been *"spared"*. It was also stated by the police that this was an *"unusual rape"* because of the location and time that the event took place, and that it would be given *"priority"*. The female journalist then raised the question as to whether the male rape victim was getting a better service than female victims; particularly as *"female rape cases only occasionally get into the paper"*. However, she then concluded that *"...in the end gender doesn't matter"* and *"Male rape victims are just as frightened, just as shamed, just as traumatised as their female counterparts"*. Thus, it was evident that the female journalist was *sympathising* with the male rape victim's traumatic experience through her use of language and explicitness of her resultant gender neutral approach.

Article [MRSNA106] focused on the case of a 17-year old boy who was raped at a rest stop (the court case was reported a year later). It was stated by the female journalist that this incident *"ruined"* the victim's life. She emphasised the victim's side of the story together with quotations from the defendant's lawyer. It was stated how the victim was *"dragged"* across a rail and how the youth had *"struggled"* and *"fought against both men during the attack"*, also that the victim was described as

being “*visibly upset, crying and shaking*”. But, “*there was no sign of a struggle in the woods or clearing*” and, that the medical examination did not find evidence of a sexual assault (the doctor’s report prefaced these findings, stating this does not mean that a sexual assault did not take place). Furthermore, despite “*DNA tests on a swab of the alleged victim’s genitals [revealing] saliva samples from two individuals, and one of them...*” was one of the arrested offenders (O’Donnell) the outcome of the case was the acquittal of the defendant (O’Donnell); as the available evidence against him was not strong enough and the victim’s credibility was reduced due to “*...misidentifications of the second man...*”. A professional who works with male rape victims described this outcome as likely to inhibit other male victims from reporting to the police. This article also re-asserted that the victim’s sexual orientation was called into question, but then stated it was “*remarkable*” that the victim came forward, and continued through to the trial stage. The final remark in the article related to the gender differential and stated that if this case had involved a female victim there would have been “*outrage*”. Throughout this article the female journalist consistently highlighted the challenges faced by the male victim, and his courage in pursuing the case, her *sympathetic* tone was demonstrated through her phrasing and use of quotations from others to emphasise her point.

In another article [MRSNA131] the victim was described as being a family man (“*the father of one*”) who had separated from his wife. He went to a party after work, where he had a few drinks; but remembers nothing until he woke up and realised he had been “*raped*”. The male journalist stated that the victim believed his “*drinks had been spiked*” maybe with the “*date rape drug Rohypnol*”. The male journalist also stated that the victim was “*too embarrassed to go to the police*”. The article also highlighted that the victim was attempting to “*rebuild his life*” and, that

he had re-united with his wife. However, the male journalist's assertion that the male rape victim is "...not dealt with as sensitively as when it is a female victim" was also emphasised; although, the article focused on his unfair dismissal from his job, as he had missed a shift. (The reason for which was that he had been raped.) His case was upheld and he received a financial award in compensation. But, his case for sex discrimination was rejected. The predominant tone of this newspaper article was *sympathetic*. His family background was outlined, as were the difficulties in reporting to the police, and the lack of resources for male rape victims.

In article [MRSNA154] the female journalist stated that the "*rape of males*" was "*stigmatised*" and that people "...deny that it exists outside of prisons and perhaps the military..." The reporter also emphasised that male rape victims felt "*alienated*" and "*misunderstood*". She then illustrated the difficulties faced by a male rape victim by recounting his experience. A. was in college doing an undergraduate degree. Academically and socially everything was fine. Then his relationship with his girlfriend broke down and he had an "*emotional crisis*". The journalist posed the question, "*What had broken his heart?*". Then, she stated that when travelling in Europe A. stayed with a friend after a night of partying, and was raped. His friend who happened to be gay (which previously was not an issue) "*took advantage of his physical vulnerability while under the influence*". The journalist described the attack as "*unpredictable*", and "*brutal*" and that "*It hadn't occurred to him that he could be vulnerable to a sexual assault*", as "...most women are accustomed to constantly assessing the safety of situations" unlike men. After this event, while still in Europe, he also heard his grandmother had died and he then had a "*nervous breakdown*". He went to the local Rape Crisis Centre who assisted him but he felt that their "*feminist ethos*" detracted from the level of support which could be offered, and that he still felt

“dirty”. Thus, the female journalist clearly demonstrated a *sympathetic* tone through the use of emotional language and descriptions. She made clear the pervasive effect that male rape can have on the victim’s life and highlighted the poor level of services for male victims.

The article [MRSNA179] was written by a male journalist who stated that ‘David’ did not think that going to a park downtown would result in *“blood”*, *“tears”*, and *“thoughts of suicide”*. He also *“...didn’t expect to be raped”*. The journalist stated of male rape: *“It’s a kind of story no one wants to tell – and no one wants to hear”*. The journalist then recounted the events leading up to the rape, David fell asleep in the park and woke up as it was getting dark. He was heading back to his car through some trees when he was *“hit”* from behind and knocked to the ground by a gang of men. This park subsequently became his own *“personal hell”*, *“these men came at [him]”*, and he was *“forcefully held”*. He was then forced to *“...perform oral sex”* on one man, and two of the others *“...anally raped him”*. The victim was then described as being *“terrified”*, *“crying”*, *“...in so much pain”*, and *“bleeding”*. Then, the journalist highlighted the inadequate service provision for male rape victims, and the victim’s rejection by a rape crisis centre, on the grounds that his case was not considered *‘genuine’*. This reaction was then exacerbated by the police response when the victim reported the incident. They *“laughed and told me that I must have really wanted this to happen to me”*. The journalist consequently described that the rape victim stated he had decided to kill himself, as he was left feeling that he *“deserved it”*. The male journalist was *sympathetic* to the challenges faced by the male rape victim at a societal level, from the reticence to discuss the issue, and the personally traumatic experience which was highlighted through the adjectives and details used.

Another article [MRSNA254] by a male journalist used a *sympathetic* tone to describe “...serious sex attacks...[which] have brought male rape to the public’s notice as never before”. Furthermore he said of male rape - the “last taboo is no more”. The male rape victim was described as being 28 and a “store detective”, who was “forced by three men...into a public lavatory” and “...raped at knifepoint”.

“... The gang struck throwing [the victim] against a wall”, he was then “...dragged into a cubicle, held over the toilet by two men and buggered by the third”. The male journalist also stated that the victim, “who [was] heterosexual, shocked and bewildered,” and was too “distressed” “....to leave his home” for five days. The male rape victim reported the incident to the police to prevent it happening to anyone else. It was also interesting to note that the victim’s description was also provided as being “... fair-haired, 6ft tall, slim, and a former school boxer”. This was to highlight that male rape can happen to any man. In this article the male journalist emphasised the severity and violence of the attack demonstrating a *sympathetic* tone.

In article [MRSNA258] the male journalist took a *sympathetic* tone when discussing the rape of a male victim. He mentioned the victim’s age and that he was a “professional” walking home from a “West End discotheque” in the early hours, when a male approached him and started chatting to him. Then, “...without warning the stranger lashed out, bundled him into an alley and raped him” This article also mentioned further cases of male rape stating victims’ ages and the locations of the attacks. The article raised public awareness of the existence of this sex crime and provided statistics regarding the prevalence of recorded offences of buggery. Health aspects relating to STDs and HIV were also referred to, as well as resources where sources of help and support could be sought by male survivors. The journalist also

highlighted changes in police policy and the evolution of the chaperone officer in response to the lack of service provisions to rape victims, particularly males.

Professionals were cited who considered that there had not been an increase in the prevalence of male rape “*rather we are more aware of it*”. In addition, misconceptions were rejected about the sexuality of rape victims, but conflicting views were presented, some suggested “*...homosexuals... [are] far more likely to be sexually attacked than heterosexuals*” whereas others stated that it was “*...not just a gay crime*” and that both “*rapist and victim are often heterosexual*”. Furthermore, “*it is often committed by angry, violent men who want power over their victim*”. The male journalist also highlighted organisations dedicated to the support of male rape victims and emphasised the inequality of service for male and female rape victims. In addition, this article highlighted that men who were raped were not given anonymity in court like female rape victims, and that “*men who telephone rape crisis centres are devastated by the reception they receive*” (i.e. being perceived as “*hoaxers*”). Thus, the male journalist emphasised the gender-based inequalities in the protection of, and accessibility to, service provisions for male rape victims.

Article [MRSNA259] by a female journalist stated how two cases of male rape have recently “*...shocked the country*”. She described the case of a man who on his way to be reconciled with his wife fell asleep on the London Underground. He awoke to feel ‘*a hand on his groin*’. He tried to escape but was “*clubbed down*” and “*sexually assaulted*” before he could reach the door. The British Transport Police were quoted and used the word “*brutal*” twice to emphasise the horror of the attack. Recent attacks on men have highlighted the issue of male rape according to the journalist, and that male rape victims “*fear...reprisal*”. Furthermore, there is the

“....stigma of homosexuality”, their being “forced to accept the role of victim in society that is male-dominated” and “...the fear of AIDS”.

This journalist also highlighted the perception of male rape as a homosexual crime. According to experts, she said, this was not always the case. In addition, female rape victims were entitled to *“anonymity”* but male rape victims were not. A further case was highlighted of *‘Harold’* who was raped by a family friend, and who consequently experienced feelings of *“vulnerability”, “anger”, “guilt”,* and, being *“dirty”*. The female journalist emphasised the *“shock”* caused by the highlighting of these male rape incidents, and the lack of public awareness of the effects and impact of this crime. Her *sympathetic* tone was evidenced by the illustration of the sheer violence to which the males were subjected to and the challenges faced by victims in the aftermath of the attack, together with society’s reaction to them.

Finally, the article [MRSNA278] by a male journalist described how a male victim of rape contracted the AIDS virus as a result of being *“raped by two men”* who were vectors for this disease. It was also noted that a rape crisis centre would not assist him because they only *“....deal with women”*. The victim then wanted to seek revenge on his attackers as he was *“suicidal and extraordinarily distraught”* having been *“....raped, tortured and handcuffed by two men ...”* the previous year, and had been infected with the AIDS virus. Subsequently, the victim and his friend, armed with knives, were about to visit the alleged attackers when they were arrested. The defence lawyer was quoted as stating that her client had been *“victimized”* as a child and had a *“physically violent father”*. Thus, despite the fact that this male rape victim was about to commit a violent crime, mitigation was presented in his defence regarding his mental and physical health regarding his possibly being a *“carrier”* of

the AIDS virus and the impact of this. Thus, the *sympathetic* tone of the male journalist was evident from the content and phrasing as illustrated above.

Myth-laden

The following extracts provided evidence of an overt *myth-laden* journalistic tone towards men as victims of rape, drawing on misconceptions such as '*only gay males get raped*' (McMullen, 1990; Stermac et al., 2004). In one article [MRSNA103] the tone of the female journalist was evident from the outset as being *myth-laden*. The man was described as having been '*raped*' at a location which is "*one of Edinburgh's most notorious gay haunts*". It was suggested that there were at least two people who attacked the victim, and it was stated as being the "*second gay rape*" recently. Furthermore, it was stated that in the current case, the attack took place at "*an area exposed as being a popular hang-out for gay lovers*" suggested by the "*used condoms*" and "*hypodermic syringes*" found there. It was also stated that the victim had been "*drinking*" at the local gay bar and was attacked when he was walking home. A description of a man seen in the vicinity whom the police wished to contact was provided: "*fair straight hair, wearing a light peach-coloured shirt and dark trousers*". The female journalist here suggested that male rape is a gay crime. She also highlighted the possible promiscuity of gay men, by her reference to used condoms as well as the use of recreational drugs within the gay sub-culture. The tone of this article reinforces male rape myths which suggest that male rape only happens to gay men.

In article [MRSNA127], the male journalist discussed the gang rape of a man at a secluded rural area. It was reported that the gang met their intended victim in a "*gay bar*" in Dublin, and drove him into the Wicklow mountains. "*...At least three of the four men gang raped*' the male victim. The Gardai (The Irish Police) were then

quoted as saying that this was a “*serious attack*”, and the victim “...*was very brave to come forward*”, which “*is unusual in a case like this*”. However, the predominant tone in this article was again that male rape is a gay crime thus reinforcing misconceptions and myths about male rape.

In the next section the findings regarding the gender of the journalists and crime scene characteristics of the male rape newspaper articles will be examined.

4.3.1.5 The Format of the Newspaper Articles

As with Soothill et al.'s (2004) study which identified the reported stages of homicide investigation, ‘*search for offender*’ was of relevance here. The majority of newspaper articles fulfilled the criteria of this category regarding the coverage of sex crimes.

4.3.1.6 Crime Scene Characteristics

Crime scene characteristics were included in the current study to investigate their impact regarding the perception of the victim’s behaviour, and hence, his/her culpability in his/her rape victimisation as constructed by the press (Marhia, 2008).

Location

The location of the offence found in the articles studied contrasted with research (McLean et al., 2005), 50% of the rapes were perpetrated indoors and 44.4% took place outside.

Victim-offender relationship

The victim-offender relationship was predominantly stranger (88.9%) rather than acquaintance (11.1%) which supported previous research by Soothill (2004).

Physical Characteristics of male rape victims and offenders

It was interesting to note that 88.9% of the media reports did not emphasise factors such as the physical characteristics of the male survivor. The offender's characteristics were also omitted from the articles in 88.9 % of cases. Thus, contrary to expectations, the victim's physical characteristics were only mentioned in two of the articles.

Gender of the assailant

The sex of the assailant in 100% of the cases analysed was male.

Sexual orientation and sexual history of victims and offenders

The sexual orientation of the victim was coded when this information was included in the newspaper article; however, it was not always explicitly mentioned. Sometimes it was implied by the description of the assault location, and thus the victim's culpability was insinuated. The break-down of the victim's sexual orientation were as follows: 33.3% were heterosexual and 11.1% were homosexual (the remainder of the data (55.6%) were missing). In comparison, the assailants' sexual orientation in 5.6% of the cases was homosexual. Details regarding the assailants were often very vague probably because they were not known (hence public assistance being sought by the police for further information). Furthermore, it was noteworthy that out of the entire sample, not one of the cases detailed any of the sexual history of the victims.

Ethnicity of victims and offenders

Another factor which did not appear to be newsworthy was the ethnicity of the victim or offender as it was rarely reported this was consistent with other research findings (Marhia, 2008; Peelo et al., 2004; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981).

4.3.1.7 Age of the Victim

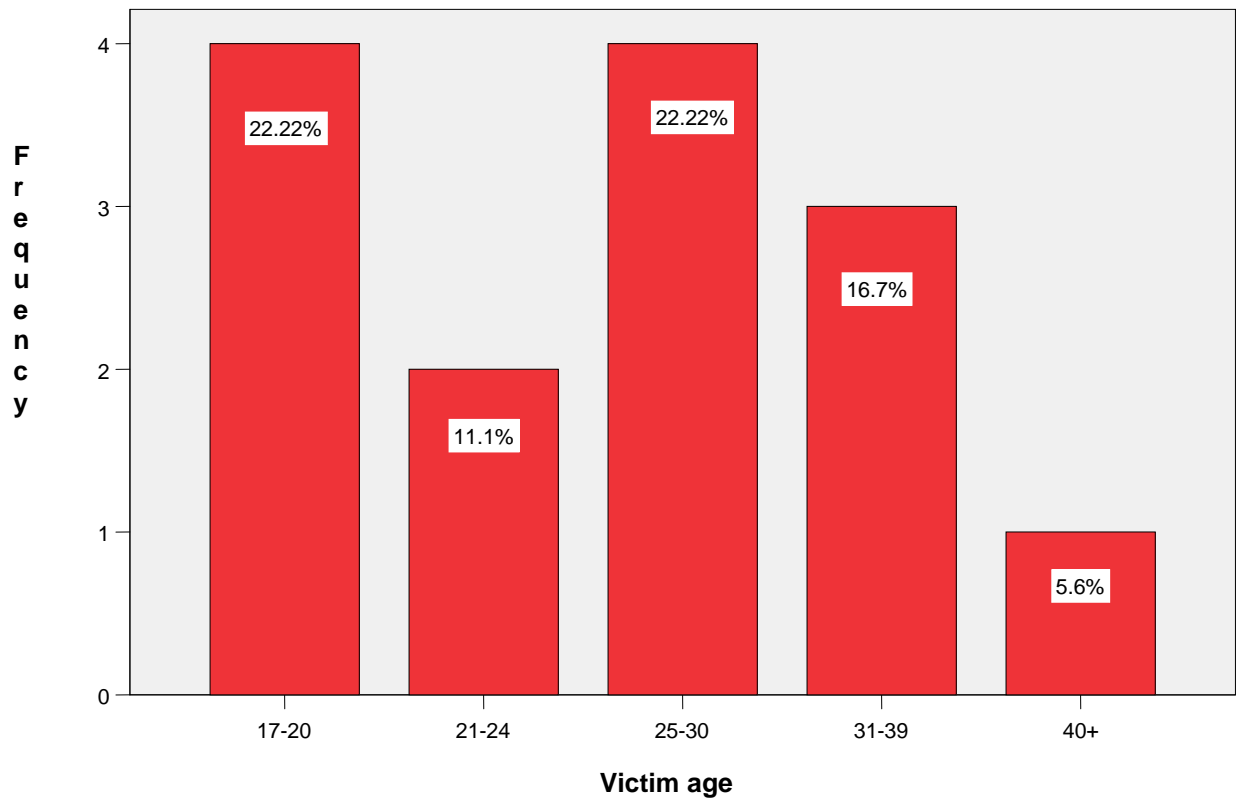


Figure 10.

The male rape victim's age presented by the print media (depicted in Figure 10) was not consistent with the younger age range found in the literature (Mezey & King, 1989; Stermac et al., 2004). Nevertheless, there have been conflicting findings due to varied sampling within the available research. The current study suggests there are two age ranges which are vulnerable to victimisation: males in the 17-20 and 25-30 age groups (22.2%) respectively. In one article an older male victim (40+) was reported as being raped. In four articles the victim's age was not documented.

Thus, there seemed to be much more of an age range among male rape victims than female rape victims, which was consistent with other research in the area (Walker et al., 2005; Jamel, 1999).

4.3.1.8 Age of the Offender

The offender's age as described by the print media is non-specific as definite ages can only be provided once the assailant is apprehended, and the case comes to court. The details of the case are then released in the public interest. The findings depicted in Figure 11, were supportive of the available literature on the demographics of perpetrators of male rape.

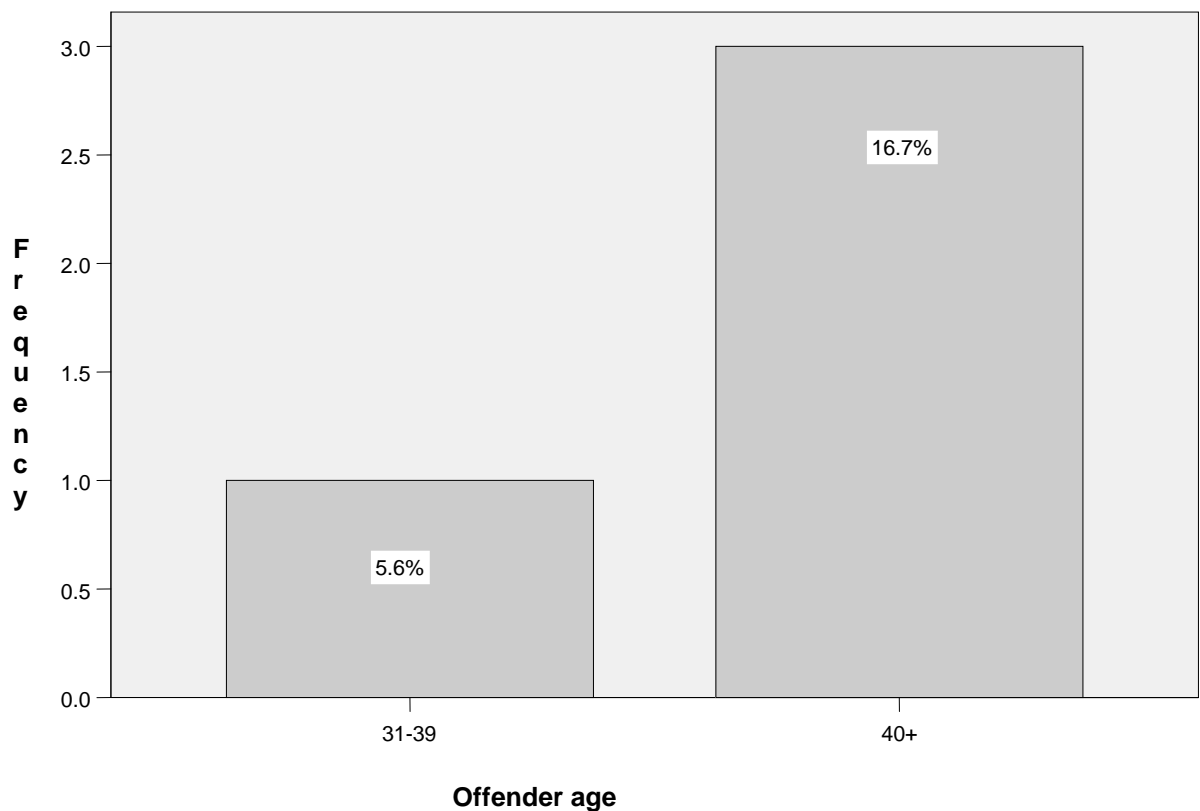


Figure 11.

From Figure 11 it was noted that the age range of male rape offenders appeared to be 40+ years old (16.7%) which was in contrast with female rape offenders where the age range was 16-25 (Feist et al., 2007). In these cases the offenders were older than the male victims.

4.3.1.9 Approach Employed by the Assailant

The approaches used to execute the rape of male victims were the blitz (38.9%), the surprise attack (38.9%), the confidence approach (documented in one article), and finally, drugs were used to incapacitate the victim in one article. The approach was not described in two of the articles. A factor related to the type of approach was whether physical violence was used. It was found that while many of the articles did not specify the level of violence used, in 33.3% of the cases the male victim was hit, and in one article the assailant was reported to have beaten the victim.. In only 11.1% of the cases documented was it explicit that no physical violence was used. Physical violence was unnecessary when the male victim was asleep, incapacitated through alcohol/drugs, or taken by surprise as they submitted or froze.

Threat of a weapon or its usage was found in 16.7% of the cases of male rape. Nonetheless, in 66.7% of articles no threats of a weapon were reported as being used; and 16.7% of articles did not include this information. A weapon was used according to one of the articles. But, in 66.7% of male rape cases reported a weapon was not used, and in 27.8% of cases the information was omitted. The type of weapon in 16.7% of cases published was a knife and in 83.3% of articles the information was not included.

4.3.1.10 Coerced Sexual Acts

As required for this analysis, the reports all mentioned that the male victim was raped. Although, due to the different geographical jurisdictions covered by the publications, the definitions of rape may have varied. In 50% of the newspaper reports, the male victim was described as being raped but the actual sex acts were not specified. Whereas, in 38.9% of cases, it was implied through the details of the rape

provided (gay or prison context, or AIDS test required) that the coerced sexual act was anal rape and in 11.1% of the articles both forced oral and anal penetration were documented.

4.3.1.11 The Consumption of Alcohol or Drugs by the Victim and ‘Spiking’

The current study found that in 38.9% of the documented cases the rape victim had consumed alcohol. In 61.1% the alcohol intake was not described. But, in one of the articles, it was reported that the victim’s drink had been spiked with drugs.

The level of intoxication was explicitly described in one of the cases. Also, the volume of alcohol was mentioned thus suggesting some culpability of victims in their own sexual victimisation.

4.3.1.12 Alcohol and Drug Use of the Perpetrator

Alcohol intake by the assailant was documented in 27.8% of the cases. However, drug use by the offender was not commented upon.

4.3.1.13 Motivation for Committing Male Rape

It was difficult to discern whether the attack was homophobic or not from the details provided in the male rape newspaper articles. Four percent explicitly stated that this was the case, though in contrast 22.2% suggested that this was not the motive for the attack. The remainder of the articles (72.2%) did not specify this detail.

4.3.1.14 Journalists’ Sources of Crime Information

The probable source used by journalists for the majority of news stories was police reports in that 66.7% of the cases had been reported to the police (as the investigating officers were quoted in the article), with one of the articles stating why

the victim had not gone to the police. Thus, a number of articles stated that the cases were not reported to the police (16.7%). In the remainder (i.e. three articles) the source was unknown.

4.3.1.15 Male Rape Victims' Reporting Practices

An analysis of which organisations the male victims reported the rape to revealed that 66.7% had reported the incident to the police. One of the articles stated that the crime was reported to the prison authorities; and a further article stated that male rape had been reported to other organisations (e.g., the military, Survivors UK). In three articles this information was omitted.

4.3.1.16 The Level the Case Reached within the Criminal Justice System

An important detail which is often omitted in research (due to the limited data available) is the number of cases which reach the trial stage. Here, 16.7% (i.e. three of the 18 cases reported) did reach the courts. The sentencing of male rape cases was not consistently documented due to the nature of the newspaper articles, which were predominantly seeking information to apprehend the assailant(s). However, one of articles stated that the assailant received a ten-year sentence, whereas in another of the articles the defendant was acquitted.

4.3.1.17 Excluded Male Rape Survivor Newspaper Articles

In Table 6 the highlighted issues identified by a manifest content analysis of the excluded newspaper articles regarding male rape victims are presented. These findings have been included in order to demonstrate the brevity of the references to male rape within the journalists' narratives. The common themes identified have been highlighted to facilitate a cross-cultural comparison across print publications.

| Country of origin | Featured issues in excluded MRSNA data |
|---------------------|--|
| Australia | Honour-based female rape with male rape retaliation, digital penetration of adult male victim, advertising victim services , male rape of teenager, young male (aged 10) rapes classmate (aged 12), Police evidence destroyed in male rape case, TV documentary, criminal injuries compensation, lack of provision for ethnic minorities, sexual torture in conflict, and alleged jail rape orchestrated for compensation according to defendant. |
| Canada | Raising awareness, child abuse and insufficient victim resources. |
| England | Male rape survivor narrative, male sexual assault in the military-Deepcut Barracks, actor's portrayal of male rape victim, homophobic prison rape , support group for male survivors, Research on male rape (motivations, phenomenology, underreporting, FMEs police response and services), letters, helpline, male rape victim's suicide, legislation, Hollyoaks teen soap storyline , official statistics regarding male rape, drug rape, funding for male rape survivor services required, increase in calls to Irish RCC after clergy abuse revelations, gap in services for heterosexual male survivors, RCC to take male survivors, rape in conflict, lack of services, gay male dismissed after court-martial from Navy wanted to counsel male rape victims, raising awareness , police/NHS resources, lack of equality of services for rape victims, male sexual attacks in London, and the Chaperone Scheme; false allegation re. Hampsted Heath case, warning to male rape passengers on the London Underground re. safety, young rape victim (aged 15), and lobbying by Survivors UK. |
| Israel | RCC introducing a counselling course re. male rape victims. |
| Republic of Ireland | Alleged male rape in prison , deconstruction of male rape myths and film depictions, TV documentary, letter, and child abuse. |
| Thailand | Thai legislation to recognise male rape |
| Scotland | TV program storyline, Hollyoaks teen soap story line , lack of services, new RCC, government advertising campaign re. male rape, survivor's narrative on his experience of male rape and legislation . |
| USA | Female perpetrators of child abuse , feature on sex crimes prosecutor, male sexual assault in custody with foreign object, letter, official statistics include male rape, male rape feature raising awareness , research on rape, expanding victim services to male rape victims, male rape in the military, raising awareness , first sexual assault helpline for men, English legislation , police officer alleged rapist, teenage male rape victims teased at school, Geraldo TV talk show, female rape with reference to male rape and anonymity debate. |

Table 6 identified issues in excluded male rape survivor newspaper articles.

In Table 6 it can be seen that there are a variety of issues covered within the excluded articles (as a result of the second stage of content analysis to identify the tone). The main reason for their exclusion was their lack of detail regarding specific male rape cases. Common issues noted across countries included raising awareness, legislation, and prison rape.

The next section provides a contrasting perspective by focusing on the newspaper articles about female rape victims. It analyses the tone of these articles in order to identify any association relating to the gender of the reported and/or rape survivor.

4.3.1.18 The 'Female Rape Victim' Newspaper Articles

Unfortunately, of the sample of 134 female rape newspaper articles only one newspaper article regarding female rape supplied sufficient detail for latent and manifest content analysis, excerpts of which are provided below. The journalistic tone regarding the female rape victim article analysed was *sympathetic*.

A latent content analysis of the crime scene actions was not feasible as 133 articles were rejected due to insufficient detail being provided regarding the respective female rape cases. Amongst these were feature articles (which generically discuss female rape as a phenomenon) and articles that covered male rape cases and briefly referred to their female counterparts for comparative purposes.

4.3.1.19 A Latent Content Analysis of the Journalistic Tone of the 'Female Rape Victim' Newspaper Article

Sympathetic

As stated above a single case [FRSNA065] was identified within the female rape survivor newspaper articles as being appropriate for further content analysis regarding the tone of the narrative. The journalist was female and the tone was *sympathetic* to the victim. This tone was identified as a result of the female rape victim being described as having been “*attacked*”, “*threatened*”, “*manhandled*”, and “*abused*” The words “*raped*” and “*threatened*” were mentioned twice in the narrative. It was also noted by the journalist that the female victim feared that if she tried to identify the offender’s face she “*would suffer further violence*”. Also, in the

article the reporter noted that the victim “*understandably*” wanted a female doctor to examine her and her determination was underlined by the following: “*All the young woman wanted to do was to get the examination over, to wash and to be with her family. But she couldn’t and wouldn’t submit to examination by a male*”. Furthermore, the female journalist stated that the victim’s story was “*chilling*”, and that there should be a “*commitment to the principle that women rape victims are entitled to choose a female practitioner*”. Finally, the importance of resources was mentioned in facilitating the recovery process: “*If nothing is done, then female rape victims may be left unsupported and further traumatised*”. The use of emotive words and phrasing by the journalist indicated her sympathy with the victim.

4.3.1.20 Excluded ‘Female Rape Victim’ Newspaper Articles

A single article was suitable for latent content analysis, thus the excluded data was subject to manifest content analysis to identify any additional emergent themes. This adapted approach led to an interesting finding which suggested the phrase ‘*rape victim*’ is considered to be inherently ‘*female*’. The implication therefore was that there was no necessity to denote the gender of the victim in newspaper articles. This finding regarding the phrase ‘*rape victim*’ as being gendered as ‘*female*’ further emphasised the perception that male rape is an anomaly, and may serve to reinforce males’ invisibility as victims.

However, the common themes of the excluded articles across countries have been identified by manifest content analysis to enable cross-cultural comparisons across print publications and are presented in Table 7 (see below).

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Country of Origin | Featured issue in excluded FRSNA data. |
| Australia | Amnesty International Survey research , forensic contamination from rape case to homicide case, female and child rape in conflict in African countries , letters page, a songwriter's controversial lyrics, rugby players and coerced sex, civil rights and lack of choice of doctor for female rape victims, publication of female rape victims' names on Court of Appeal website, Kilroy TV show highlight poor police response but also recent improvements, gender specificity of war and torture of women , documentary film about sex crime with female perpetrator and female victim, judge's perception of female rape victim's lack of credibility, importance of supporting non-abusive partners of rape victims, drug rape , the right to demand an all-female jury in rape cases, effectiveness of forensic hypnosis and advertisement of new support group with a dedicated male support group to established due to demand. |
| China | War on rape campaign and female rights activists. |
| Israel | Rape counselling centre opening training course , and book review. |
| USA | Rape of women and children in conflict in African countries , date rape , Survey research on female rape , sexual assault female victim, book reviews, letters, rape statistics, publication of male rape victim's name contravenes practice re. female rape victims, female perpetrators of child abuse , victim-blaming approach by police , date rape education program, female rape victims' court experiences, arrest of female rape victim to ensure her testimony, lack of male and female rape victim resources, Nurse Examiner Program advertised , film review, raising awareness re. male rape, research on impact of media sexual violence. |
| Malaysia | Acts included under 'sexual abuse', communication and invisibility of male rape victims. |
| New Zealand | Murderer listened to Nirvana song re. female rape victim, transmission of STDs and pregnancy through rape. |
| Japan | Misogynistic comment by Japanese politician re. gang rape . |
| Germany | Hudood Law. |
| England | Employment discrimination of MTF person wishing to work at rape charity, Rape of women and children in conflict in African countries , Islamic fundamentalist states female rape victims should be punished, special prosecutors introduced, drug rape , celebrity rape case (John Leslie, Ulrika Jonsson revelations, Mike Tyson), universalisation of victimisation in patriarchal society, TV documentaries, male rape narrative and call for better police response for rape victims , Hollyoaks teen soap male rape storyline, Victim Support service for rape victims , male rape, legal recognition of male rape victims and equality with their female counterparts, police response, and male victim of female stalker- name published unlike female rape victim. |
| Singapore | Malaysian Spiritual leader advocates victim-blaming of rape victims condoned because of political alliances, |
| Republic of Ireland | Research , date rape , right to female GP, rape in conflict and human right violations, gang rape , male rape, and letter. |
| Canada | Doctors arrested in Darfur conflict for treating rape victims, PTSD, letter, research , child abuse , Pakistan rape victims convicted of adultery, |
| Scotland | Drug rape , date rape , and actress played rape victim. |

Table 7 identified issues in excluded female rape survivor articles.

Table 7 summarises the themed content of the excluded articles identified by manifest content analysis to identify emergent themes on a cross-cultural basis. These themes included research on rape, rape in conflict, child abuse, the police response, date rape, rape victim services, date rape, gang rape, and drug rape.

Due to the very limited sample of female rape victims in the current study, the results of which have been discussed above, it was decided to supplement these findings. Thus, a further study *Supplementary Study 1* (see below) was conducted where the same methods were used as the original study, but with alternative search terms of '*male sexual assault*' and '*female sexual assault*' in order to increase the robustness of the current study's findings.

It was also found that the term '*rape victim*' was perceived as being gendered in that it was unusual for the term '*female*' to precede this phrase. It was decided to investigate this finding further in *Supplementary Study II*.

4.3.2 Supplementary Study 1

4.3.2.1 The 'Male Sexual Assault' Victim Newspaper Articles

The broader definition of '*sexual assault*' was chosen in order to capture all forms of coerced sexual acts committed against adult males. The victims of this type of assault were also considered to be subject to possible gender-biased reporting as indicated by the tone of the article. The initial sample of 61 newspaper articles was identified by the Lexis Nexis Executive database using the search criteria '*male sexual assault*' and delimiters '*Major World Publications*' and '*including web sources*'. Latent and manifest content analyses of these results were carried out to identify the tone of the article, in relation to (a) the gender of the journalist; (b) gender of victim; and (c) description of the crime.

According to the data from 1986 to 2005 from England, the United States, Taiwan, Australia, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Canada, and Scotland male sexual assault against adult males appeared not to attract the attention of the print media (see Figure 12 below) in these countries.

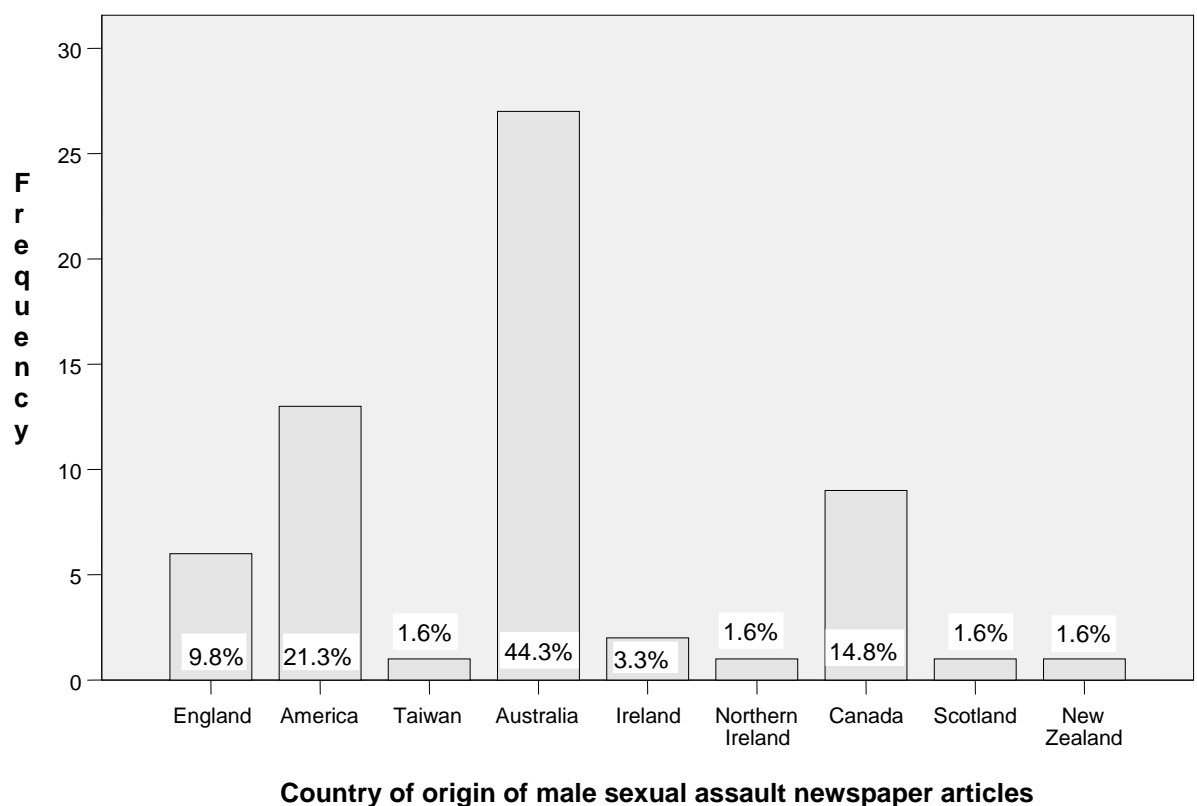


Figure 12.

In Figure 12 the newspaper articles identified by the Lexis Nexis Executive database using the aforementioned search criteria of '*male sexual assault*' victim are presented according to their country of origin. Australian newspapers dominated, followed by USA publications. It is interesting to note that from the initial content analysis of these articles, Australian newspapers reported on the issue of male sexual assault from as early as 1986. The reported male sexual assaults against adult male

victims in the military were stories which were selected by several news publications and considered as being 'newsworthy'. The incidence of *sexual harassment* was an issue which was identified as newsworthy by the Australian print media. Although, comments were also made by a judge in one feature article on the inappropriateness of joking about sexual victimisation in prison. (In an article published in the *Toronto Sun*.) Also, as a result of the high profile coverage, it may be suggested that male child sexual abuse was more socially acceptable to report than adult males being raped. Thus, this direct or indirect (depending on one's perspective) negligence of adult male rape may well contribute to the stigma and shame which may be experienced by adult male rape victims.

A further issue which was consistently raised by the *Canberra Times* during the 1997-1998 period was the lack of resources available for the provision of services to males who have been sexually victimised. However, it was noted that the *Canberra Rape Crisis Centre* (which monitors the *Service Against Male Sexual Assault*) received double its initial government funding (\$40,000) in 1998 (Lawson, 1998), possibly as a result of this media pressure. But, this documented generosity of government funding to rape survivor organisations was the exception rather than the rule in the newspaper articles analysed. Initiation rites in the workplace were mentioned as were instances of '*hazing*' which may involve the victim's physical or sexual humiliation or both (in order to be accepted into the respective fraternity). Thus, as would be expected the newspaper reports tend toward extremes regarding the reporting of male sexual victimisation.

Male victims were framed as '*gay*' implicitly through journalists' coverage of male sexual victimisation at certain events (such as Gay Pride), or for example, within the military. Explicit statements that the majority of victims and offenders, were

heterosexual was written in small print as opposed to highlighted in the headlines. This would suggest a *myth-laden* tone whereby male sexual assault was framed as a gay crime.

On the one hand, male victims were encouraged by journalists to report their sexual victimisation in order to highlight the extent of male sexual victimisation and to pressure the Australian government to recognise that a needs-directed service is required. In contrast, newspaper articles also drew attention to the paltry sentences received by those offenders eventually convicted by the courts.

The potential consequence of this type of reporting may inhibit male sexual victims from coming forward. It could be suggested from this initial analysis that although the journalists wish to be perceived as providing a balanced view of male sexual assault, the result of their style of reporting may further stigmatise male rape victims.

Many of the articles examined were excluded because they focused on the abuse of male child victims. Cases which highlighted sexual assault crimes that involved fondling or sexual touching of an adult victim were also excluded. As only those articles which described rape (as defined by legislation) was investigated under the broader search term of '*male sexual assault*' (as the point was to increase the sample size of the '*male rape victim*' newspaper articles). Thus, only coerced penile-anal or penile-oral penetrative sex acts were eligible for inclusion under the working definition of '*rape*' for this study.

4.3.2.2 Excluded ‘Male Sexual Assault’ Victim Newspaper Articles

Sometimes the terms ‘*male rape*’ and ‘*male sexual assault*’ were used interchangeably which obscured the specifics of the sex crime committed. In Table 8 below the main issues identified through manifest content analysis of the excluded ‘*male sexual assault*’ articles are presented. The manifest content analysis of the excluded articles identified themes such as (i) the lack of awareness about male rape; (ii) the masking of its prevalence by low reporting rates; (iii) the help lines available for male survivors and the lack of funding for such help lines and related organisations; and (iv) the problems experienced by males who contact female rape survivor counselling agencies. Other stories considered in the public interest, included those about male sexual assault in the military; those where a celebrity was involved, and, those concerned with the lack of resources for male sexual assault and related research.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Country of origin | Featured issue in MSANA excluded data. |
| Australia | Male sexual assault in defence forces , prosecution of male sexual assault cases, males and sexual assault, book reviews, celebrity football player raped contracted HIV, recruitment of participants in research, funding for male sexual assault service, male rape awareness, research, victim services , male survivor addresses parliamentary committee, workplace initiation rite of male sexual assault, letter, teenage victim sexually assaulted by psychologist, and actor's portrayal of male rape victim. |
| China | Male rape – a victim's narrative |
| USA | Youth project to deter weapon offences, sexual assault in the military, celebrity rape case (Kobe Bryant), NYPD negligence, hazing in high schools, feature on sex crimes, legislation, prevention and rights; male sexual assault on campus, first male sexual assault hotline , book reviews, victim services and raising awareness of male sexual assault. |
| New Zealand | Lack of resources. |
| England | Male rape, Deepcut Barracks – sexual assaults in the military , book reviews, feature on NY Director of Sex Crimes Unit, rape of sex offender in prison, and rape in conflict . |
| Northern Ireland | Male rape feature – awareness , police resources, myths. |
| Republic of Ireland | Sentencing in male sexual assault case. |
| Canada | Male rape feature – stereotypes, credibility, sex education, charges of male sexual assault, letter, research , child sex abuse and the clergy. |
| Scotland | Blind man raped. |

Table 8 identified issues in excluded male sexual assault newspaper articles.

The next section focuses on the findings from the content analysis of newspaper articles on female sexual assault.

The resultant sample was significantly reduced as the majority of the identified newspaper articles lacked sufficient detail for analysis. Nonetheless, four cases were entered into SPSS v.14. As, the details regarding the crime scenes of these cases were quite scant, the only variables of note were *victim-offender* relationship and *location*.

4.3.2.3 Crime Scene Characteristics

Location of assault

Three of the four male sexual assaults were perpetrated indoors, with the fourth taking place outside.

Victim-offender relationship

Strangers sexually assaulted the male victims in all four cases. Of those four cases, only one was suitable for latent content analysis.

4.3.2.4 A Latent Content Analysis of the Journalistic Tone of the Male

Sexual Assault Newspaper Article

The tone of the one newspaper article which was content analysed was *sympathetic*. Although, the very limited sample size is recognised, nonetheless, it was felt that the findings should be included within the context of the combined studies undertaken.

Sympathetic

Newspaper article [MSANA011] was written by a female journalist, was *sympathetic* to the male sexual assault victim. The attack was described as a “*ferocious*” rape perpetrated by a gang. It was stated that the victim had to “*overcome the silence of shame*”, in order to involve the Gardai (Irish Police) by reporting this incident. The journalist described the victim’s experience as an “*ordeal*”, and although the context was a “*drink and drugs*” party there was no indication of victim blaming or perceptible *myth-laden* perspectives in this piece. Instead, a witness who attended the same clinic and saw the victim, commented that he looked “*terrible*” and that he was “*distraught*”; the incident was also described in the article as “*horrific*”. The Gardai stated that they considered the case “*very serious*”. It was also highlighted through comments from a professional from the

local Rape Crisis Centre that the resources for sex crime victims were poor, and this had exacerbated the trauma (due to the long distances travelled for medical attention). This source added that male victims in particular were disadvantaged, possibly as a result of their lack of recognition.

4.3.2.5 The 'Female Sexual Assault' Victim Newspaper Articles

The manifest content analysis of articles whose subject was '*female sexual assault*' victims was to provide a comparison with the aforementioned male sexual assault sample, and increase the '*female rape victim*' newspaper article sample. The aim was to identify the tone of the journalist in these articles and to determine whether there was a gender differential present. The search of the Lexis Nexis Executive database using the search terms '*female sexual assault*' victim and delimiters '*Major World Publications*' and '*including web sources*' resulted in a limited sample size of 39 newspaper articles. It was expected that more articles would have been identified, especially, as previous research on the media representation of sex crime which suggests that although interest has waned a little, there remains a lot of public interest in this type of crime (Reiner, 2002b). Nevertheless, the results of the database search of worldwide publications in English ranging from 1986 to 2005 suggested that there now appeared to be a different trend. The countries of origin of these publications were: England, America, China, Australia, Ireland, Canada, and New Zealand. Again, as can be seen from Figure 13 below, was that Australian print publications were well represented, as were American newspapers.

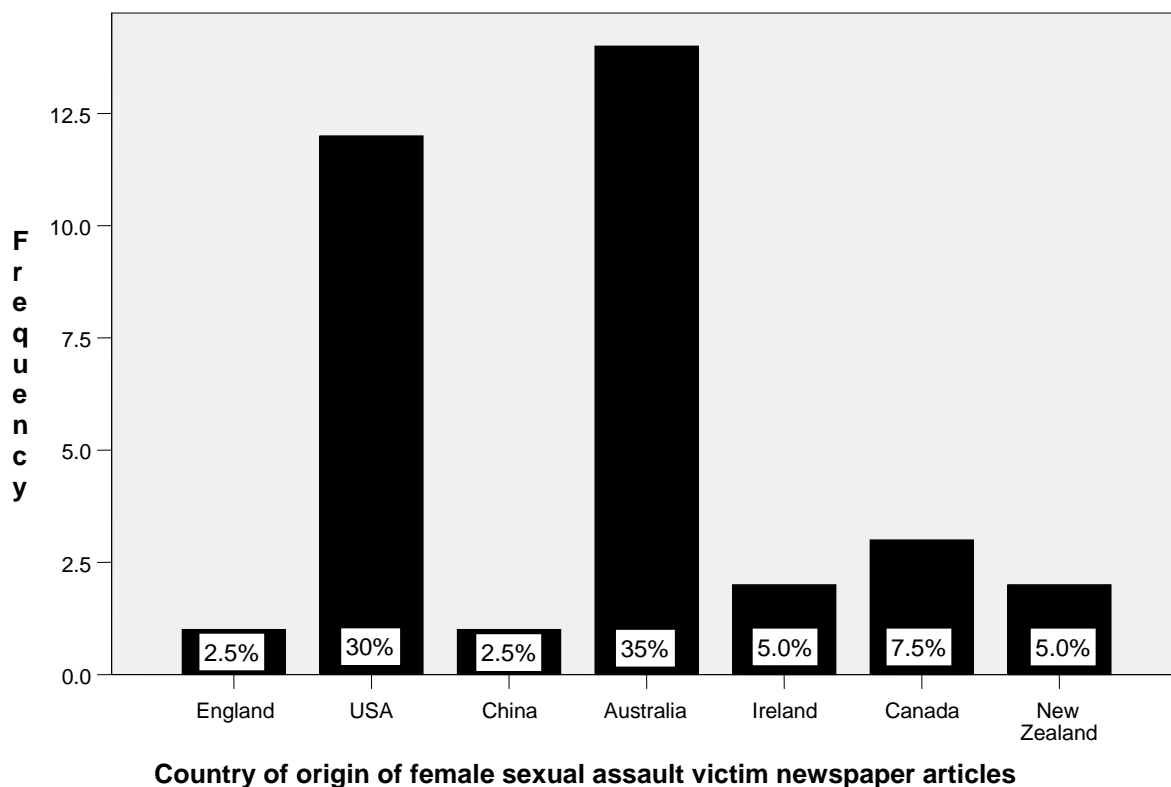


Figure 13.

Unfortunately, using the above search criteria '*female sexual assault*', there was not one newspaper article that contained sufficient detail about the crime to facilitate latent content analysis regarding the journalistic tone of the article. Thus, it could be cautiously suggested that the newspapers were not reporting sexual assault cases in as much detail as previously noted in research (Benedict, 1992; Hay et al., 1980; Los & Chamord, 1997). The articles identified by the Lexis Nexis Executive database were composed of general features regarding aspects of *female sexual assault*, false allegations and prevention advice. Thus, details of specific cases of sexual assault were not provided. However, a manifest content analysis of the excluded '*female sexual assault*' articles was conducted. Table 9 presents the identified issues, reasons for exclusion, and country of origin of the newspaper articles.

| Country of origin | Featured issue in excluded FSANA data. |
|---------------------|---|
| Australia | Findings of sexual assault research , drug rape, date rape , Invitations to participate in research regarding sexual assault, false rape claims, self defence, male rape of adult males, the emphasis of the robustness of sexual assault evidence (to encourage victims to come forward) and crime prevention. |
| China | Stories regarding date rape predominated. |
| USA | Brief news items covering statistics, availability of services for survivors of sexual assault, features regarding celebrities allegedly involved in perpetrating sexual assaults, and child abuse . |
| New Zealand | Police misogynistic behaviour and perceptions of female sex offenders who abuse children were highlighted. |
| England | Letters page referred to female sexual assault. |
| Republic of Ireland | Letters page referred to female sexual assault. |
| Canada | Doctor sexually assaults adult female patients, the imbalance of power according to gender illustrated by sexual assault among other sex crimes were the main foci. |

Table 9 identified issues in excluded female sexual assault newspaper articles.

As can be seen from Table 9 the variety of issues identified by manifest content analysis was diverse. Australia had the broadest coverage of ‘*female sexual assault*’ related articles, raising awareness of research findings, advertising research studies, raising awareness regarding male rape, and emphasising the importance of the chain of evidence, and the key role public assistance can play in police investigations. Reports in American newspapers concentrated on the prevalence and response to sexual assault, in addition to focusing on high profile cases such as that of Kobe Bryant (an NBA basketball player). The only common issue which transcends some cross-cultural boundaries was that of ‘*date rape*’ which had a high profile in both Australian and Chinese articles.

4.3.3 Supplementary Study II

4.3.3.1 The 'Adult Rape Victim' Newspaper Articles

The search of the Lexis Nexis Executive database using the search terms '*adult rape victim*' and delimiters '*Major World Publications*' and '*including web sources*' resulted in a limited sample size of eight identified newspaper articles. This small sample size demonstrates that despite the use of a variety of search terms in order to maximise the results obtained, the outcome remained the same. This sample was composed of seven articles featuring female rape victims and one concentrated on a male rape victim's case.

There were five female journalists. Of these four used a *sympathetic* journalistic tone, and one was *myth-laden* in her reporting of the female rape victim's case. Of the three male journalists who used a *sympathetic* journalistic tone (two articles were about a *female rape victim* and a *male rape victim* was the focus of the third article).

Latent and manifest content analyses of the eight newspaper articles were conducted. Seven of the articles were *sympathetic* in tone to the experience of the female rape victims; four had been written by male journalists, and three by female journalists. In addition, one female rape victim article, reported by a female journalist was *myth-laden* in its tone. The adult rape victim newspaper articles were mainly *sympathetic* (87.5%), and the remainder were *myth-laden* (12.5%) in tone. The detailed analyses of these eight cases are provided below.

4.3.3.2 A Latent Content Analysis of the Journalistic Tone of the Adult Rape Victim Newspaper Articles

Sympathetic

The following describes the underlying *sympathetic* tone used regarding female rape survivors in the newspaper articles. In one news story [ARVNA007] it was said that the female victim was “*living in fear*” and that she had “*sacrificed her anonymity*” and was “*terrified*”. It was also stated that she was “*vulnerable*”. The male journalist emphasised the “*ordeal*” experienced and the plight of the victim. Furthermore, particular words were mentioned twice to increase their emphasis such as “*ordeal*” and “*fearful*”. Also, that she was described as being “*afraid*” of the offender finding out where she lived. In addition, it was emphasised that she was described as being “*afraid*” of meeting her attacker in the street. The male journalist also noted that the rapist was “*controversially*” freed after his successful “*claims*” of his innocence. Thus, the side of the victim was unequivocally taken.

In another news story [ARVNA049], where the journalist was a woman, again the tone was *sympathetic* to the female rape victim. The words used to indicate the tone of the article included the “*long*” years spent by the victim “*searching for justice*” which the journalist stated “*continues to elude her*”. Another factor emphasised in this article was that the victim was also failed by the police, in that, the case was “*botched by police incompetence*”. Apparently, the GHB (date-rape drug) evidence was seized illegally from the possessions of two alleged offenders. The journalist stated “*she never got that chance* [to have her day in court]”. The victim was described by the journalist as being “*half-naked*” in a “*parking lot*”, “*bruised, unconscious and near death*”. Days before the victim’s case was due to come to

court, the state attorney's office discontinued it due to a number of problems with the collection of evidence during the police investigation.

Nonetheless, the victim then took out a civil case against the company who owned the nightclub where she "*collapsed*". This case was successful. But, she wanted an "*apology*" from the alleged perpetrators. Seven years later her case almost reached the trial stage. But, her lawyers made an "*unusual agreement*" which she "*signed under duress*". Instead of pursuing the alleged perpetrators, she sued their insurance company. This "*bold*" gamble was successful but was overturned on appeal. The journalist also labelled the perpetrators as "*predators*", and stated "[w]hat makes matters worse" was that the victim had not been informed that her case was unsuccessful. The journalist continued with the *sympathetic* tone by stating the victim was "*battered and bruised, she still refuses to admit defeat, she will not be a victim again; she will not let them win*". It was also highlighted that this was one of the first known cases where the date-rape drug GHB had been used to incapacitate the victim, and, thus it led to a change in regulations across the United States. Thus, the newsworthiness of the article was explicit in this case. In this article, the physical appearance of the victim was described as "*pretty*", and the alleged offenders as "*bodybuilders*". The *sympathetic* tone and phraseology of the language used indicated the empathy felt by the journalist for the victim.

In article [ARVNA058] the *sympathetic* tone was evidenced by the words and phrases used. For example, the male journalist stated that a woman was "*brutally*" raped, her face was "*badly beaten*", that she was "*too frightened*" to go into the Garda (Irish police) station. The article was also extremely critical of the Gardai's treatment of the female rape victim regarding the delay in visiting the victim. Considering that the attack happened on a Sunday and the visit did not take place until

the following Wednesday night. A similar delay occurred over collecting evidence (which also hampered the victim receiving the required medical attention at hospital that meant that forensic evidence was still not obtained), and taking a statement. It also highlighted the victim's sister's anger at the police treatment, stating it was a "*disgrace*". In addition, the journalist noted that a rape counsellor had sat with the victim for many hours on the Wednesday before the Gardai finally arrived.

An article taking a cross-cultural perspective was [ARVNA143] which discussed the pandemic of rape in South Africa that has the compounding problem of the widespread nature of AIDS there. The female journalist discussed the 'miserable' story of this victim. How the victim was "raped three times" at gunpoint, and was then thrown from the perpetrator's car. The fear of rape in South Africa is so pervasive that insurance companies are offering policies against it. It was highlighted that when "despite her precautions a woman is raped" that is just the "*beginning of the horror*". Even though generalities were interspersed with the narrative, the personal journey of the rape victim herself was ever present where it was stated she "*bows her head*", and that she was "*crying*" when trying to tell her story. The female journalist stated that her own words are "*empty*" and that the victim's last rapist (she had been raped previously) "*is taking her to the grave with him*" (the perpetrator had AIDS).

The journalist also highlighted the ineffectiveness of the police regarding the investigation of rape, stating how "*officers joke*" about whether victims "*enjoyed the rape*". She also mentioned that sometimes the "*police themselves are rapists*" and that even if victims have the "*courage*" to report the crime to the police, they eventually "*give-up*". Another victim's story described a gang rape and the difficulty this victim had describing the incident – she "*stops talking and swallows hard*". Furthermore, it described how the victim "*stumbled*" back to her car, and that she

“refused” to go to the police, as she didn’t trust them; in addition, how she controlled her emotions and fought the urge to cry as, if she started, she would *“die crying”*. Again, it was mentioned that the police stations were *“unsympathetic surroundings”*, that it would take a *“long time”* for women to *“feel safe”*; and that it was too late for the women who have already *“suffered the abuse in silence”*. The journalist then returns to the victim and states that she *“lives with the emotional wounds of her ordeal”* and, because it was oral rape that was perpetrated, she experiences *“nausea”* when *“thinking about eating”*. The final sentence was the most emotional of the article where it was noted that the victim was a virgin and that the rape was her *“first experience”*.

Article [ARVNA171], by a male journalist, focused on a male rape incident. It was phrased in a *sympathetic* tone as identified by latent content analysis. A gang rape of an adult male was described as a *“savage attack”*. The journalist continued that according to sources: *“It’s very unusual for a man to come forward after this kind of attack”* and, that the victim was *“very brave”* to take this action. The male journalist stated that the man, who had been raped by at least three people, had been subjected to a series of *“brutal assaults”*. It was also highlighted that the Gardai (Irish Police), according to their spokesperson, was taking the case *“very seriously”* stating that it was a *“very serious attack”*. The journalist also quoted professionals who work with rape victims that said: *“It’s absolutely nothing to do with homosexuality – it’s just an act of violence”*. Thus, it can be seen from the emotive language and the conscious effort to reject male rape myths (that male rape only happens to gay men), that the male journalist’s tone was *sympathetic*. His phrasing was bolstered by comments from rape crisis professionals and the Gardai.

In article [ARVNA222] it was noted that the fact that the *female rape survivor* was making a public appeal was “*rare*”. The violence of the event was illustrated by the use of such words by the female journalist as the victim was “*dragged*”, and “*punched*” in the face. In addition, she said that the alleged perpetrator had “*ripped*” off the victim’s clothing during the “*ordeal*” (this word was used twice to emphasise the trauma of the event). It was stated that she “*sobbed*” as she told of her “*ordeal*”. This victim was described as a “*businesswoman*”, a “*mother of four*” and a “*grandmother*”. These labels were important in creating a particular media profile of the victim. Thus, underlying the *sympathetic* tone, was an effort to deflect any notions of culpability regarding the victim’s role in her sexual victimisation.

In article [ARVNA320] the male journalist described the *female rape victim* as having “*endured*” an “*ordeal*” and explained that the prosecutor described the incident as an “*exceptionally brutal rape*”. It was also highlighted twice that the victim had been subjected to “*sexual battery*”. Furthermore, the Assistant State Attorney stated that it took “*rare courage*” to provide her testimony considering her age (18 years old). In addition, the Assistant State Attorney said that she was the “*first adult who has testified against her attacker*” in the county during his four years in office. Thus, there were several newsworthy elements of the story: the age of the victim, her courage, and the uniqueness of being the first such recorded case in the state. Other professionals were also quoted to emphasise the trauma the perpetrator had put his victims through, their comments included that the rape survivor was a “*role model*” and that despite her going through a “*living hell*” that she pursued the case “*to get the person off the street*” so that he “*can’t get away with it*”. It was also emphasised that when giving her testimony she was “*often crying*”. Also, it was stated that he “*repeatedly forced her to engage in various sex acts*”. In addition, the

victim was quoted as saying the alleged perpetrator “*repeatedly hit her*” and “*threatened her*”. Thus, the language used throughout was emotive and *sympathetic* to the plight of the victim. Furthermore, it was deemed unnecessary to include the gender of the victim as it was suggested as being inherent in the phrase ‘*rape victim*’. It is suggested that for stories regarding female rape victims to be given front page coverage, there needed to be additional elements besides the attack itself to make it newsworthy.

The seven articles which were *sympathetic* in tone to the experiences of the rape victim were then classified according to gender. Six of the seven articles focused on *female rape victims* with only one newspaper article covering *male rape victims*. This confirms the above finding about gender bias and the term ‘*rape victim*’ being inherently female.

Myth-Laden

Article [ARVNA321] was *myth-laden* in tone. A female journalist described the rape of a female rape victim. It was stated that the female victim “*could not remember*” what had happened to her, it was stated that there was “*insufficient evidence*” and, “*no evidence*” against the alleged perpetrator which led to his being cleared of the charges. It was emphasised throughout the article that the victim “*could not recall what had happened to her*”; she “*could only recall*” attending a fraternity party “*where men fondled her, and waking up with her pants around her ankles*”. It was noted that the victim “*had been drinking all day*” and that she lost consciousness during the “*alleged attack*” and “*could not remember*” who was the “*alleged perpetrator*”. The victim’s lack of confidence in her identification of the suspected perpetrator was stressed. For example, she “*was not sure about the accuracy*”. Moreover, the case lacked evidence as stated by court reports. In addition, there were

a number of details provided about the alleged perpetrator, and the effects the case was having on his life such as: being banned from the school grounds and how he felt wrongly accused. Throughout the article the drunken state of the female victim, which affected her recall of the alleged rape, was emphasised. Thus, this imagery of the disarray of her underwear and clothes also painted a negative picture implying culpability on the part of the victim. Therefore, the article was reminiscent of those discussed in earlier accounts of sex crimes within the literature (Hay et al., 1980).

4.3.3.3 Excluded 'Adult Rape Victim' Newspaper articles

For '*adult rape victim*' newspaper articles which were excluded from the combined latent and manifest content analysis the period covered was from 1987 to 2007. The journalists' gender was found to be female (35.3%) and male (29.8%). The home countries of the publications were as follows: UK (28%), USA (28.9%), Australia (11%), Africa (3.5%), Republic of Ireland (8.1%), Canada (9%), New Zealand (2.3%), India (1.2%), Singapore (1.2%), Malaysia (0.3%), Israel (0.9%), Thailand (0.6%), and Japan (0.3%) (see Figure 14); the missing data were minimal (4.9%).

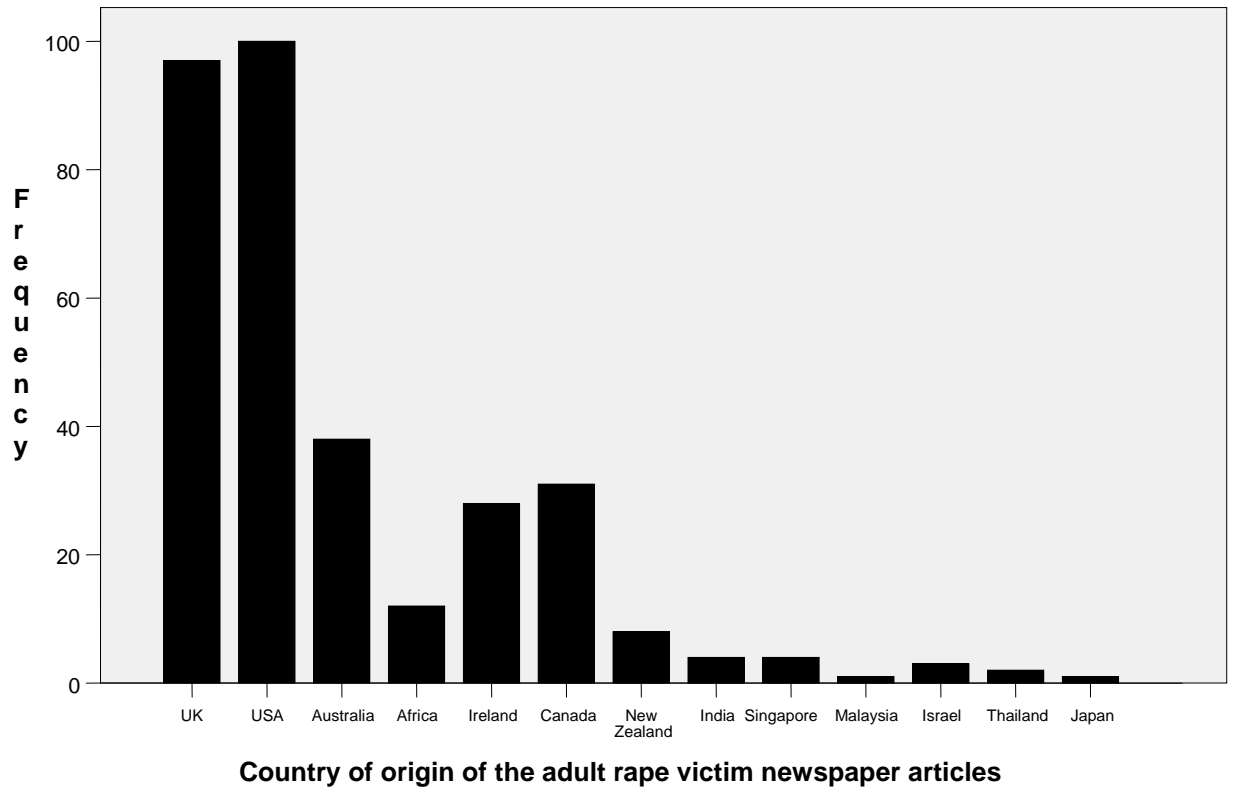


Figure 14.

The presentation of the featured issues within the '*adult rape victim*' articles as identified by a manifest content analysis can be found in Table 10. The lack of detail provided in specific cases was the main reason for exclusion from the joint latent and manifest content analyses. It was noted, however, that there were several common themes across the corpus of newspaper articles analysed, which crossed some cross-cultural boundaries; such as: child abuse, changes to sex offences legislation, funding to survivor organisations being reduced, prevalence of rape, poor medical response to rape victims, research on rape and imbalance of victims' versus offenders' rights. These have been highlighted in Table 10 below.

| | |
|--|--|
| Country of origin | Featured issues in excluded ARVNA data |
| Australia | Child rape, date rape, policing response to rape victims, sexual assault prosecutions, Rape Crisis Centre services, prevalence and stigma of rape , drug rape advertising campaign, censored film depicting rape, book by rape victim, rape of a intellectually disabled woman, sexual offences law review, inappropriate judge's comments, rape legislation and new laws , importance of social support network in recovery process for rape victims, Jodi Foster, sexist attitudes of police and juries , helpline required for male rape victims, gang of youths and rape cases, publicity for new sexual assault trauma centre, lack of services for male rape victims, rape victim's compensation case procedure, and Australia leading in the service provision to rape survivors. |
| Africa Web sources (excl. Kenya and South Africa) | Rape pandemic (South Africa), Rape of women and children (Namibia), Child abuse (South Africa), rape legislation (Liberia), Special measures for vulnerable witnesses South Africa), Infant rape (South Africa), Charity funding (Sierra Leone) and rape counselling (South Africa), rape in conflict (Rwanda), and sexual violence in society (South Africa). |
| Canada | Film depiction of rape, rape in conflict (Sierra Leone), legislation re. Young Offender's Act, child abuse , film censorship (Blaise-Moi), restorative justice re. rape case, prevalence of rape and poor medical provisions (South Africa), police negligence and accountability , recovered memory evidence, litigation of the police by rape victim, temporary closure of sexual assault service, imbalance of victim's vs offender's rights , government grant funding cut to RCC , rape survey findings and prevalence statistics , publicising sexual assault services, rape of 14yr old girl, book review, and inappropriate judge's comments. |
| England | Child rape, rape legislation , consent, prosecution, and reforms, rape victims in court, Sharia law and rape, book reviews about rape, gang rape, alcohol legislation and rape, rape during burglary, government help to rape victims, celebrity date rape, child abuse, rape reporting, legal guidelines, charity work, mother of rapist's article, sentencing female co-perpetrator, Rape Crisis Centre funding , criticism of rape prevention advice, murder rape victim, sex crime legislation , barristers' attitudes, government reports , TV soap storyline, CICB, mothering style (parenting), female rapist, teenage rapist, abortion, defendant's vs victim's rights , tax California's sex industry to fund RCC, accused's to defence; child conceived in rape, opinion poll on rape victim's abortions, reconstruction of female rape cases and impact, rape crisis counselling for male victims, judiciary criticised for handling of rape cases, critique of Kenyan government cut in charity funding , societal perception of rape victim and disempowerment by rapists, critiquing of the feminist approach, re. anonymity, focused on father of the rape victim, Madonna/whore dichotomy, and PTSD. |
| India | Loopholes in legislation regarding rape and child abuse, Hudood ordinances, and Amnesty International report. |
| Republic of Ireland | Garda response to rape victim, Ban Garda's account of being raped by her colleague, rape in conflict and SAVI report, charity, National Rape Crisis statistics, rape of autistic girl, rape prevalence and SAVI report , child abuse , child rape victim and failure of health and welfare , rape victims' right to abortion, inadequate psychiatric provisions, legislation re. abortion, legislative changes to sex offence law , picture of rape victim contravened anonymity legislation, feature on director of RCC, publicity for RCC helpline, budget cuts to unique sexual assault and treatment centre . |

Table 10 identified issues in excluded adult rape survivor newspaper articles.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Israel | Advice for rape victims regarding Orthodox Jewish religion's treatment of them, child abuse , book review of Nazi torture and rape. |
| Japan | Letters page referred to rape victim. |
| Kenya | Prevalence of rape and child abuse |
| Malaysia | Letters page referred to rape victim. |
| New Zealand | Rape research, child abuse , police negligence in rape case, child rape, legal reforms regarding how sex offences dealt with in court, sexual assault services to victims, rape attrition and the police response. |
| Northern Ireland | Child abuse , and CARE services available. |
| Scotland | Film about female rape victim, est. of helpline for rape victims, rape in conflict (Liberia), rape and its health implications, special measures for rape victims in court, Scottish Executive report, policy changes re. cross-examination in court and child abuse victims, child abuse, legislative reforms and balancing the rights of victims and offenders , secondary victimisation, rape case review after judge's myth-laden comments and rape victim's narrative of incident. |
| Singapore | Theatre and cinema listing of fictional accounts of rape, educating children about sexually risky situations and child abuse . |
| South Africa | Provision of AZT to children then adult victims. |
| Thailand | Child abuse , and publicity for the criminal code. |
| USA | Child abuse, RCC initiative, child rape , psychiatrist shortage for sexual torture victims (Sri-Lanka), celebrity rapist (Kobe Bryant, Kennedy-Smith Jr.), abortion by rape victims and rights of the unborn child, stigma of rape and anonymity – feminist perspective, lack of protection for mentally disabled rape victims, court report, publicity for City Sex Crime Units services for victims, condonement of rape of young girls (Mexico), critique of Hudood Ordinances, AIDS policy and provision of anti-retroviral drugs criticised (South Africa), sexual violence in society, online resources for rape victims, inadequate medical response to rape victims , education of children re. inappropriate touching (sex education in schools), gang rape of 15yr old girl, sex work and child abuse, prevalence statistics, publicity for rape victim services, physiological and psychological state of rape victim in vegetative state, funding for RCC , Adult Sexual Assault Task Force report, death penalty debate and sentencing, societal need to gamble outweighs the lotto franchise owner being a rapist, patriarchal culture, rape and genocide impact (Rwanda), improve interventions re. child abuse , rape victim used as a pawn in political debate, delays in processing rape cases in court system, statutory rape legislation across States, access to welfare for rape victims, focus on perpetrators, crime statistics, increase in adolescent rape victims, sex offences legislation, juvenile rape offenders tried as adults, rape victim lobbies for rape statute of limitations, impact of childhood rape into adulthood, rape and government inaction (Kenya), inappropriate judge's comments, spring-break rape prone behaviour, advertising rape victim services, research reports and survey findings , advertisement for volunteers for RCC, film about rape, feminist comments on moral idealism, rape victim suffering from a personality disorder, domestic violence, TV drama storyline, age of victim not a protective factor, budget cuts to Nurse Examiner Program, SARCS etc., error in case victim thought to be a rape victim, rape victim blind, access to pornographic sites from libraries' Internet access terminals, RAINN celebrity rape and sexual assault charity, and rape in prison. |

Table 10 contd.

4.3.3.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the findings of the three content analyses studies involving (i) (the main study) of ‘*male and female rape victim*’ newspaper articles; (ii) Supplementary Study I regarding ‘*male and female sexual assault*’ newspaper articles; and (iii) Supplementary Study II ‘*adult rape victim*’ articles in the print media. These were conducted in order to investigate (a) whether the journalists’ tone (identified through latent analysis) was affected by the gender of the rape victim, and (b) whether the gender of the journalist was related to the tone of the article dependent on the gender of the rape victim being discussed (manifest analyses were used to ascertain the gender of the rape victim and journalist).

Unfortunately, due to the limited sample sizes, the research propositions could not be comprehensively investigated. The most complete dataset was that of the *male rape survivor* newspaper articles but comparisons could not be made with the *female rape survivor* dataset (due the volume of articles which had to be excluded), resulting in only one article providing sufficient detail for analysis. Five male rape newspaper articles were identified by latent analysis as being *non-judgmental* in their journalistic tone (of these four male journalists and one female journalist were identified through manifest analysis). Eleven of the male rape victim focused articles evidenced the journalists’ *sympathetic* tone. The tone was identified by latent analysis and the gender of the journalists was identified by manifest analysis (there were five female and six males who reported on male rape survivor cases). Finally, two of the male rape newspaper articles were identified as being *myth-laden* by latent analysis, and the results of the manifest analysis was that the gender representation of the journalists’ was equally divided.

The journalistic tone of the *female rape victim* article analysed was also *sympathetic*. The limited sample illustrated that in recent years fewer particulars were given in rape cases. The reduced sample sizes within the main study instigated the development of supplementary studies.

The aim of *Supplementary Study I* was to comprehensively address the research propositions (outlined above) through the use of a larger data set (by focusing on newspaper articles identified by the search terms '*male sexual assault victim*' and '*female sexual assault victim*'). However, the results of *Supplementary Study I* were more limited, in that fewer newspaper articles than in the main study were suitable for detailed content analysis using manifest and latent forms of analyses. One of the male sexual assault newspaper articles was considered appropriate for detailed content analysis; the journalistic tone identified through latent analysis was *sympathetic* (used by a female journalist). There were no articles regarding female sexual assault cases which were suitable for latent content analysis. This again highlighted a trend within the print media of the reduction of detail provided on adult sexual assault cases.

In the main study on the content analysis of newspaper articles on male and female rape, it was noted that the term '*rape victim*' appeared to be considered by the print media as inherently female, as, the gender of the victim was rarely stated in the form "*female rape victim*" in documented newspaper articles. This unexpected finding led to the development of *Supplementary Study II*, which focused on the gender neutral search term '*adult rape victim*'. The number of articles which were suitably detailed for latent content analysis was eight. Seven of these focused on *female rape victims*, tentatively supporting the gender bias of the term '*rape victim*' as being inherently female. In relation to the journalistic tone; four women journalists were *sympathetic* to the *female rape victim's* case and one described the female victim's case using a *myth-laden* tone. The three male journalists used a *sympathetic*

tone (with respect to the two female and one *male rape victims'* cases). The aim of Supplementary Studies I and II was, together with the main study, to provide the most feasible comprehensive examination of the research propositions with the limited datasets available.

The qualitative analyses such as latent content analysis for the three studies; (i) *the Main Study*, (ii) *Supplementary Study I* , and (iii) *Supplementary Study II* are provided in *Appendices 3.1, 3.2 3, and 3* respectively.

4.4 Discussion

The current study was conducted in order to examine whether a gendered representation of rape is portrayed in the newspaper print media. The aim was to investigate whether the gender of the victim and/or journalist was related to how cases were reported. This examination was contextualised by an analysis of the crime scene characteristics, as the rape event does not take place within a social vacuum and situational variables may influence the journalistic tone regarding journalists' perception of rape victims' behaviour (Marhia, 2008).

The type of publication (for example, tabloid or broadsheet) has previously been found to influence the content of print newspaper articles (Soothill, 1991; Greer, 2003) in that the more salacious reporting of sex crime tended to be provided by the tabloids. However, Soothill and Walby (1991) stated that the broadsheets were not wholly innocent of such reporting; as the lure of the financial reward from the coverage of sex crime for the titillation of the masses, as well as the competition for circulation numbers, could be strong motivating factors.

The police are a key source of information for journalists. Nevertheless, this resource can be biased as a result of reporting practices for example, the underreporting rape. Thus, even before the print media selectively construct their articles, there are already inherent biases as to the type of sex crimes and perpetrators identified. A symbiotic relationship exists between the police – as the source – and the media as the conduit of information resultant upon the need for public assistance in the provision of information in relation to rape cases, for example. The format of the rape and sexual assault newspaper articles either provided “*search for the offender*” (Soothill et al., 2004) narratives where the police were asking for

information from the public in order to locate the offender in question, or were court-based reports of cases.

4.4.1 The Research Propositions

In relation to Research Proposition 1 of the current study, it is suggested that the journalistic tone, as discerned from a latent content analysis of the male rape newspaper articles, was not related to the gender of the reporter. The articles were predominantly sympathetic, irrespective of the gender of the victim or journalist. The fact that a sympathetic tone dominated within the male rape articles could reflect that male rape is still considered an anomaly by the public, whereas female rape has become normalised by comparison. In other words, for female rape to be given significant print media coverage it would need several '*newsworthiness*' elements, such as uniqueness, celebrity aspect, or volume (such as a series of sex attacks), whereas male rape cases in themselves may be considered sufficiently newsworthy.

An interesting finding was that the phrase '*rape victim*' seems to be perceived as inherently female, requiring no gendered noun to precede this phrase. This was probably why the term '*female rape victim*' when searched for identified so few articles. It was also noted that the coverage of rape victims, both male and female, were less judgmental but still reinforced some stereotypes. For example, in relation to female rape victims, if they had consumed excessive amounts of alcohol they might be considered culpable in their sexual victimisation. In the myth-laden male rape victim newspaper articles, male rape was portrayed in the press as being a homosexual crime.

4.4.2 Male and Female Rape Survivor Newspaper Articles

Latent content analysis

With regard to the research propositions investigated by the current study, journalistic tone (as discerned from a latent content analysis of the male rape newspaper articles) was found not to be related to the gender of the reporter. The tone of the articles was predominantly *sympathetic*; this finding suggested that the sympathetic tone could be to encourage more males to come forward, and to report cases. A common theme throughout the 284 articles was the underreporting of male rape to an extent that was undermining the need for services for male survivors. Articles which were punctuated by *myths* (*myth-laden*) were the exception. Nevertheless, the two *myth-laden* articles both involved gay male rape victims; and the detail provided constructed them as not being '*socially legitimate victims*'; a finding which supports previous research findings (Richardson & May, 1999).

It is tentatively suggested that the *tone* of the majority of the male rape newspaper articles differs considerably from those of historically documented print articles pertaining to female rape victims within a parallel time frame. For example, in early research it was noted that newspaper articles regarding female rape victims tended to be *myth-laden* and *victim-blaming* (Benedict, 1992; Walkowitz, 1982). This strongly contrasts with the current more sympathetic description of male rape victims. Possible explanations are (i) that adult male sexual victimisation is still predominantly considered alien, vis-à-vis perceptions of male invulnerability to this type of criminal victimisation; (ii) that as a result of the feminist critique of the historical portrayal of female rape victims, a more sensitive or *sympathetic* approach is taken; (iii) that male rape is even less likely to be reported due to the stigma attached, and possibility of the victim's sexual orientation being questioned (Hodge & Canter, 1998) prompting increased efforts to be made to encourage reporting this crime to the police.

Most articles focused on featured male rape victim stories and took a holistic approach, highlighting the prevalence of male rape. These articles also considered the possible motivations, deconstructed myths, and emphasised the lack of suitable advocacy resources. The majority of the newspaper articles that were excluded focused on these aforementioned topics to a greater or lesser extent and also incorporated discussions of legislation. The articles on the law stated that legislation required amending, or raised awareness of new laws and changes (such as the protection of anonymity for male victims, and requirements regarding the facilitation of sexual history evidence).

As only one female rape article was appropriate for combined latent and manifest content analysis it was not possible to consider whether there was a gender difference in the reporting of female and male rape articles as far as the journalistic tone was concerned. Furthermore, the possible influence of the gender of the journalist and/or rape victim on the tone of the article could not be examined. However, the one article which was analysed had an evident *sympathetic* tone and was written by a female journalist. The female journalist provided details of the rape stating the victim was “*manhandled*” and “*threatened*”, and the limited service provisions for female rape victims were also mentioned to increase the article’s newsworthiness.

In contrast to the findings of earlier studies, the present study found that the majority of the articles were *sympathetic* (61.1%) and *non-judgmental* (27.8%) with only 11.1% being *myth-laden* in respect to the male rape victim’s experience.

Manifest content analysis

The crime scene characteristics were included in order to contextualise the accounts of the rape of both males and females as these details may be used to imply culpability of the victim (Marhia, 2008), and may influence the journalist's tone. The male rape survivor articles were mainly from England and the United States, which could suggest that male rape is still considered an anomaly, and this is why it is attracting such attention in these countries. Progressive steps are being made in legislation and policing responses in these countries. Nonetheless, underreporting may still be an issue impacting on the level of needs-directed service provisions for rape survivors (Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996). Male journalists still predominate in the journalist profession which is consistent with previous research (see Hemlinger, 2001). Male rape victim articles were also more prevalent in the regional broadsheets and tabloids, than the national tabloids and broadsheets.

The sex acts in the current study were coded as '*rape*' only when explicitly stated to be such; and coerced sexual acts not included under the definition of rape by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 were excluded. This stringent definition was to facilitate consistent results.

Some of the male rape survivors were attacked indoors by strangers, which contradicts previous research which found that males attacked indoors knew the perpetrators (Walker et al., 2005). Rapes perpetrated by strangers were still the most commonly reported in the newspaper articles, which does not reflect the reality of male rape as found in prior research (for example, Hickson et al., 1994; Walker et al., 2005). This predominance of stranger rape in the articles analysed also contradicts assertions that stranger-danger focused articles are declining (Greer, 2003).

Sexual orientation was alluded to in the articles with many of the victims being identified as heterosexual. If the victim's sexual orientation was not explicitly stated then reference was made to a girlfriend or wife. The offenders in the documented male rape cases were men. The sexual orientation of the assailants was not known as the suspect was a stranger and assumptions could only be made by the victim, dependent on the context of the attack. It has previously been recognised in the literature that ethnicity is rarely referred to in the newspaper articles with regard to the victim or the offender (Marhia, 2008; Peelo et al., 2004; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981). This finding was supported by the current study.

The ages of the victims reported by the media in the current study were not consistent with the demographics in the available literature (indicating a younger age) (Mezey & King, 1989; Stermac et al., 2004). There seems to be an older age range among male rape victims (Jamel, 1999) in comparison to female rape victims (aged 16-25yrs, see Feist et al., 2007), which is consistent with other relevant research in the area (Walker et al., 2005; Jamel, 1999). The offenders' ages as described by the print media were non-specific as definite ages may only be provided on apprehension of the assailant, and the case comes to court. The details of the case are then released in the 'public interest'.

The most common modes of approach were blitz and surprise attacks. Weapons were rarely used, probably because the male victim was attacked while already vulnerable (e.g. asleep or incapacitated through drink or drugs). In other cases, the initial attack was sufficiently violent to immediately debilitate the victim. The element of surprise was effectively used by offenders; as men are ill-prepared for this type of assault, and are not taught to attune their senses to risky situations as illustrated in many of the newspaper articles. This is in contrast to females who are schooled from a young age to be aware of their surroundings and be alert to potentially dangerous situations (Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996). It was also noted in the current study of male rape cases documented by the news media that

there were parallels with female rape. For example, it was found that the use of alcohol by the offender and victim on a voluntary basis is more common than the use of drugs. Alcohol consumption by offenders and victims was the norm in “*alcohol-involved*” sexual assault of females (see Zawacki et al., 2003). Thus, it could be suggested that this social context facilitates situations for the opportunistic rapist. There are no discrete studies of alcohol and drug consumption within the context of male same-sex rape. Thus, further research is required on this particular topic.

The media framing of rape events fails to reflect the reality of such crimes where the acquaintance rapist is the more prevalent offender (Hodge & Canter, 1998). Therefore, one must consider the social and political motives for the distorting of such facts. Might it be to reinforce stereotypes of gay males engaging in risky leisure activities such as ‘*cruising*’? The current study found that the police were the agency to which most reports were made by the victims, with the prison service being the next most common agency according to the male rape news stories published in the print media.

A quantitative analysis of the crime scene actions concerning female rape using descriptive statistics was not feasible. Thus, the third research proposition, pertaining to the location of the rape (whether it was indoors or outdoors) with regard to the culpability of the rape victim in his/her sexual victimisation as constructed by the press, could not be investigated due to the very small sample size. Hence, Supplementary Study I attempted to overcome the limitations of the male and female rape survivor samples, and their impact on the robustness of the main study by identifying additional male and female rape victim cases which may have been framed as sexual assaults.

4.4.3 Supplementary Study I

The male *sexual assault* newspaper articles identified by Lexis Nexis Executive were mainly divided between Australia and the USA. This finding was replicated in relation to the female sexual assault data. It is suggested that Australian and American publications therefore use the broader term of '*sexual assault*' more often than '*rape*'. However, there was less detail provided regarding female sexual assault in comparison with the female rape data, thus it was not possible to conduct a latent content analysis.

The number of male and female *sexual assault* newspaper articles was fewer than for rape, which was surprising. As, although it may be considered a less serious crime, it is a volume crime compared with rape, so it may be expected that due to its frequency more cases would be reported (as more newsworthy cases should be evidenced due to its frequency). However, this neglects the fact that the terms '*rape*' and '*sexual assault*' are often used interchangeably and it could be suggested that this lack of attention may serve to further normalise the experience of rape. Furthermore, in order for male and female sexual assault articles to be published they probably had to be newsworthy with some unique factor to the cases. The *male sexual assault* dataset consisted of four articles. Stranger rapists predominated and three of the four male sexual assaults were carried out indoors. Only one of the male sexual assault articles contained sufficient detail for manifest and latent content analysis to identify the tone of the article and gender of the journalist.

Latent content analysis

One of the articles was *sympathetic* in tone and written by a female journalist who stressed the attack was "*horrific*", and emphasised the change in police attitudes by mentioning that the Gardai (Irish police) were taking the case seriously. It was also stated that there was a lack of service provisions for male sexual assault victims.

None of the *female sexual assault* articles were suitable for latent content analysis as insufficient details were published. Nevertheless, at the initial stages of quantitative analysis it was found that the newspaper articles were mainly from Australia and the United States. Thus, it could be suggested that in the United States and Australia, female sexual assault has become normalised so that it no longer warrants the attention of the print media. In the newspaper articles which were excluded, manifest content analysis identified that the foci tended to be on drug rape, rapes involving celebrities, victim service provisions, false allegations, and parallels with male rape.

Manifest Content Analysis

Male and female *sexual assault* newspaper articles in Australia and the USA seemed to pay this type of crime some attention compared with its neglect by other countries. But none of the female *sexual assault* articles had sufficient information published to be included for detailed manifest and latent content analyses.

4.4.4 Supplementary Study II

As a result of the initial content analysis of the male and female rape survivor newspaper articles (at the reductionist stage), it was noticed that the term '*rape*' is so synonymous with the female gender that it did not necessitate gender qualification e.g. '*female rape victim*'. Instead, there was the inherent assumption that '*rape victim*' automatically suggests female rape victim. This finding gave rise to *Supplementary Study II*.

This study focused on the finding that the term '*rape victim*' is perceived to be inherently female. Therefore, the term '*adult rape victim*' was used as the search criterion and the identified newspaper articles were then subject to latent content analysis. The resultant sample size comprised eight articles (seven were *sympathetic* and one *myth-laden* in their journalistic tone).

Latent content analysis

This analysis found that a *sympathetic* tone predominated irrespective of the gender of the rape survivor or journalist. The *myth-laden* tone was scarcely evident, as noted within the male rape survivor newspaper articles. This may suggest a change in the conceptualisation of rape, whereby there is a conscious effort by journalists to distance themselves from the victim-blaming perspectives historically entrenched in the media representation of female rape (Benedict, 1992; Marhia, 2008). Furthermore, if female rape has become normalised, as suggested by the current study, then those cases which are selected to be included by the print media must have the requisite newsworthy elements. These could include extreme violence, or some uniqueness or bizarreness to the case. Examples are cases where the offender was “*controversially acquitted*” [ARVNA007] or where the police “*botched up the case*” by not undertaking the correct protocols when collecting evidence and thus resulting in inadmissible evidence [ARVNA049].

The latent content analysis of the male rape survivor newspaper articles identified: (i) the fact that awareness of male rape is currently almost thirty years behind that of female rape (Rogers, 1998); and (ii) that the continued inadequate level of service provision may be why a *sympathetic* journalistic tone has been used by reporters in the aforementioned articles. Moreover, because of the extremely low reporting rates, there may be an effort to increase these rates by encouraging male rape victims to come forward, through reporting these cases in a more sensitive manner. Furthermore, it is noted that the police are quoted as taking male rape cases “*seriously*”, emphasising that the possible perceived response of ‘*disbelief*’ from the police is no longer the case.

Manifest content analysis

On analysis, of the country of origin of the news publications, the newspaper articles were divided between England and the United States. It could be suggested that the attention given to sex crimes elsewhere may be waning, but in England and the United States there is still a passing interest, if there is also a newsworthy element as discussed above. Conversely, as identified by a manifest content analysis of the excluded newspaper articles, it was rare that the articles focused on the rape victim; their story was normally provided for illustrative purposes. In other words, the focal point of the article may have been the provision of victim services or the type of police response received, for example.

It was felt that analysing the crime scene variables of these eight cases would not have contributed any further information.

4.4.5 Limitations

The Lexis Nexis Executive database results displayed one set of search criteria (e.g., '*male rape*', and '*female rape*', (just the gender was changed) exceeded the set limit of 1,000 which prevented the display of the identified articles. At that time, the Lexis Nexis database could not display results which exceeded 1,000 articles. To use one set and a variant of the other would have compromised the comparative analysis because direct comparisons could not be made; especially as varied terms may introduce more confounding factors in the interpretation of the search criteria. The other factor which detracted from the findings of the current study was the replication of articles. This involved a particular story being reprinted across publications without sufficient alteration of the original journalist's tone, thus being unsuitable for latent content analysis. In addition, general rape feature stories predominated throughout the corpus of both *male and female rape* newspaper articles as opposed to the discussion of specific cases. Thus, the available samples of newspaper articles for the Main

Study and Supplementary Studies I and II were limited by the lack of sufficient detail for latent and manifest content analysis.

4.4.5.1 Limitations of Content Analysis as a Methodology

Content analysis is predominantly considered a reductive technique which claims to be objective, at least in the following statement: “*content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communications in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring certain message variables*” according to Dominick (as cited in Reiner, 2002b, p. 192). However, Reiner (2002b) poses the question as to how such a process can be objective when the content categories are consciously derived from the researcher’s “*frames of reference according to explicit criteria*” (p. 193). By using this methodology the current study evidenced a reflexive awareness of the subjectivity of latent analysis thus employing credibility checks via independent coders of the tri-partite coding framework to increase its robustness. This was further enhanced by also analysing quantitative elements of the newspaper articles such as crime scene actions through manifest content analyses.

4.4.6 Conclusion

This was an exploratory study which was unique in its nature. There does not seem to have been a prior content analysis of print newspaper articles on any inherent bias in journalistic tone as a function of journalists’ gender or that of the reported rape victim. The small sample sizes resulted in Research Propositions 2 and 3 not being investigated as comprehensively as envisaged as a consequence of the insufficient female rape newspaper articles suitable for latent and manifest content analysis. However, the findings of the current study have made a worthwhile contribution to the languishing research attention given to the news print medium and the findings adhere to the trustworthiness criteria of credibility, transferability and dependability (see Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

The key findings are (i) *male rape victims* were treated more *sympathetically* by the press than *female rape victims* (were in a historically *myth-laden* and *judgemental* manner) by the press at a parallel time frame (thirty years ago); (ii) the term '*rape victim*' was treated as inherently female; and (iii) the gender of the reporter did not relate to the journalistic tone of the article.

The lack of research attention currently directed at news print journalism is surprising considering its much wider accessibility to the public (through newsstands and varied retail outlets where newspapers can be bought) than even the Internet. Thus, the power of news publications should not be underestimated. Despite this, current trends in research appear to be focusing on the fastest developing medium of cybertechnology, such as the Internet and, to a lesser extent, visual media, such as film and television. Thus, if this study encourages attention to be re-directed at the print media and towards a critical evaluation of the processes which inform the end product of the newspaper article then it will have achieved one of its objectives. Furthermore, the fact that the current study has identified the common perception that the term '*rape victim*' appears to be considered inherently gendered as being female is of great import. This is particularly true when one considers the impact that this may have on the self-identity of male rape victims, their likelihood of reporting the crime to the police, their help-seeking behaviour, and the availability of needs-directed services.

In addition, tentative conclusions can be made that the predominant journalistic tone of the male rape victim articles was *sympathetic*, and that this is irrespective of the gender of the journalist. A number of explanations may be proposed for the predominantly *sympathetic* journalistic tone including (i) the print media have learned from past misrepresentations of female rape victims emphasised by feminists and (ii) the even lower reporting rates of male rape victims compared with those of their female counterparts have resulted in this sea change motivated by the need to increase reporting rates and subsequent conviction rates

which are extremely low for rape (see Feist et al., 2007). However, this exploration requires further research and consideration.

The current study has raised some important questions which could direct future research, such as an investigation into the question of whether the media are less judgmental in their representation of rape than historically was the case. If this is the situation, has it made any impact on the reporting practices of rape victims? Also, more research needs to be conducted regarding gender and the representation of rape in the print media, and not only in relation to English language publications. A final caveat is that simple generalisations should not be drawn, instead the transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the findings of the current study should be explored by the application of these findings to similar contexts. Further research may replicate these findings using a much larger corpus of print media articles if such can be located.

Discussion

The thesis began with a comprehensive overview of the available literature on the much under-researched topic of male rape in Chapter 1. This chapter provided a contextualisation of male rape research from its early origins within penal institutions in the United States (these studies dominated the field) to the emergence of clinical and community-based research. The previous literature provided a basis for the overarching theme of '*male rape*' across different research contexts being investigated, each with its own challenges, from the negotiations of access with gatekeepers such as the police and NHS; to recruiting difficult-to-reach participants (the complexity of which was envisioned but not to the extent realised) such as male escorts and rape survivors/victims.

A social constructionist perspective underpins this thesis, whereby the influence of the socialisation processes in the development of gender roles and reinforcement patriarchal power structures within heterosexist society through individuals' interactions with each other, and, with power brokers (such as the police and print media), and social control of deviant sub-cultures of homosexual and sex worker groups were critically examined. Triangulation was employed using a variety of qualitative methods which were data driven and included thematic analysis, an adapted form of grounded theory, and qualitative content analysis. The three core aims of this research were to evaluate (i) the specialist police response to male rape survivors; (ii) to investigate the incidence of male rape in the commercial male sex industry; and (iii) examine whether the print media provide a gender-biased representation of rape survivors.

Chapter 2 emphasised the emerging role of the '*victim*' and his/her importance in the provision of key evidence on his/her criminal victimisation. This was highlighted by the consideration of the paradigmatic shift in focus from the '*offender*' to the '*victim*' in criminological theory, resulting in the evolution of victimological theories (e.g., Mendelsohn, 1956; Von Hentig, 1948; Wolfgang, 1958). The social psychological concept '*Belief in a Just World for Self*' (Lerner & Simmons, 1966) was found by the current study to have informed rape survivors' perceptions of the incident, illustrated through self-blame, and their adoption of the socially ascribed stigma of this crime type resulting in self-doubt about their version of events. Thus, awareness of this influential factor needs to be considered by the police when responding to such cases.

In the new research presented in this thesis, important themes from the SOIT officers' and rape survivors' (particularly males) responses were identified which may affect the delivery of the specialist police response when rape is reported. These themes referred to available resources such as the number of specialist/dedicated officers on call at a particular time. Limited resources may therefore negatively affect the provision of choice of the gender of the SOIT officer for example. Furthermore, there may be a lack of consistency of care, an example of which could be the changeover of SOIT officers and subsequent disruption (if not elimination) of the rapport built up between the officer and the victim. A consequence of this disruption of specialist police provisions could be the possible attrition of such cases due to the lack of confidence in the police response subsequently experienced by the survivor. The study of the specialist police response to rape survivors employed a thematic analysis which uncompromisingly highlighted the extensive gap between policy and provision regarding the level of service delivery. While, this study has documented the evolution of the police response (culminating in the provision of specialist officers dedicated to the investigation of sex crimes) to rape survivors is encouraging, there is still progress to be made, particularly in

the case of male rape victims. This victim group are given scant attention within the SOIT training as far as can be discerned from available resources [(changes in the NPIA (National Policing Improvement Agency) STO training materials notwithstanding - the author was unable to obtain a copy from the NPIA (as contacts who were willing to supply them were prevented from doing so having signed restricted release forms)]. It is recognised that by the date of submission of this thesis there may be some parallels between recommendations of the current study and those made within the recent NPIA STO training materials.

The issues highlighted by survivors such as prior experiences of the police response (irrespective of the type of crime originally reported) can influence their expectation of the subsequent handling of their rape case and were pertinent regarding public confidence in the police.

In addition, the pervasive nature of socially constructed rape myths (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), and their infiltration of both individual police officers' and rape survivors' analyses of the case, may well affect both the police response, and the reporting practices of rape survivors. For example, male rape victims still think they may not be believed, furthermore, if the offender is known, they also assume their case may be considered less credible. Thus, one of the key recommendations emphasised by the HMCPSI and HMIC (2007) joint inspection report (which stated that police should focus on the tangible evidence as opposed to the credibility of the victim) still needs to be put into practice.

The stigma of '*rape*' which appears to be exacerbated in the case of '*male rape*' (due to the impact on victims' masculinity, and of fears regarding victims' sexual orientation being questioned) also still seems to play a role in inhibiting reporting. Nietzsche (as cited in Hawkes, 1996) stated that "*shame exists wherever there is mystery*" (p. 30). Thus, society needs to address the suppression of knowledge regarding the reality of male rape and promote a better understanding and less judgmental attitude towards its victims. These changes would

(i) facilitate a more conducive environment to the reporting of rape; (ii) may result in more balanced sentencing practices; and (iii) improve the availability and accessibility of specialist counselling services for male rape victims. Nevertheless, it should be noted that despite a heavy reliance by the police on organisations such as '*Survivors UK*', these fail to receive adequate financial resources and, as charities, exist on extremely limited funding. This funding problem is reflective of the government's negligence of the crime (and also highlights the lack of public awareness as the government are not being lobbied to fund such organisations) of male rape despite its recognition under gender neutral legislation. This political climate is not conducive to the reporting of male rape to the police.

A further inhibitor to rape reporting practices may be if psychological sequelae are experienced (in the form of ASD or later PTSD) by survivors in the aftermath of the attack, which may delay or even prevent the crime of male rape being reported to the police, or result in the case being withdrawn if the police response is negative.

The lack of information available within society to male rape victims, reinforced by hegemonic male power structures through the denial of social legitimacy of this type of sexual victimisation, and access to advocacy was emphasised by survivors as an important theme. For example, they reported to the police in order to be directed to appropriate agencies. However, the gap in the knowledge of specialist police officers (e.g., SOITs) suggests that they may not yet have a comprehensive awareness of the complex effects of male rape on survivors, and therefore may not be in the best position to provide advocacy. But, that does not mean what is being suggested here is that officers such as these take on the role of counsellors. Instead, an understanding of the nature and impact of male rape on male survivors' masculinity is crucial (regarding their service response). Thus, SOIT/STO training needs to recognise the effect of male rape on survivors' masculinity. It was also emphasised by SOIT officers that due to the low level of reporting, they do not have the opportunity to

develop expertise based on their experience of dealing with male rape cases. In addition, SOIT officers stated that peer reviews regarding their handling of such cases would be beneficial, this could also be incorporated into training initiatives

Furthermore, there is a need for awareness to be raised among the professional community regarding male rape as many therapists were found to treat the symptoms without broaching the cause of the psychological sequelae. In addition, the need for more male-oriented support services and for the police to be trained to deal with male rape victims was also illustrated in the male survivors' questionnaire responses.

Another point made by some survivors was that that it was the personality of the officer and not the gender which was important. In contrast, it was usually assumed by the police that male rape survivors would automatically want a female SOIT officer. For example, a male rape survivor made a key point that *"not all women are the same"*. The heterogeneous nature of both male rape victims and service needs is highlighted by their responses; as is the importance of avoiding gender-based assumptions about the service response by SOIT officers.

Another illustrative example of the divergence of SOIT officers and rape survivors' perspectives on key issues was related to the importance of updates on the progress of survivors' cases. SOIT officers stated there was no point contacting victims when officers had nothing report, whereas survivors emphasised that a telephone call stating there was no further progress could make a difference in alleviating their concerns.

Furthermore, publicity concerning the existence of Specially Trained Officers (STOs) needs to be improved as the public still appear to be unaware of such specialist provisions. In addition, when developing rape awareness campaigns to combat the inherent stigma; despite more female rapes being reported than male rapes, the latter should not be sidelined (as just

because these crimes are not being reported it does not mean they are not occurring) as this negates the experiences of male rape survivors.

The stigma experienced by the male rape survivor in a heterosexist society is debilitating, but when the victim is a gay male escort raped by their client this is exacerbated. It was therefore decided to investigate the prevalence of the client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers as according to the available literature no single study had focused on this phenomenon in the UK, (which is noteworthy in itself especially considering the perceived prevalence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against female sex workers). Furthermore, although there were anecdotal accounts that this type of violence was not as common within the commercial male sex industry in the UK; the fact that it had been highlighted regarding street-based prostitution despite it being considered scarce (West & de Villiers, 1993) and its prevalence emphasised even though it was not the focus of the study (see Connell & Hart, 2003) this was sufficient to warrant further investigation of this under-researched phenomenon. The incidence of client-perpetrated rape was investigated from a hermeneutic (Heidegger, 1962) phenomenological perspective regarding the interpretation and comprehension (not just the description) of the '*lived experience*' of male escorts. By incorporating a phenomenological perspective this study has also addressed criticisms of the social constructionist approach for neglecting human experience which have been highlighted in the literature (see Schwandt, 2000). It should also be noted that it is appropriate to conduct thematic analysis within a social constructionist framework (see Braun & Clark, 2006) hence its use in the study described in Chapter 2.

The "*grounded theory lite*" (Braun & Clarke, 2006) approach used enabled the identification of themes informed by the available literature, although emergent themes were also found. Braun and Clarke maintain that grounded theory in its adapted form is akin to thematic analysis, thus its employment was fitting within the existing social constructionist

framework. The information provided by the escorts encompassed their conceptualisation of the commercial male sex industry. The initial aim of the current study was to focus on street-based male sex workers. But, with the advent of the mobile telephone, male sex workers had predominantly moved to off-street locations. Thus, only the disenfranchised remained on the streets in traditional locations, such as the Soho triangle (London). While, the findings suggest that the prior anecdotal information is supported in relation to the client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers in off-street prostitution being rare; young, inexperienced, marginalised street-based male sex workers are considered more at risk.

It was interesting to note that whereas rape myths and sex role stereotypes pervaded both the police response and survivors' analyses of their cases in the study discussed in Chapter 2, a different type of stereotype, which related to sexual orientation, was identified in the study on gay male escorts described in Chapter 3. For example, the explanation by male escorts as to why client-perpetrated rape was unusual within the commercial male sex industry was that gay men are non-confrontational in their behaviour. In Chapter 3, a critical examination of the influence of socially ascribed characteristics of being '*gay*' and the rigid perception of sexual orientation and its influence on male escorts' explanation of the lack of sexual violence in the commercial male sex industry was conducted. However, another reason provided by male escorts was that because many of their clients were married or were not '*out*' and wanted to keep their alternative lifestyle secret, these clients would not engage in any behaviour which may draw attention to them. A rationalisation by one of the male escorts regarding the prevalence of sexual violence in female sex work was that females are more vulnerable to being raped (thus gender-role stereotypes were again illustrated). However, the vulnerabilities of individual male escorts and the importance of the assessment of clients were also noted, as well as the agency of male sex workers.

In relation to escorts' sexual orientation, it was reported that many immigrant male sex workers self-identified as heterosexual or bisexual which possibly diffused the '*cognitive dissonance*' (preference of one alternative despite the benefits of choosing the other) (Myers, 1993) about engaging in the socially stigmatised practice of male sex work. In addition, the fluidity of sexual orientation (Bem, 1996; Kinsey et al., 1948) was highlighted due to anecdotal accounts of immigrant male sex workers initially self-identifying as heterosexual and later stating they were bisexual. While the motivation of male sex workers continues to be economic, this is to differing degrees as for some it was '*survival sex*' whereas for others it was to facilitate a better lifestyle.

Of those male rape incidents identified, one was perpetrated by alleged police officers, but the details of the other rapes were too brief to provide any indication as to the context. However, it was highlighted that there was a lack of confidence in the police regarding the reporting of rape perpetrated within a commercial sex encounter. Escorts were also asked what kind of advice they would give a friend who was raped. They recommended that (i) medical attention [(PEP) Post Exposure Prophylaxis treatment] is sought; and (ii) always assess a client before a transaction is agreed (as a future rape prevention measure). Male escorts also reported being consistently pressurised by clients to engage in '*barebacking*' and, depending on how economically or aesthetically secure the male sex worker was, the more resolute they were that they would never engage in this practice. But, the marginalised male sex workers stated they would engage in barebacking on occasion, as they get paid more to have unprotected anal sex. There were also comments made about an age differential regarding condom usage, in that, older clients were less willing to wear condoms especially when they have been divorced, or previously had a long-term partner.

The perception of sex work as an '*occupation*' was rejected by those interviewed who stated that escorting was their part-time job which enabled them to pursue their careers as they attended college part-time (and a requirement of their course was to complete unpaid work experience placements). Therefore it was a means to an end. Although, one escort emphasised the agency he experienced while engaging in male sex work and stated "*he enjoys what he does*". Nevertheless, the difference in the perception of male sex work as a career may depend at what level in the industry they are (i.e., whether they are at higher or lower end of the commercial market). It was also stated that there were risks of violence particularly in relation to street-based sex work, and that the pornographic industry is the safest. Thus, there is awareness that some aspects of male sex work are more dangerous than others.

The stigma experienced by escorts was found to be more prevalent in heterosexist society while male sex work is being increasingly accepted within the gay community. Nevertheless, few of the escorts were completely open to all their friends and family about their escorting work and instead were extremely selective as to whom they told. Therefore, the majority of the escorts in this study engaged in the practice of "*passing/covering*" (Koken et al., 2004) "*passing*" involves telling some of their friends about their escorting or "*covering*" presenting their job as if they work in more mainstream employment. Thus, according to this exploratory study male rape does not seem to be a persistent problem for male escorts who work from off-street locations within the commercial male sex industry in London. However, that is not say that it does not happen but that it is not reported as frequently as it is by female sex workers. Also, there are a number of factors emergent from the findings previously discussed as to why a low incidence is reported; from reinforcing sexual orientation (the passivity and non-confrontational nature of gay males) and gender stereotypes (females are more vulnerable) to a protectionist strategy (by the gay community

to prevent repetition of the historical demonisation experienced due to fear of the predatory homosexual – which was legislated against and subject to informal social controls). The findings of the current exploratory study provide a basis for further investigation in post-doctoral research. Just as the subject of male rape was largely neglected within the available literature on male sex work, so too has the representation of male rape victims within the newspaper print media.

In Chapter 4, the content analysis study which employed latent and manifest analyses focused on the print media representation of male and female rape victims by broadsheets and tabloids (with regional broadsheets dominating). Varied literature was drawn upon (including media representation (for example, Marhia, 2008; McEvoy, 1996; Soothill, 2004), discourse analysis (Cotter, 2003), socio-linguistic research (for example, Tannen, 1996), cognitive psychology's schemas (Schank & Abelson, 1977); social psychological perspectives on gendered narratives (see Guerin, 1994), and content analysis (for example, Krippendorff, 2004). Social constructionism was also explicit in this study due to the socially constructed narratives evident in the print media presenting male rape survivors in a particular manner (as discussed below). The power of the print media regarding the misrepresentation of the reality of rape is pervasive due to the reinforcement of rape myths through selective reporting which can influence the cognitive schemas of the public regarding '*stranger-danger*'. This study found that journalists used a sympathetic tone when discussing male rape victims in the newspaper articles analysed. This is a very interesting and counter-intuitive finding by virtue of the fact that at a parallel time frame (i.e., almost 30 years earlier) female rape victims were being pilloried by the press using victim-blaming and myth-laden narratives.

This finding raises the question: why are male rape victims treated so differently by the newspaper print media in recent years compared with the historical treatment of female rape victims? It is suggested that maybe lessons were learned from feminist critiques of the print media regarding their negative reporting of female rape victim cases (see Benedict, 1992). Alternatively, it may be possible that male rape is still perceived as an emerging phenomenon which journalists' wish to highlight, especially considering the established level of awareness of female rape. There were also concerted efforts by journalists irrespective of gender to provide advocacy to male rape victims by providing information of relevant survivor organisations or help lines. Although it is recognised that male rape research does not start at year zero and that feminist research has led to improvements in the treatment and awareness of male rape. Therefore male rape victims should receive better treatment by the police than female rape victims did 30 years ago; as a result of the more recent legal recognition of male rape, under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994. Hence the service provision to female rape victims was already improving. Nevertheless, as the current study's findings discussed in Chapter 2 illustrate that despite the police service provision having improved in relation to rape investigation and victim care, the practical implementation of policies is still problematic. Furthermore, the heightened profile of female rape in campaigns increases the invisibility of male rape victims and negates their experiences.

In addition, in this study, the police use the print media to reach the public to obtain information regarding challenging cases, but also use them as conduits to emphasise their change in police practice (i.e., they are taking male rape seriously). The sympathetic tone evoked by the discussion of male rape victims within the newspaper articles may also be an attempt at decreasing the exacerbated stigma of male rape. It was further highlighted by the current study that the term '*rape victim*' is perceived as being inherently female; and thus a

gendered noun to precede it is rarely required. Furthermore, it was found that in order for the reporting of female rape cases to be included by the print media, that their '*newsworthiness*' was dependant on the unusualness or bizarreness of their case. Thus, suggesting that female rape has become normalised within the civic consciousness and that in order for public interest to be evoked, the case being reported must be atypical.

Thus, throughout this thesis it is evident that the patriarchal power structures within heterosexist society tend to exacerbate the experiences of the male rape victim. First, whether it is the perception of the police having an anti-gay bias and not taking male rape victims' reports seriously; or the influence of socialisation processes on male rape survivors' perceptions of female officers being more sympathetic and unlikely to further challenge their masculinity. Second, the sexual orientation stereotypes illustrated in male sex workers' responses with regard to the low incidence in client-perpetrated sexual violence (due to gay men being non-confrontational) in contrast to its perceived prevalence in female sex work (due to women's vulnerability), thus reinforcing socially ascribed gender and sexual orientation constructs. However, the findings of newspaper print media study found there was a gender-biased representation of male rape victims, in that; they were not blamed for their victimisation. Instead, the predominant journalistic tone (irrespective of their gender) was sympathetic to the male rape victim's experience which starkly contrasts with the historical representation of female rape victims in the print media. Possible explanations may be that lessons have been learned from the feminist backlash against blaming the female victim, or that because the male has been sexually victimised and this is perceived to be outside the norms of the male experience due to their perceived invulnerability, that it is shocking and evokes a sympathetic response. Further research is required to deconstruct the social factors which may be interacting here. It is also noted that there were some limitations of the current

research which have implications for the transferability of the findings and these are discussed below.

5.1 Limitations

Although this research has provided innovative findings regarding the topic of male rape across varied contexts, four key issues were encountered which, to some extent limit the authority of the conclusions presented.

First, male rape is a sensitive research topic and considering the lack of awareness within society about its existence, and the stigma associated with rape which is exacerbated regarding this crime, it was challenging to engage male rape survivors (which is understandable) in the current studies which resulted in small sample sizes. This was despite the employment of various modes advertising the current research (such as print publications such as the '*Big Issue*' and online survivor organisations).

Second, there was a considerably low response from the SOIT police officers invited to participate in this research. Completed questionnaires were returned by 19 out of 300 SOIT officers contacted and despite several reminders being sent out as the deadline date approached. However, as Patton (1990) states "*validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness...and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size*" (p. 185). Furthermore, it should be noted that Temkin's (1999) research on police provisions to female rape victims had a sample size of 21 police officers. The SOIT data in the current study due to its originality in the comparative analysis of SOIT officers' concerns pertaining to service provisions, and the experiences of rape survivors (particularly males who have reported) has provided some valuable insights into the gaps in SOIT training and deterrents to the reporting of male rape.

Third, it was expected from the outset that the study of client-perpetrated rape of male sex workers would be difficult. However, the lengthy negotiation through NHS ethics and research and development committees and sub-committees in order to conduct interviews at the WMP clinic and, then to have no volunteers was unforeseen (although three face-to-face interviews which were eventually conducted at SW5). Thus, a variety of other methods (web-based and tick box questionnaires, telephone interviews) were subsequently designed in order to access male escorts which also resulted in small sample sizes. Nevertheless, “...*small samples or a few interviews are generally quite adequate for investigating an interesting and practically important range of phenomena*” (Potter & Wetherell, p. 161).

These aforementioned methods were adopted due to the difficulties experienced in the recruitment of male sex workers to participate in the current study; nonetheless, the resultant sample was more heterogeneous than might otherwise have been obtained. However, the brevity of the telephone interviews reduced the amount of information that might have been provided but were considered appropriate to elicit data on the sensitive subject of sexual violence, and further information could subsequently be provided via the web-based questionnaires. The length of the web-based questionnaires may have deterred participants (but the detail was required in order to address both street-based and off-street based experiences of client-perpetrated sexual violence). But, the advantage of these web-based questionnaires was that they could be completed in private at a time convenient to the escort and easily submitted online.

Fourth, the study on print media's representation of female and male rape newspaper articles was expected to have the largest sample sizes. However, the gendered use of the term ‘*rape victim*’ reduced the articles identified by Lexis Nexis Executive when using the search terms of ‘*male rape victim*’ and ‘*female rape victim*’. The duplication of content across newspapers by the same journalist and the replication of content with few changes by the

subsequent journalist as well of the brevity of detail in some articles negated latent content analysis of the journalistic tone. This limited the research propositions which could be investigated especially as the female rape victim newspaper sample was restricted to one article. However, the finding that the assumption of the female gender of the term '*rape victim*' irrespective of changes in rape legislation was key and requires further investigation.

The qualitative methods used (thematic analysis, '*grounded theory lite*', and latent and manifest content analysis) were data driven to address the small sample sizes. Furthermore, qualitative research according to some researchers has an absence of established rules for the selection of sample sizes the requirement being that each scenario should be considered in context (Patton, 1990). In addition, in relation to the limited sample sizes, "*much research that adopts a qualitative approach is concerned not with making broad generalisations, but with exploring and elucidating individual perspectives* (Hewson, et al., p. 30). Therefore, it is emphasised that while the three studies discussed in this thesis were exploratory in nature their findings may be applied by employing the concept of their '*transferability*' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to similar samples within comparable contexts.

Finally, in relation to concerns about the validity of the qualitative research conducted in this thesis with respect to the limitations outlined. The following justification by Brinkmann (2007) is considered relevant "*validity in qualitative research is as much a moral matter about potentially clarifying, enriching, or improving the reality that is studied , as it is an epistemic issue about passively mirroring the reality*" (p. 142). I was reflexive regarding the analysis of the data and the value of the research in improving the relevant services for the participants in this research; as well as the combined contribution of these studies to raising public awareness regarding the phenomenon of male rape. Thus, the implications of the studies discussed in this thesis are considered next.

5.2 Implications

Conducting research on understudied groups and sensitive subject areas (Lee, 1999) while challenging is even more fundamental in its application. Action research was conducted in the studies discussed in this thesis. For example, the study in Chapter 2 highlights inhibitors of the specialist police service response resultant from knowledge gaps in training; and rape myths which pervade both officers' and rape victims' attitudes that can negatively affect reporting processes and may increase the attrition of cases. The findings of the evaluation of the specialist police response (particularly that of SOIT officers) have already been fed back to Project Sapphire in a number of formats such as a summary report, presentations and the sending to them of a journal article (Jamel, Bull, & Sheridan, 2008) so that the findings may be used to inform their training and provide guidance on best practice. More recently, having presented this research at a conference attended by legal professionals including judicial representation from the Old Bailey, the author was approached by West Mercia Police who are incorporating the findings of this thesis regarding male rape victims into their training of STOs (Specialist Training Officers) (who have superseded SOIT officers).

The results from this thesis (pertaining to incidence of client-perpetrated rape of male escorts) will be fed back to key organisations (such as the WMP and SW5) working with male escorts in London to assist those escorts most at risk of sexual violence (particularly, those who are young, inexperienced, and marginalised). One of the strengths of the data collected for this thesis is that it includes the perceptions of escorting of those individuals currently working in the commercial male sex industry. An analysis of these perceptions has been presented at the Western Region of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexology Annual Conference entitled *“Unstudied, Understudied and Underserved Sexual Communities: New areas for Research, Education and Therapy”* in San Francisco, which

provided key insights into male escorting in London. Finally, a paper based on the findings will also be submitted to the *Archives of Sexual Behavior*.

The study of the representation of male rape survivors within the print media also has its merits with regard to applied research, in that there has been recent neglect in the available research literature of this medium with television, film, and the Internet being more topical. Nevertheless, this overlooks the power of the print media for reinforcing a misrepresentation of the reality of sex crimes regarding 'stranger-danger', rape myths, and their accessibility (Franiuk et al., 2008), which outranks those aforementioned modes of communication, as newspapers can be bought on any street corner. Thus, the print media are still a potent tool to reach and represent the public interest. Therefore, the fact that female rape is receiving less attention than was previously the case (see Benedict, 1992; Greer, 2003; Los & Chamard, 1997) suggests that it has become normalised, which is a concern. In addition, the change in attitude as portrayed by the print media regarding male rape is encouraging but the level of public awareness still seems quite limited. Moreover, in light of personal communications with journalists, there still appears to be reticence in reporting this type of crime. This reluctance needs to be addressed by raising public awareness through further male rape research and its publication, thus making this topic more palatable for public discussion. However, I am aware of the political import regarding the current findings, as they could be misused (by radical feminists, for example) to infer that male rape victims are treated better by the print media than are female rape victims. A paper based on the findings of this study has been submitted to the journal *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*. In addition, in order to target print journalists directly, the editor of the *Press Gazette* will also be contacted regarding the feasibility of publishing the findings of this study via this outlet.

5.3 Further research

All three of the studies were exploratory. The findings have highlighted specific areas of research on male rape which will be discussed in turn and that provide a basis for post-doctoral research. For example, considering the gaps in SOIT training regarding (i) the sexuality of male rape perpetrators and survivors considering the rape myths which were identified in some of the SOIT responses; (ii) the gender-based assumptions of SOIT officers and rape survivors of the female SOIT response; (iii) characterological assumptions of survivors (pertaining to their credibility); and (iv) the impact of male rape on the survivor's masculinity, and how this may affect their demeanour on reporting.

It is hoped to progress this research by evaluating the training of STOs in light of the recommendations (such as the need to refute male rape myths, providing a better understanding of gay male culture, making seminars on ASD, PTSD and male rape part of core STO training, and basic training on rape for front desk police officers, etc.) made in the current thesis. In addition, it is hoped to assess the influence of single (retention of information at a superficial level thus values and attitudes remain unchanged) and double loop learning (enhanced learning influencing values and attitudes) (Argyris & Schön, 1996), originally used in organisational psychology. These two types of learning could be used to evaluate STO training by examining the assimilation of the information disseminated and the impact of individual personalities on the application of skills learned. The following example demonstrates the need for such research, as one of the male rape victims in the current study stated that a specially trained female officer said that men could not be '*victims*' as their gender represented perpetrators of this type of crime.

This thesis highlighted the low incidence of the client-perpetrated rape of escorts within the commercial male sex industry. Further research is envisaged to investigate why sexual violence is so rare in male sex work compared to its prevalence in female sex work. Particularly, paying attention to the pervasiveness of gender and sex role stereotypes and their influence in relation to male escorts' perceptions of sex work, as well as external factors such as the alternative lifestyles of male clients (who may be married or in long-term relationships). It is also hoped to expand upon this research to examine transgender sex workers' experiences of physical and sexual violence in order to identify the incidence of this type of violence in the UK.

One of the key findings presented in this thesis in relation to whether the print media provides a gender-biased representation of rape survivors was that journalists tend to use a sympathetic tone for male rape victim stories requires more investigation. This tone of reporting is counter-intuitive considering the historical treatment of female rape victims by the print media (see Benedict, 1992). Further research is expected to be conducted in order to explain why this sea change has occurred. In addition, it is anticipated that research examining the perceived gendered nature of the term '*rape victim*' and the effect this has of negating the male rape victim's experience will be conducted. In sum, these new studies have in combination satisfied their current action research commitments while also stimulating further research interests in the aforementioned topic areas.

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Appendix 1.1 Approval Letters from Project Sapphire

(see Policing 1 PDF file)

These have been removed for data protection purposes.

Appendix 1.2 Time Line of NHS Ethics Approval Procedures

| Date | Organisation | Action | Outcome |
|----------------|---|---|---|
| February 2004 | Camberwell Haven | Initial contact to negotiate access to service users. | NHS Ethics Approval required. It was also stated few male rape survivors contacted them. |
| September 2004 | Project Sapphire | Sought approval of poster to advertise this study and encourage rape survivors to outline their experienced of the police service experienced. | Poster Approved. |
| November 2004 | Whitechapel and Paddington SARCs | Initial contact with clinical consultants regarding feasibility of recruiting rape survivors via SARCs. | Advised to wait until the relevant clinical staff were contacted at Paddington SARC before submitting application. |
| February 2005 | St. Mary's LREC | Multiple Research Ethics Committee Application (to cover two SARCs Paddington and Whitechapel) to Central Office Research Ethics Committees (COREC) (superseded by NRES) Camberwell Haven to be added six months later (due to a study being conducted there at the time). | Provisional letter of approval received with recommended amendments: Enhance security of online survivor data. Contacted Survivors UK and Cyberspace Research Section (University of Central Lancashire) Further details required regarding scientific peer review Working on public/shared computers and search history being accessible. Support Network for Battered Wives (www.snbw.org) contacted for use of their guidelines in this regard. Permission was received and their website (www.snbw.org) was acknowledged. Application to be resubmitted to LREC sub-committee within 6 months. |
| April 2005 | King's College Research & Development Committee | Initial contact made regarding the feasibility of placing a poster to advertise my research and ask rape survivors to complete questionnaires by post or online. | Once application and approval documentation from the nominated LREC (St. Mary's Hospital) supplied to them together with letter of authorisation from the clinical consultant at Camberwell Haven it could be processed. |

| | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|
| June 2005 | St. Mary's LREC sub-committee | Resubmission of amended documents. | Confirmation of receipt of documents. |
| September 2005 | St. Mary's LREC sub-committee | Decision reached by LREC. | Letter of LREC Approval received. |
| October 2005 | St. Mary's Research and Development Committee | Still awaiting decision regarding access to Paddington SARC so re-contacted them. | Permission refused on ethical grounds as it was stated that the correct protocols were not followed, such as initially contacting clinical staff at the Paddington SARC and that the Metropolitan Police were unaware of this research. |
| October 2005 | St. Mary's Research and Development Committee | Appeal letter sent to this committee responding to each of their concerns and furnishing them with supporting documentation from Project Sapphire of the London Metropolitan Police and their own LREC's Approval Letter. | The decision was not reconsidered and thus posters were not permitted to be placed in the Paddington SARC despite approval being granted by the Whitechapel SARC whose clinical consultant works across both SARCS. |
| October 2005 | King's College Research & Development Committee | Application for approval to place poster advertising study and ask for volunteers for the research. | Letter of approval received and posters dispatched at end of October 2005. |
| November 2005 | Barts and the London Research Development Committee | Application for approval to place poster advertising study and ask for volunteers for the research. | Letter of approval received so that posters could be placed in the Whitechapel SARC advertising this research and asking for volunteers. But clinical approval from the Whitechapel SARC was required. This was sought via e-mail. |

| | | | |
|--------------|---|--|--|
| January 2006 | Barts and the London LREC | Contacted regarding whether all material submitted to St. Mary's LREC required. It was stated that only the approval letter from St. Mary's LREC was needed. | It was stated that St. Mary's LREC approval was sufficient as SSA (Site Specific Assessment) was unnecessary due there being no local investigator. |
| April 2006 | Whitechapel SARC | The Clinical Consultant e-mailed regarding further documentation being required from the Immunity and Infection (I & I) Review Committee. | The I & I Review committee was contacted regarding what documentation needed to be submitted in order to apply for approval for access. |
| May 2006 | I & I Review Committee | The I & I Review Committee made recommendations. | I complied with their suggestions. |
| June 2006 | I & I Review Committee | The I & I Review Committee was contacted as there had not been a response received regarding their decision. | I was informed that the lack of response would be investigated. |
| July 2006 | Project Sapphire (London Metropolitan Police) | Letter required for confirmation of support. | Letter of support furnished by Project Sapphire (London Metropolitan Police). |
| August 2006 | I & I Research Governance Group | Application submitted for Research and Development Approval to advertise for participants at the Whitechapel SARC. | Approval was received and the Whitechapel SARC then volunteered to distribute my questionnaires via their reception. I visited this SARC and discussed the practicalities of this and delivered a presentation on my research to their clinical staff. |
| August 2006 | Whitechapel SARC | Application for approval from host site (the Whitechapel SARC) where the posters were to be placed. | Letter of approval from Whitechapel SARC received. |

Appendix 1.2.1 NHS Research & Development Committee Approval Letters from:

King's College Hospital (Camberwell Haven)

Barts and the London Hospital (Whitechapel SARC)

Institute for Cell and Molecular Science Centre for Infectious Disease – I & I Research

Governance Group (Whitechapel SARC)

Approval letter from The Whitechapel Haven

St. Mary's Local Research Ethics Committee (Paddington SARC)

(See Policing PDF Document)

These have been removed for data protection purposes.

Appendix 1.3 SOIT (Sexual Offences Investigative Technique) Officer Codebook

| | Label | Definition |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | I.D. Code | SOIT001 |
| 2. | Gender | Gender of SOIT (1=female, 2=male) |
| 3. | Age | Age of SOIT |
| 4. | Ethnicity | Ethnicity of SOIT 1= Causcasian 2=Asian |
| 5. | DurSOIT | How long they have undertaken SOIT officers' duties. (No. of years) |
| 6. | Revprevexp | Relevant Previous Experience 1= uniformed officer 2=worked in a DV (Domestic Violence) unit |
| 7. | Motive | What led them to becoming a Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officer: 1=Volunteered 2=Asked by superior officer |
| 8. | Male | Number of male rape cases dealt with |
| 9. | Female | Number of female rape cases dealt with |
| 10. | Transgender | Number of transgender rape cases dealt with. |
| 11. | Total number of cases handled | Total number of rape cases handled in their career approximately 1=10-15 cases 2=16-20 3=30-40 4=1-50 5=51-60 6=100-200 7=201-300 |

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| 12. | Refreshercourses | Refresher courses and seminars attended 0=no courses attended 1=1 course attended 2=2-3 courses attended 3=4-5 courses attended 4=>5 courses attended |
| 13. | soitsindivision | SOIT officers available in division at any one time |
| 14. | VS | Victim Support (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 15. | Surv | Survivors UK ((0=no, 1=yes) |
| 16. | SARC | Sexual Assault Referral Centres (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 17. | RCC | Rape Crisis Centres (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 18. | Hospital | General Hospital (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 19. | GP | General Practitioner (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 20. | SHC/GUM clinics | Sexual Health Clinic/GenitoUrinary Medicine Clinics (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 21. | Otheragencies | Housing, Social Services, Education, Drug and Alcohol, CAB, etc. (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 22. | Sexoffenceteam | Sapphire Sex offence teams |
| 23. | Improvservice | Better service delivered by Sex Offence Teams (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 24. | Appsoit | How long before appointed a Sexual Offences Investigative Technique officers? |
| 25. | SOITgender | Choice of SOIT officer's gender (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 26. | SOITsexorient | Choice of SOIT officer's sexual orientation (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 27. | Casetrial | Cases which reached trial (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 28. | Maleviccasetrial | Male victim cases which went to trial (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 29. | Femalevicasetrial | Female victim cases which went to trial (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 30. | Updates | Updates on case given (0=no, 1=yes) |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| 31. | Frequupdate | <p>How frequently were the updates given.</p> <p>1= regular</p> <p>2= weekly</p> <p>3= fortnightly</p> <p>4= monthly</p> <p>5= Needs directed</p> |
| 32. | Refcrtwitnserv | Referral to court witness service (0=no, 1=yes) |

Appendix 1.4 Male Rape Survivors' Codebook

| | Label | Definition |
|----|------------|--|
| 1. | Infconsent | Informed consent |
| 2. | I.D. code | MRS001i/w (depending on whether an Internet or Written response) |
| 3. | Age | age |
| 4. | Ethnicity | ethnic origin. 1=Caucasian 2=Black-Caribbean 3= Black-Other 4=Asian-Indian 5=Asian –Pakistani 6=Asian-Chinese 7=Asian-Other 8=Hispanic |
| 5. | Ethnother | other ethnic origin not listed |
| 6. | Sexorient | sexual orientation. 1=straight 2= bisexual 3=gay 4=transgender 5=transsexual 6=confused 7=gay/bisexual |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| 7. | Domicile | country of residency 1=England 2=Ireland 3=Australia 4=USA 5=UK 6=New Zealand 7=Scotland 8=Canada (1 and 7 categories were later collapsed into 5=UK) |
| 8. | Factdecis | Factors influencing decision to report |
| 9. | Repol | Reported to police (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 10. | Timerep | Delay in reporting. 1=0-1hr 2=2-6hrs 3=7-12hrs 4=13-19hrs 5=20-24hrs 6=no. of days |
| 11. | Othtimereport | If time taken not listed above – stated here |
| 12. | Polforce | Name of police force |
| 13. | Polrespct | Police courtesy and respect received (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 14. | Assignsoit | SOIT officer assigned (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 15. | Timeappsoit | How quickly a SOIT appointed |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| 16. | Soitgender | (1=female, 2=male) |
| 17. | Soitsexorient | 0=no 1=yes when possible 2=don't know 3=maybe |
| 18. | Officertyp | Type of officer – uniform and whether they work specific or varied crimes 1=uniform officer 2=detective 3=detective constable 4=CID officer 5= DS (Detective Sergeant) |
| 19. | Officergender | Gender of officer (1=female, 2=male, 3=combination of male and female officers) |
| 20. | Polcrimetyp | Officer worked one type of crime sex or homicide or a variety.(vice, burglary etc.) 0=not known 1=homicide 2=vice 3=burglary 4=all crimes 5=serious crimes 6=variety 7=sex crimes 8=Sapphire 9=DV (Domestic Violence) |
| 21. | Selctofficer | (1=gender, 2=ethnicity, 3=sexual orientation, 4=no choice, 5=yes but unspecified) |
| 22. | Postreatcase | Positive treatment of case (0=no, 1=yes) |

| | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| 23. | Negreatcase | Negative treatment of case (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 24. | Servinfo | Received information leaflets on services available (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 25. | Rapevicserv | <p>Services for rape victims</p> <p>1=Rape Crisis Centre</p> <p>2=Survivors UK</p> <p>3=Victim Support</p> <p>4=Other</p> <p>5=More than one agency</p> <p>6=Women's Aid</p> <p>7=Women's Health Service</p> |
| 26. | Posrefcounselagency | Referred to counselling agency by the police (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 27. | Counselagency | <p>Which counselling agency:</p> <p>1=Rape Crisis Centre</p> <p>2=Women's Aid</p> <p>3=Victim Support</p> <p>4=More than one agency</p> <p>5=Other</p> |
| 28. | Otheragency | Agency not listed |
| 29. | Medexp | medical examination explained (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 30. | Wheremeex | <p>Location of medical examination</p> <p>1=Police station rape examination suite</p> <p>2=The Haven</p> <p>3=GP</p> <p>4=A&E</p> <p>5=Hospital with dedicated sexual assault staff</p> <p>6=General Hospital</p> <p>7=medical centre</p> <p>8=Sexual Health Clinic</p> |

| | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| 31. | Sensvexam | Sensitive victim examination (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 32. | Timeb4fx | Delay before forensic examination |
| 33. | Timeb4fx5 | If longer than 5 hrs – stated. |
| 34. | Ordfxstat | Order of forensic examination and statement which was carried out first. 1=interview, statement, forensic examination 2=interview, forensic, statement 3=victim statement, forensic 4=forensic exam, interview 5=victim statement only 6=statement, interview then forensic examination 7=interview then forensic examination 8=verbal statement, forensic examination, written statement 9=interview, statement 10=forensic exam then victim statement |
| 35. | Shwelclths | Shower, change of clothes (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 36. | Polcontct | Police contact |
| 37. | Polcontctxs4 | More than 4 times - stated |
| 38. | Purpcommunic | Purpose of communication 1=updates 2=further information required 3=explanation of nfa (no further action) 4=provided info on rights 5=welfare, updates, pursue |
| 39. | Polprovs | Police provisions (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 40. | Repothorg | Report made to agency other than police (0=no, 1=yes) |

| | | |
|-----|-------------|--|
| 41. | Ethoff | <p>Ethnic origin of offender</p> <p>1=Caucasian</p> <p>2=Black-Caribbean</p> <p>3= Black-Other</p> <p>4=Asian-Indian</p> <p>5=Asian –Pakistani</p> <p>6=Asian-Chinese</p> <p>7=Asian-Other</p> <p>8=Hispanic</p> |
| 42. | Othethgrp | Other ethnic origin |
| 43. | Mrsoffage | <p>Offender age</p> <p>1=20-30</p> <p>2=31-40</p> <p>3=41-50</p> <p>4=51-60</p> <p>5=older than 60</p> |
| 44. | Nooff | Number of offenders |
| 45. | Multioffage | <p>Ages of multiple offenders</p> <p>1=18-20</p> <p>2=21-25</p> <p>3=mixed age groups</p> <p>4=25-30</p> |
| 46. | Knowassail | <p>Assailant known.</p> <p>0=not known</p> <p>1=acquainted</p> <p>2=stranger</p> <p>3=intimate</p> <p>4=well-known</p> |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 47. | Vicoffrel | Victim/offender relationship i.e. stranger/acquaintance |
| 48. | Timevicofferel | Length of time offender known (1=more than 24hrs, 2=less than 24hrs) |
| 49. | Sexorientoff | Sexual orientation of offender 1=straight 2=bisexual 3=gay 4=transgender 5=unknown |
| 50. | Genderoff | Gender of offender (1=male, 2=female, 3=female and male offenders) |
| 51. | Locrape | Location of rape 1=Wooded area 2=street 3=victim's home 4=assailant's home 5=taxi 6=churchyard 7=nightclub 8=field 9= multiple sites 10=car 11=workplace 12=motel 13=domestic property/private dwelling 14=public lavatories |
| 52. | Attcomprape | Attempted or completed rape (1=attempted rape, 2=completed rape) |
| 53. | Analpenvic | Victim anally penetrated by penis (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 54. | Orlpenvic | Victim orally penetrated by penis (0=no, 1=yes) |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| 55. | Digpenvic | Digital-anal penetration of victim (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 56. | Analobjvic | Victim anally penetrated by foreign object (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 57. | Offrimvic | Victim rimmed by offender (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 58. | Masturbvic | Victim masturbated by offender (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 59. | Sxactsxtravic | Additional sex acts against victim 1=yes but unspecified 2=oral and anal rape simultaneously 3=oral rape and penetration with foreign object simultaneously 4=multiple sex acts listed as 2 and 3 |
| 60. | Vicmastoff | Victim masturbated offender (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 61. | Vicrimoff | Victim rimmed offender (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 62. | Threatweap | Threat of weapon (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 63. | Weapn | Weapon present (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 64. | Weaptyp | Type of weapon 0=none 1=gun 2=knife 3=household instrument 4=syringe 5=variety of weapons used 6=string/shoelaces |
| 65. | Weapused | Weapon used (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 66. | Approach | Approach used by offender |
| 67. | Approachother | If approach not listed - stated |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| 68. | Phyiniij | Physical injuries 0=none 1=bruises 2=facial injuries (black eye) 3=bruising and facial injuries 4=genital injuries 5 =bruises and genital injuries 6=beaten up |
| 69. | Attstranglevic | Attempted strangulation of victim (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 70. | Anti-gaylang | Anti-gay language used (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 71. | Frozeresp | Froze (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 72. | Phystrat | Physical strategy worked (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 73. | Verbstrat | Verbal strategy worked (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 74. | Phyverbresp | Physical/verbal response (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 75. | Effectstrat | Was the resistance strategy effective – how? |
| 76. | Emotimpct | Emotional impact |
| 77. | Affectlife | Affect lifestyle |
| 78. | Trial | Did case go to trial |
| 79. | Sentlgth | Sentence length |
| 80. | Offconv | Was the offender convicted |
| 81. | Furthcomm | Further comments from survivors |

Appendix 1.5 Female Rape Survivors Codebook

| | Label | Definition |
|----|------------|--|
| 1. | Infconsent | Informed consent |
| 2. | I.d. code | FRS001i/w (depending on whether an Internet or Written response) |
| 3. | Age | age |
| 4. | Ethnicity | ethnic origin. 1=Caucasian 2=Black-Caribbean 3= Black-Other 4=Asian-Indian 5=Asian –Pakistani 6=Asian-Chinese 7=Asian-Other 8=Hispanic |
| 5. | Ethnother | other ethnic origin not listed |
| 6. | Sexorient | sexual orientation. 1=straight 2= bisexual 3=gay 4=transgender 5=transsexual 6=confused 7=gay/bisexual |
| 7. | Domicile | country of residency 1=England 2=Ireland 3=Australia 4=USA |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| | | 5=UK 6=New Zealand 7=Scotland 8=Canada (1 and 7 categories were later collapsed into 5=UK) |
| 8. | Factdecis | Factors influencing decision to report |
| 9. | Repol | Reported to police (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 10. | Timerep | Delay in reporting. 1=0-1hr 2=2-6hrs 3=7-12hrs 4=13-19hrs 5=20-24hrs 6=no. of days |
| 11. | Othtimereport | If time taken not listed above – stated here |
| 12. | Polforce | Name of police force |
| 13. | Polrespct | Police courtesy and respect received (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 14. | Assignsoit | SOIT officer assigned (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 15. | Timeappsoit | How quickly a SOIT appointed |
| 16. | Soitgender | (1=female, 2=male) |
| 17. | Soitsexorient | 0=no 1=yes when possible 2=don't know 3=maybe |
| 18. | Officertyp | Type of officer – uniform and whether they work specific or varied crimes 1=uniform officer 2=detective |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| | | 3=detective constable 4=CID officer 5= DS (Detective Sergeant) |
| 19. | Officergender | Gender of officer (1=female, 2=male, 3=combination of male and female officers) |
| 20. | Polcrimotyp | Officer worked one type of crime sex or homicide or a variety.(vice, burglary etc.) 0=not known 1=homicide 2=vice 3=burglary 4=all crimes 5=serious crimes 6=variety 7=sex crimes 8=Sapphire 9=DV (Domestic Violence) |
| 21. | Selctofficer | (1=gender, 2=ethnicity, 3=sexual orientation, 4=no choice, 5=yes but unspecified) |
| 22. | Postreatcase | Positive treatment of case (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 23. | Negreatcase | Negative treatment of case (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 24. | Servinfo | Received information leaflets on services available (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 25. | Rapevicserv | Services for rape victims 1=Rape Crisis Centre 2=Survivors UK 3=Victim Support 4=Other 5=More than one agency 6=Women's Aid |

| | | |
|-----|---------------------|--|
| | | 7=Women's Health Service |
| 26. | Posrefcounselagency | Referred to counselling agency by the police (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 27. | Counselagency | Which counselling agency: 1=Rape Crisis Centre 2=Women's Aid 3=Victim Support 4=More than one agency 5=Other |
| 28. | Otheragency | Agency not listed |
| 29. | Medexexp | medical examination explained (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 30. | Wheremeex | Location of medical examination 1=Police station rape examination suite 2=The Haven 3=GP 4=A&E 5=Hospital with dedicated sexual assault staff 6=General Hospital 7=medical centre 8=Sexual Health Clinic |
| 31. | Sensvexam | Sensitive victim examination (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 32. | Timeb4fx | Delay before forensic examination |
| 33. | Timeb4fx5 | If longer than 5 hrs – stated. |
| 34. | Ordfxstat | Order of forensic examination and statement which was carried out first. 1=interview, statement, forensic examination 2=interview, forensic, statement 3=victim statement, forensic 4=forensic exam, interview |

| | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| | | 5=victim statement only 6=statement, interview then forensic examination 7=interview then forensic examination 8=verbal statement, forensic examination, written statement 9=interview, statement 10=forensic exam then victim statement |
| 35. | Shwclclths | Shower, change of clothes (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 36. | Polcontct | Police contact |
| 37. | Polcontctxs4 | More than 4 times - stated |
| 38. | Purpcommunic | Purpose of communication 1=updates 2=further information required 3=explanation of nfa (no further action) 4=provided info on rights 5=welfare, updates, pursue |
| 39. | Polprovs | Police provisions (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 40. | Repothorg | Report made to agency other than police (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 41. | Ethoff | Ethnic origin of offender 1=Caucasian 2=Black-Caribbean 3= Black-Other 4=Asian-Indian 5=Asian –Pakistani 6=Asian-Chinese 7=Asian-Other 8=Hispanic |
| 42. | Othethgrp | Other ethnic origin |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| 43. | Mrsoffage | Offender age 1=20-30 2=31-40 3=41-50 4=51-60 5=older than 60 |
| 44. | Nooff | Number of offenders |
| 45. | Multioffage | Ages of multiple offenders 1=18-20 2=21-25 3=mixed age groups 4=25-30 |
| 46. | Knowassail | Assailant known. 0=not known 1=acquainted 2=stranger 3=intimate 4=well=known |
| 47. | Vicoffrel | Victim/offender relationship i.e. stranger/acquaintance |
| 48. | Timevicofferel | Length of time offender known (1=more than 24hrs, 2=less than 24hrs) |

| | | |
|-----|--------------|--|
| 49. | Sexorientoff | Sexual orientation of offender 1=straight 2=bisexual 3=gay 4=transgender 5=unknown |
| 50. | Genderoff | Gender of offender (1=male, 2=female, 3=female and male offenders) |
| 51. | Locrape | Location of rape 1=Wooded area 2=street 3=victim's home 4=assailant's home 5=taxi 6=churchyard 7=nightclub 8=field 9= multiple sites 10=car 11=workplace 12=motel 13=domestic property/private dwelling 14=public lavatories |
| 52. | Attcomprape | Attempted or completed rape (1=attempted rape, 2=completed rape) |
| 53. | Analpenvic | Victim anally penetrated by penis (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 54. | Orlpenvic | Victim orally penetrated by penis (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 55. | Digpenvic | Digital-anal penetration of victim (0=no, 1=yes) |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| 56. | Analobjvic | Victim anally penetrated by foreign object (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 57. | Vagpenobj | Vagina penetrated by foreign object |
| 58. | Cunnling | Cunnilingus |
| 59. | Offrimvic | Victim rimmed by offender |
| 60. | Masturbvic | Victim fingered by offender (digital vaginal penetration). |
| 61. | Sxactsxtravic | Additional sex acts against victim |
| 62. | Fellatiovic | Fellation of offender |
| 63. | Vicrimoff | Victim rimmed offender |
| 64. | Sxactsxtraoff | victim forced to perform additional sex acts on offender |
| 65. | Threatweap | Threat of weapon (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 66. | Weapn | Weapon present (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 67. | Weaptyp | Type of weapon 0=none 1=gun 2=knife 3=household instrument 4=syringe 5=variety of weapons used 6=string/shoelaces |
| 68. | Weapused | Weapon used (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 69. | Approach | Approach used by offender |
| 70. | Approachother | If approach not listed - stated |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| 71. | Phyiniij | Physical injuries 0=none 1=bruises 2=facial injuries (black eye) 3=bruising and facial injuries 4=genital injuries 5 =bruises and genital injuries 6=beaten up |
| 72. | Attstranglevic | Attempted strangulation of victim (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 73. | Anti-gaylang | Anti-gay language used (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 74. | Frozeresp | Froze (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 75. | Phystrat | Physical strategy worked (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 76. | Verbstrat | Verbal strategy worked (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 77. | Phyverbresp | Physical/verbal response (0=no, 1=yes) |
| 78. | Effectstrat | Was the resistance strategy effective – how? |
| 79. | Emotimpct | Emotional impact |
| 80. | Affectlife | Affect lifestyle |
| 81. | Trial | Did case go to trial |
| 82. | Sentlgth | Sentence length |
| 83. | Offconv | Was the offender convicted |
| 84. | Furthcomm | Further comments from survivors |

Appendix 1.6 List of Rape Survivor Themes

(Please note: SOIT Themes were listed within the text on p. 58).

Importance of the response to initial disclosure by victim

Disbelief

Lack of choice

Victim-offender relationship

Child abuse

Guilt, shame and embarrassment

Self-blame

Fear of reprisal

Prevention of the sexual victimisation of others/moral responsibility

Closure

Retribution

The impact of positive reactions on initial disclosure

Third party reporting practices

Police discouragement of pursuing the case

Bad Practice

Police officer as the offender

Time elapsed during decision-making process

Decision-making process

Self-doubt regarding perception of incident

PTSD

Waiting for the offender to leave the vicinity

Decline in regular contact as time progressed

No further action

Police Provisions

Food

Clothing

Lack of provisions

Police transport made available to victims

Delays experienced when waiting for forensic examination

Training of police officers

Choice of officer gender

Officer type assigned

Assigned SOIT officer

SOIT officer present at medical examination

Contact numbers

First evidence explained

Why survivors may not be referred to Victim Support?

Victim Support

SOIT officer's role

Pre-trial court visit offered.

Crown court witness service accompaniment offered

Evolved themes

Raped with impunity

Difficulty in enforcing restrictions of rapist's movements on release

Responsibility for personal safety regarding sexual risks

Power

Recommendations

Focus on victim characteristics

Dignity and respect

Increase in resources at the Forensic Science Department

Police officer characteristics

Independent Advocate

Specialist victim support

Appendix 1.7 Letter of Introduction and Consent Form for SOIT Officers



University of Leicester

Introduction:

*I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims” at the University of Leicester. One of the aims of this research is to evaluate the service being provided to male rape victims by the Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques (SOIT) Officers of the London Metropolitan Police. The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of SOIT officers regarding their work with rape victims, particularly males. It must be stressed that all information given is entirely **confidential** and **anonymous** and will not be shared with senior management officials in a format, which identifies individual participants. Thus, there are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity (as each questionnaire will be given an identification number). Thank you for your time and co-operation.*

Should you have any queries regarding the study or its findings, my contact details are as follows:

Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons); M.A.; M.Sc., School of Psychology – Forensic Section,
University of Leicester, 106 New Walk, Leicester LE1 7EA.

Tel. 0116 252 5057 or via e-mail: JJ28@le.ac.uk.

Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons), M.A.; M.Sc.

Consent Form for SOIT Questionnaire

I -----. Having read the brief statement above outlining the aims and objectives of the study, feel that I have adequate information to enable me to make an informed decision to participate in this study. I am also aware that I retain the right to withdraw my information at any time and that it will subsequently be destroyed.

Signed:_____.

Date:_____.

Note: These forms will be detached from the questionnaires, which will be anonymised and provided with identification numbers to ensure total confidentiality.

Appendix 1.8 SOIT Officers' Questionnaire



SOIT Officers' Questionnaire

*This study is entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims” One of the aims of this research is to evaluate the service being provided to male rape victims by the Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques (SOIT) Officers of the London Metropolitan Police. The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of SOIT officers regarding their work with rape victims, particularly males. Additional sheets are provided should you need further space for your answers. It must be stressed that all information given is entirely **confidential** and **anonymous** and will not be shared with senior management officials in a format which identifies individual participants. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity (as each questionnaire will be given an identification number). Thank you for your time and co-operation.*

Should you have any queries regarding the study or its findings, my contact details are as follows: Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons); M.A.; M.Sc., School of Psychology – Forensic Section, University of Leicester, 106 New Walk, Leicester LE1 7EA, Tel. 0116 252 5057 or via e-mail: JJ28@le.ac.uk.

Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons), M.A.; M.Sc.

Q1. Demographics:

- a) Age of officer: _____years
- b) Gender: male /female (delete as appropriate).)
- c) Ethnicity (E.g. White, Afro-Caribbean, Asian): _____

2. a) How long have you been a SOIT officer?

b) Describe any relevant experience you had regarding this type of work prior to becoming a SOIT officer?

c) Did you volunteer to become a SOIT officer or were you asked to take up this position by your commanding officer?

d) How many rape cases have you worked on since you were trained as a SOIT officer?

e) Regarding the victim's gender, please state the breakdown of the number of male and female rape victims in the cases you have worked on as a SOIT officer.

3. During that time how many refresher courses have you attended?

4. How often are you asked to undertake SOIT duties during the average year?

5. a) How many Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques Officers (SOITs) are “available” in your division at any one time?

b) How large is your division?

6. a) Have you worked in conjunction with any other agencies as part of a multi-agency response? (such as working with Victim Support Services, Rape Crisis Centres or Sexual Assault Referral Centres e.g. The Haven).

b) If so, how often?

7. How do these cases compare with those that were solely police initiatives? E.g. those where the examinations were conducted in VES (Victim Examination Suites)?

8. How many SOITs were involved in the cases you have worked on? (Consistency of care).

9. Have you worked on a Sex Offences Team?

10. a). If yes. Do they offer a better standard of service?

b) Why?

11. Is there support available when working in this capacity to enable you to provide the optimum level of support to the victim? (E.g. from other colleagues or Investigating Officers re: debriefing).

12. a) In your training as a SOIT officer, were there any differences that were raised in order to facilitate an equal service for male and female rape victims?

b) If yes. Please state:

13. In the cases you have dealt with were you aware of whether the victim was suffering from Rape Trauma Syndrome? (This is a variation of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder).

14. Once reported, how soon after that are complainants appointed a SOIT officer?

15. a) Are victims offered a choice of the gender of their SOIT officer?

b) Are victims offered a choice regarding the sexual orientation of their SOIT officer?

c) Have you been assigned to cases because of your gender or sexual orientation?

d) If yes. Please state the gender and sexual orientation of the victims in these cases and what their requests were?

16. At what stage do you arrange the exit strategy for the victim?

17. How long in your experience after the initial report was made did the forensic exam take place?

18. Were you present at the medical examination?

19. Did you provide contact details for the sexual health clinics?

20. At which location was the victim's statement taken?

21. How do you try to alleviate the expected stigmatised response to male rape and put the victim at ease? (E.g. demonstrating your belief in their report and making no assumptions about their character or sexuality).

22. a) How many of the cases you have dealt with reached the trial stage?
(Please state gender of the victim in these cases).

- b) What were the outcomes of these cases?

(Please state gender of the victim in these cases).

23. How large is your caseload at present? (Please state the gender of the victims in these cases).

24. With the victim's consent, have you contacted their employer or family? (Please state the gender of the victims in these cases).

25. If yes, to what purpose?

26. How do you deal with role conflict issues? (Care/investigative roles).

27. a) The non-availability of FMEs (Forensic Medical Examiners) was a problem that was prevalent in the past. Has the establishment of the Havens alleviated this problem?

b) Please state the benefits of attending “the Haven” as opposed to the old system of the use of FMEs.

Part II

Victim Aftercare

28. Do you take Impact Statements on every case you work on?

29. If no. What criteria do you use to make this decision?

30. Do you maintain contact with the victims up until the trial?

31. a) Are victims provided with updates regarding their cases?

b) How often?

32. Is it standard procedure to arrange pre-trial visits with the Crown Court Witness Service to the courts for rape victims?

33. Do you refer victims to the Crown Court Witness Service in order for them to appoint a person to accompany the victim to court on the day of trial?

34. Which factors need to be present in a victim's case in order for a victim to be given details of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board?

35. a) Are there any particular strengths or weaknesses of the current system relating to the service provided to male rape victims?

b) What factors do you consider to be barriers in providing an ideal service?

c) If you were able to change the way that these victims are responded to.

What would you do?

d) What are the positive features of the service provided to rape victims?

e) What are the negative features of the service provided to rape victims?

36. **Any further comments?**

(Continue on an additional sheet if required).

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. It is much appreciated and you have contributed to a study that aims to further raise social awareness of the issue of male rape and hopefully facilitate improved services for survivors. This will be achieved by feeding back the findings from this study to the relevant service providers. Hopefully, the information will be used to inform future policy making decisions regarding the support provided to rape survivors. The dissemination of the results of this study also aims to improve victim reporting practices regarding this type of criminal victimisation.

Appendix 1.10 Survivors' Consent Form



University of Leicester

At present I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester in England. My thesis is entitled the "Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims". This questionnaire has been placed on the internet in order to make it available to the widest and most varied population of male rape survivors. Earlier studies were constrained due to access to much smaller sample populations. It is the aim of this questionnaire to obtain an overview of the international incidence of this under-researched crime by taking a victim centred approach. There is a particular focus on the service provided to these male clients provided by different police forces. It is recognised that the responses to some of these questions may be difficult. However, in order to raise awareness regarding the impact of this crime it is important to cover as many of its aspects as possible. Each question has been carefully considered and the detail required is to facilitate more comprehensive analyses. All responses provided will be **anonymous and confidential**. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity. I would appreciate your complete honesty and genuine feelings regarding the service delivery received and whether you felt your needs were met (these could be elaborated upon in the further comments section). Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. **Should you wish to contact me regarding the study or its findings, my e-mail is JJ28@le.ac.uk.**

Consent Form

I -----. Having read the brief statement above outlining the aims and objectives of the study, feel that I have adequate information to enable me to make an informed decision to participate in this study. I am also aware that I retain the right to withdraw my information at any time and that it will subsequently be destroyed.

Signed:_____.

Date:_____.

Note: These forms will be detached from the questionnaires which will be anonymised and provided with identification numbers to ensure total confidentiality

Appendix 1.11 Male Survivors' Postal Questionnaire



Survivor Questionnaire (m)

Introduction:

*At present I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims”. One of the main aims of this research is to evaluate the service being provided to male rape victims by the Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques (SOIT) Officers of the London Metropolitan Police. The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of male rape victims regarding the service received from SOIT officers. There are additional sheets provided should you need further space for your answers. The definition of rape is according to the amended legislation of the Sexual Offences Act 2003 i.e. the penetration, of the mouth, vagina, or anus by penis without consent. You may find some of the questions difficult to answer due to the sensitivity of the issues being discussed. However, it needs to be highlighted that each question has been carefully constructed. The decisions to include these questions were informed by discussions with the relevant survivor organisations to ensure minimum distress is caused. Resources for additional support are included should they be required. It must be stressed that all information given is entirely **confidential** and **anonymous**. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity (as they will each be given an identification number). Thank you for your time and cooperation, you have contributed valuable information which will be analysed and fed back to the relevant service providers to inform future policy making decisions and hopefully further improve victim care. Should you have any queries regarding the study or its findings, my contact details are as follows: Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons); M.A., M.Sc.; School of Psychology – Forensic Section, University of Leicester, 106 New Walk, Leicester LE1 7EA, Tel. 0116 252 5057 or via e-mail: JJ28@le.ac.uk.*

Part 1 - Demographics:

Q1.

a) Gender: _____.

b) Age:_____.

- c) Ethnicity- Please tick appropriate box: White ☐
- Black Caribbean ☐
- Black Other ☐
- Asian/Indian ☐
- Asian /Pakistani ☐
- Asian/Chinese ☐
- Asian/Other ☐

Any other Ethnic Group (Please state) _____.

- d) Sexual orientation: Heterosexual ☐
- Gay ☐
- Bisexual ☐
- Other ☐

If other (please state) _____.

Part 2:

Q2. What factors influenced your decision on whether to report the crime or not?

Q3. How soon after the incident did you report it to the police?

Q4. If there was a time lapse between the incident and when you reported it what reasons influenced this?

Q5. Were you treated with respect and courtesy by the police?

Q6. (a) Describe the manner in which you were treated which positively reflected the attitude of the police.

(b) Were there any negative aspects in the way you were treated by the police?

Q7. Were you offered the choice of the gender, sexual orientation, or ethnicity of your assigned SOIT officer?

Q8. Did you receive the contact numbers of the Investigating Officer, SOIT Officer and Community Safety Unit?

Q9. (a) Did you receive information leaflets regarding the relevant services directed at the specific needs of male rape victims?

(b) If yes. Please list.

Q10. (a) On giving your consent, were you referred to a specialist counselling agency? Please tick the appropriate box. Yes ☐. No ☐.

(b) If yes. Which ones?

Q11. Were you made aware why you may not be referred to Victim Support Schemes?

Q12. (a) At the initial stages did the SOIT officer explain the procedures prior to the obtaining of first evidence?

(b) Were the tests which were to be undergone as part of the medical examination explained first to you?

(c) Where was the medical examination conducted?

(d) Was the examination carried out in a sensitive manner?

(e) Was your SOIT officer present at the medical examination?

(f) Did they act as your representative and thus play an intermediary role?

(g) How long did it take between the reporting of the incident and being physically examined?

(h) In which order did the following occur: the taking of the victim statement and carrying out of the forensic examination?

Q13. Were you allowed to shower and get clean clothes after the examination?

Q14. What role did the SOIT officer play throughout the duration of the investigation? (Q

Q15. (a) How often did they contact you during the course of the investigation?

(b) What was the purpose of these communications? (e.g. to provide updates on the progress of the case).

Q16. What provisions did the SOIT officer initially make? (taxi fare, clothes, food).

Q17. Did you originally report the crime to the police or to another organisation who asked if they could refer the matter to the police?

Q18. Did you get a change of clothes?

Q19. Did you receive the “Advice for the victims of sexual assault booklet”?

Q20. (a) Did your case reach the trial stage?

(b) If yes. Did the SOIT officer arrange a pre-trial visit to the court in conjunction with the Crown Court Witness Service to enable you to familiarise yourself with the surroundings?

(c) Were you given the choice of having a representative of the Crown Court Witness Service accompany you to the court on the day of the trial?

Q21. (a) Do you think that the service provided by the SOIT officers to male rape victims could be improved?

(b) If so. How?

Q22. Any further comments?

(Continue on an additional sheet of paper if required).

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. It is much appreciated and you have contributed to a study which aims to further raise social awareness of the issue of male rape and hopefully facilitate improved services for survivors. This will be achieved by feeding back the findings from this study to the relevant service providers which may be used to inform future policy making decisions regarding this type of criminal victimisation.

Male Rape Survivor - Resources for Advocacy and Support

Survivors UK

Provides support on an individual as well as group counselling basis for male survivors of sexual violence.

Tel. 0845 122 1201 – Tuesday and Thursday 7-10 pm.

<http://www.survivorsuk.org.uk/>

NAMSAS

This is the National Association of Male Sexual Assault Services which provides information on counselling services related agencies, helplines and further resources.

<http://www.namsas.org.uk/>

Rape and Sexual Abuse Centre (RASASC)

Provides support and information and face to face counselling.

Men's Helpline 01962 848027

Monday 11.30 to 1.30 pm, Thursday 7pm – 9.30pm.

Appendix 1.12 Female Survivors' Postal Questionnaire



Introduction:

At present I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims”. One of the aims of this research is to evaluate the service being provided to male rape victims by the Sexual Offences Investigative Technique (SOIT) Officers of the London Metropolitan Police and their regional and International counterparts. In order to do this I will be comparing the service provided to female survivors and male survivors of rape. All responses provided will be **anonymous and confidential**. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity. I would appreciate your complete honesty and genuine feelings regarding the service delivery you received and whether you felt your needs were met (these could be elaborated upon in the further comments section). The ultimate aim of this research is help improve the police service for all rape survivors, as the findings will be fed back to the police and other relevant service providers to inform future policy decisions. Thank you for your time and cooperation. **Should you wish to contact me regarding the study or its findings, my e-mail is JJ28@le.ac.uk.**

Joanna Jamel, B.A.(Hons), M.A.; M.Sc.

Survivor Questionnaire (f)

Part 1:

Q1. Demographics:

- a) a) Age:_____.
- b) b) Ethnicity: _____.
- c) c) Sexual orientation: _____.

Part 2:

Q2.(a) What factors influenced your decision on whether to report the crime or not?

(b) If you did not report the crime. Why did you make this choice?

(On completion of this question please skip to Q24.)

Q3.How soon after the incident did you report it to the police?

Q4. If there was a time lapse between the incident and when you reported it
what reasons influenced this?

Q5.Were you treated with respect and courtesy by the police?

Q6.(a) Describe the manner in which you were treated which positively reflected the attitude of the police.

(b) Were there any negative aspects in the way you were treated by the police?

Q7.(a) How soon after you reported the incident to the police were you assigned a dedicated officer (e.g.) SOIT (Sexual Offences Investigative Officer) /RTO (Rape Trained Officer) etc.

(b) Please state the type of officer assigned e.g. SOIT, RTO or non-specialist officer who deals with a variety of crime victims including those who have been subject to sexual victimisation.

(c) Did you have the same assigned officer throughout your case?

(d) Were you offered the choice of the gender, or race of your assigned officer?

Q8. Did you receive the contact numbers of the Investigating Officer, SOIT/assigned Officer and Community Safety Unit?

Q9.a) Did you receive information leaflets regarding relevant services directed at the specific needs of rape victims?

b) If yes. Please list.

Q10. a) On giving your consent, were you referred to a specialist counselling agency?

b) If yes. Which one(s)?

Q11. Were you made aware why you may not be referred to Victim Support Schemes?

Q12. At the initial stages did the assigned officer explain the procedures prior to the obtaining of first evidence?

a) Were the tests which were to be undergone as part of the medical examination explained first to you?

b) Where was the medical examination conducted?

c) Was the examination carried out in a sensitive manner?

d) Was your assigned police officer present at the examination?

e) Did they act as your representative and thus play an intermediary role during this process?

f) How long did it take between reporting the incident to being physically examined

g) In which order did the following occur: the victim statement and forensic examination?

h) Were you allowed to shower and get clean clothes after the examination?

Q13. What role did the assigned officer play throughout the duration of the investigation?

Q14. How often did they contact you during the course of the investigation?

Q15. What was the purpose of these communications? (e.g. to provide updates on the progress of the case).

Q16. What provisions did the officer initially make? (taxi fare, clothes, food).

Q17. Did you originally report the crime to the police or another organisation who asked if they could refer the matter to the police?

Q18. Did you get a change of clothes?

Q19. Did you receive the “Advice for the victims of sexual assault booklet”?

Q20. Did your case reach the trial stage?

Q21. If yes. Did the assigned officer arrange a pre-trial visit to the court in conjunction with the Crown Court Witness Service to enable you to familiarise yourself with the surroundings?

Q22. Were you given the choice of having a member of the Crown Court Witness Service accompany you to the court on the day of the trial?

Q23. a) Do you think that the service provided by the assigned police officers could be improved?

b) If so. How?

Q24. Any further comments?

(Continue on an additional sheet of paper if required).

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. It is much appreciated and you have contributed to a study which aims to further raise social awareness of the issue of male rape and hopefully facilitate improved services for survivors. This will be achieved by feeding back the findings from this study to the relevant service providers which may be used to inform future policy making decisions regarding this type of criminal victimisation.

Female Rape Survivor - Resources for Advocacy and Support

◆ Rape Crisis UK and Ireland

This site provides information on a number of organisations who provide services to rape survivors. Although, rape crisis groups predominantly provide services to females, they also refer male survivors to men's groups.

website address: <http://www.rapecrisis.org.uk/>

◆ Wiltshire Rape Support Line

This website provides an extensive list of organisations (locally and worldwide) which are directed at a range

of issues which include rape crisis services for female and male rape survivors.

<http://www.rapeline.org.uk/helpline15.htm>

◆ Sapphire

This is a Metropolitan Police initiative which is focused on the investigation of sexual assault and victim care.

website address: www.met.police.uk/sapphire/index.htm

◆ Sexual Assault Referral Centres

These are multi-agency centres which provide medical, emotional and psychosocial support.

website address: http://www.met.police.uk/sapphire/sapphire_sexualassault.htm

Appendix 2.1 Time-Line of NHS Ethics and Research and Development Committee Processes

| Date | Organisation | Action | Outcome |
|-----------------|---|---|--|
| April 2004 | St. Mary's LREC (Local Research Ethics Committee) | LREC Application submitted in order to facilitate the cooperation of the Working Men Project (WMP) based at this NHS Trust (to enable participant recruitment and the holding of interviews on their premises). | Received confirmation e-mail acknowledging receipt of the documentation and the date of the next meeting (24 th of April 2004) of St. Mary's LREC where my research proposal would be reviewed. |
| Late April 2004 | St. Mary's LREC | Request received for further information | This request was complied with. |
| July 2004 | St. Mary's LREC sub-committee | Re-submission of amended documents | Documentation reviewed. |
| August 2004 | St. Mary's LREC sub-committee | Letter from St. Mary's LREC sent out | Approval granted pending authorisation from the host organisation the WMP. The WMP were contacted for a letter of confirmation of their support (which was forthcoming pending initial approval of the NHS LREC). However, the WMP were informed that they could not authorise this research until my application was reviewed by the Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review (Imperial College London). |
| December 2004 | Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review Committee | Submission of St. Mary's LREC Documentation | Acknowledgment of receipt of materials and I was invited to attend their next meeting on the 26 th of March 2005. |
| March 2005 | Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review Committee | Attendance of meeting and defended my research proposals. | Recommendations were made by the committee such as the development of a tick box questionnaire for non-native English Speakers. All of their recommendations were complied with and documents were re-submitted. |
| April 2005 | Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research Review Committee | Letter of Approval sent | On receipt of my letter of approval (one of the stipulations of which was to contact an established researcher of sex work at Imperial College London for her advice on the study, whom I e-mailed but after an initial response from her colleague asking for a research outline, no further communication was received. However, I did re-contact the WMP so that my on-site supervisor could authorise the honorary contract to enable me to conduct interviews of their service users at the clinic. |
| May 2005 | St. Mary's Human Resources Department | Honorary Contract sent | Information leaflets could now be dispatched to the WMP advertising the study (which asks whether volunteers would be willing to be interviewed regarding their experiences of client-perpetrated sexual violence within the commercial male sex industry. The honorary contract was valid from June 2005 to December 2005. |
| June 2005 | WMP clinic | Interviews to commence | No volunteers came forward despite some initial interest. |

Appendix 2.1.1 NHS LREC Ethics Approval Letter

(See Male Sex Work (MSW) PDF Document)

**Appendix 2.1.2 The Department of GUM and Communicable Diseases Research
Review Committee Approval Letter**

(See Male Sex Work PDF Documents)

Appendix 2.2 Codebook for Male Sex Worker Web-based Questionnaires.

| Label | | Definition |
|-------|---------------|--|
| 1. | I.D. | Identification code e.g. msw001 |
| 2. | age | Age at time of the incident |
| 3. | ethnicity | Ethnic origin e.g. Caucasian = 1 Black/Caribbean = 2 Black/Other= 3 Asian/Indian = 4 Asian /Pakistani = 5 Asian/Chinese = 6 Asian/Other = 7 Any other Ethnic Group = 8 |
| 4. | ethnther | Ethnic origin other |
| 5. | domicile | Country of residence |
| 6. | sexorient | Sexual orientation 1= heterosexual 2= gay 3= bisexual 4=asexual 5=gay/bisexual |
| 7. | yrstrade | Years in the sex trade |
| 8. | contclnts | How were clients contacted Mobile telephone = 1 Internet chat rooms = 2 Magazines/newspapers = 3 On the street = 4 Cards in telephone boxes = 5 Other = 6 |
| 9. | contctclntoth | Contact clients other |
| 10. | London | Works in London only (1=yes, 0=no) |
| 11. | femclnts | Have you ever had any female clients? |
| 12. | venfem | Venue where female clients taken Car = 1 Cottage = 2 Hotel room = 3 Own flat = 4 clients place = 5 other = 6 |
| 13. | nofemclnts | Number of female clients |
| 14. | agefemclnt | Age of female clients |
| 15. | Femclntxs60 | Female clients over 60 – stated |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 16. | locoffstret | Venue used for male clients Car = 1 Cottage = 2 Hotel room = 3 Own flat = 4 clients place = 5 other = 6 |
| 17. | locoffothstret | Location off street for male client |
| 18. | offstreet | Location off street other |
| 19. | offstreetven | Off street venues frequently |
| 20. | streetprosprev | Previous involvement in street prostitution (1=yes, 0=no) |
| 21. | timeonstreet | Length of time engaged in street prostitution before moving to offstreet locations? |
| 22. | bothpros | Switches between on and off street types of prostitution (1=yes, 0=no) |
| 23. | factinfpros | Factors influencing prostitution |
| 24. | svoffstreet | Experienced sexual violence at off-street locations (1=yes, 0=no) |
| 25. | locoffstreetsv | Off street locations where sexual violence occurred |
| 26. | nooff | Number of offenders 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 More than 5 = (nooffxs5) |
| 27. | ageoff | Age of offender(s) 20-30 = 1 31-40 = 2 41-50 = 3 51-60 = 4 Older than 60 = 5 (ageoffxs60) _____. |
| 28. | multioffage | If there were multiple offenders please list their ages. |
| 29. | typclnt | Type of client (e.g. new or a regular) |
| 30. | ethoff | Ethnicity of offender Caucasian = 1 Black/Caribbean = 2 Black/Other= 3 Asian/Indian = 4 Asian/Pakistani = 5 Asian/Chinese = 6 Asian/Other = 7 Other ethnic group = 8 |
| 31. | otherethgrp | State other ethnic group |

| | | |
|-----|------------------|--|
| 32. | diffethgrps | Different ethnic groups. Please list them. |
| 33. | sexorientoff | Offender(s) sexual orientation 1= heterosexual 2= gay 3= bisexual 4=asexual 5=gay/bisexual |
| 34. | freq | Frequency of sexual violence incidents |
| 35. | sameoff | Same offender (1=yes, 0=no). |
| 36. | typsvacts | Type of sexual violence acts |
| 37. | reasoffstsv | Reason for off street sexual violence incidents 1= disagreements over sex acts 2=sex worker asked client to wear condom 3=client's right to any sexual service 4=no reason |
| 38. | stretpros | Have you ever been involved in street prostitution? (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 39. | svstreet | Experienced sexual violence on the street (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 40. | svquantity | Quantity of sexual violence once = 1 twice = 2 three times = 3 four times = 4 |
| 41. | svquantxs4 | Sexual violence quantity over 4 incidences |
| 42. | typsvonstreet | Type of sexual violence on the street e.g. Forced oral or anal penetration. |
| 43. | frozeresp | Froze (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 44. | phyverbresp | Physical and verbal response (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 45. | phyverbstrat | Physical or verbal strategy (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 46. | resiststratwrked | Resistance strategy worked (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 47. | clntintox | Client intoxicated (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 48. | *mswdrkigh | Male sex worker drink/drugs (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 49. | typdrg | Type of drug 1=alcohol 2=cannabis 3= alcohol and cannabis |
| 50. | locothsv | Location of sexual violence on street |
| 51. | multiplocst | Multiple locations where sexual violence incidents perpetrated |
| 52. | othersvloc | Other venues where sexual violence occurred |
| 53. | approachst | Approach |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| | | blitz = 1 surprise = 2 confidence = 3 use of alcohol = 4 use of narcotics = 5 other = 6 |
| 54. | approachoth | Other approach |
| 55. | weapres | Weapon present (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 56. | weaptyp | Weapon type |
| 57. | clientmastmsw | Client masturbated msw (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 58. | forcemastclnt | Forced masturbation of client (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 59. | oralpenclnt | Coerced oral penetration of client (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 60. | oralpenmsw | Coerced oral penetration of msw (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 61. | digpenmsw | Receptive digital-anal penetration of msw (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 62. | digpenclnt | Msw fingered client (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 63. | attanalpenmsw | Attempted anal intercourse (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 64. | analpenmsw | Coerced anal penetration msw (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 65. | insrtanlsex | Insertive anal intercourse (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 66. | analobjmsw | Victim anally penetrated by foreign object (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 67. | vicrimoff | Victim rimmed offender (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 68. | offrimvic | Offender rimmed victim (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 69. | clntcondm | Client used condom (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 70. | mswcondm | Msw used condom (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 71. | mswejac | Msw ejaculated (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 72. | clntejac | Client ejaculated (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 73. | mswsemn | Msw swallowed semen (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 74. | clntsemn | Client swallowed semen (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 75. | addsxacts | Additional sexual acts (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 76. | svtimetken | Duration of sexually violent incident 1 = 1 hr 2 = 2 hrs 3 = 3 hrs 4 = 4 hrs 5 = 5 hrs |
| 77. | svtimetkenxs5 | Sexually violent incident longer than 5 hrs - stated |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 78. | Stnoof | Number of offenders involved in street-based sexual violence 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 |
| 79. | stnooffxs5 | More than 5 offenders – stated |
| 80. | ethoffst | Ethnicity of offender Caucasian = 1 Black/Caribbean = 2 Black/Other= 3 Asian/Indian = 4 Asian /Pakistani = 5 Asian/Chinese = 6 Asian/Other = 7 Other ethnic group = 8 |
| 81. | otherp | Other ethnic group |
| 82. | multiothgrp | Multiple ethnicities - list |
| 83. | antigaylang | Anti-gay language (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 84. | clientypest | Client type (street based sexual violence) |
| 85. | timeknownoffst | Length of time client known |
| 86. | reptregclnt | Repeat or regular client |
| 87. | nosvincid | Number of sexual violence incidents once = 1 twice = 2 three times = 3 four times = 4 |
| 88. | typhyinij | Type of physical injury 1= bruising 2 = broken bones 3 = genital trauma 4 = cigarette burns 5 = strangulation 6 = knife wounds 7 = internal injuries 8 = black eyes and bruising |
| 89. | medcntr | Medical centre (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 90. | medcntrttyp | Medical centre type G.P. = 1 Hospital A&E =2 SARC =3 GUM Clinic = 4 Sexual Health Clinic = 5 Other=6 |
| 91. | medcnthrother | Other medical centre |
| 92. | reppolice | Reported to the police (1 = yes, 0 = no) |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| 93. | Polrespst | Police were respectful when reporting street-based sexual violence incidents (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 94. | casetrial | Did case go to trial (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 95. | trialoutcome | The outcome of the trial |
| 96. | notrlcjs | No trial – how far did it go in criminal justice system. |
| 97. | affctlifestyl | Affect lifestyle (1 = yes, 0 = no) |
| 98. | contcvsv | Contact victim support organisations |
| 99. | vicagen | Victim agencies contacted |

Appendix 2.3 Web-Based Male Sex Worker Questionnaire



Male Sex Worker Questionnaire

At present I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester. My thesis is entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims”. As part of this research, I wish to investigate the prevalence of male rape among male sex workers when they were involved in street prostitution prior to their move to apartments, which in recent years has been enabled by the use of mobile phones and the Internet to make contact with potential clients. The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of male sex workers of male-on-male same sex rape. However, this issue cannot be considered in isolation so a number of background questions about your general experience as a sex worker are included. It is recognised that the responses to some of these questions may be difficult. However, in order to raise awareness regarding the impact of this crime it is important to cover as many of its aspects as possible. Each question has been carefully considered and the detail required is to facilitate more comprehensive analyses. All responses provided will be **anonymous and confidential. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity, as each form is assigned a code and anonymised. However, please do not include any identifying details in your answers such as 'named individuals', 'dates' and 'named locations' such as named police stations etc. I would appreciate your complete honesty and genuine feelings regarding this issue (these could**

be elaborated upon in the further comments section). The ultimate aim of this research is to raise awareness and feedback the findings to the relevant service providers to help improve services for male rape survivors who happen to work in the sex industry. Should you wish to contact me regarding the study or its findings, my contact details are as follows: J. Jamel, B.A. (Hons), M.A., M.Sc. ; School of Psychology – Forensic Section, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7EA, via e-mail is JJ28@le.ac.uk.

I would also like to thank those of you who have responded so far. If you know of other males who have been forced to engage in non-consensual sexual acts and who may not be aware of this research. Could you please direct them to this website as they may also be willing to participate in this study.

A final note to those participating in this study, you do not have to answer all of the questions provided in order to submit the questionnaire. I would like you to only answer as many as you feel comfortable completing. The detailed nature of the questionnaire is to provide depth to the study, however, the importance of any information you provide cannot be emphasised enough.

This research could not be carried out without your valuable assistance.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Appendix 2.3.1 Web-Based Male Sex Worker Questionnaire Consent Form

Having read the brief statement above outlining the aims and objectives of the study, I feel that I have adequate information to enable me to make an informed decision to participate in this study. I am also aware that I retain the right to withdraw my information at any time and that it will subsequently be destroyed. Please tick here

☐ to consent to participate in this study. Date questionnaire completed:
e.g., 09/03/2004.

Part 1:

Q.1 About you:

(a) Age at time of the incident(s): .

(b) Ethnicity: Other: .

(c) Sexual Orientation: .

(d) Country of Residence: .

Part 2:

Q.2 How did you become involved in the sex industry?



Q.3 How long have you been selling sex? Please state:

Q.4 How do you make contact with clients?

If other, please state:

Q.5 (a) Have you ever had any female clients? Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Click [here](#) to skip to Question 6.

(b) How many? .

(c) What age(s) were they? If over 60. Please state: .

(d) What venues were used in these cases?



Q.6 (a) Where do you have sex with your male client(s)?

If other please state: .

(b) (i) Are you involved in off-street prostitution (brothels, own flat etc.)?

Yes ☐ No ☐ . If no. Click [here](#) to skip to Q7.

(ii) If yes. Please state which venues are used most frequently:



(iii) Were you previously involved in street prostitution? Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Skip to Q6 (c).

(iv) If yes. How long before you moved to off-street venues (e.g. own flat) ?

Please state here: .

(c) (i) Do you switch between street and off-street prostitution. Yes ☐ No ☒.

If no. Click [here](#) to skip to Q7.

(ii) If yes. What factors influence which type of sex work (street-based or off-street) at which time? Please state here:



(d) Have you experienced sexual violence during the course of your work at an off-street location such as a flat or hotel room etc. Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Click [here](#) to skip to Q7.

(i) If yes, please list location(s) where individual incidents occurred:



(ii) How many assailant(s) were there?

If more than 5, please state: .

(iii) (a) What age(s) was/were the assailant(s):

Please select ▼

If older than 60, please state their age(s):

(b) If there were multiple assailants. Please list their ages:

(iv) Were they first-time clients or regular client(s)? Please state according to different incidents:

(v) (a) What ethnicity were they?

Please Select ▼

If other ethnic group

is selected, please state here:

(b) Or if different ethnic groups, please list here:

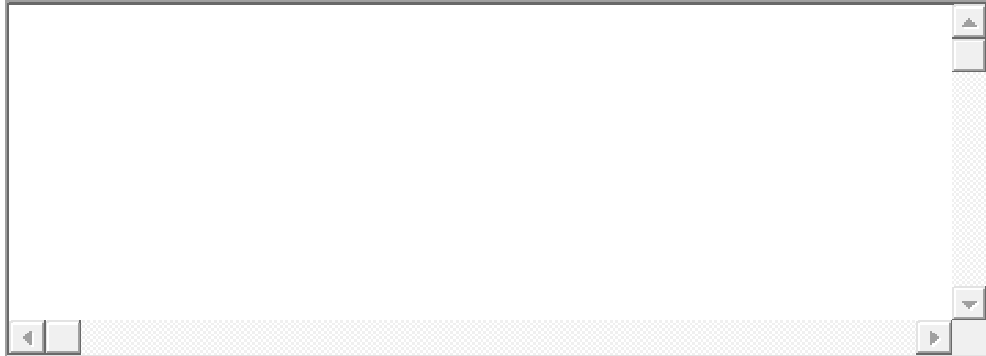
(vi) What sexual orientation were they?

(vii) How many times has this happened?

(a) Please describe below, the number of times this has happened.

(b) Were they the same assailants? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(viii) Please state the sexually violent acts (such as forced anal sex, forced oral sex etc.) which were performed.



(ix) What were the circumstances surrounding this/these incident(s) (e.g. A possible disagreement over the type of sexual acts to be carried out)?



Q.7 (a) Have you ever been involved in street prostitution? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

If no. Click [here](#) to skip to Question 28.

(b) Have you experienced sexual violence in relation to sex work during this time on the street? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(c) If yes. On how many occasions?

Please state if more than four times:

(d) Describe the type of sexual violence experienced e.g. rape (forced anal or oral sex)?

(e) If the sexual violence was rape, was it attempted or completed?

Please state according to incident(s):

(f) How did you respond to the rape attack? Please tick if you have experienced multiple incidents ☐ .

(i) Froze ☐ .

(ii) Used physical strategies (such as hitting or kicking etc.) ☐ .

(iii) Used verbal strategies (such as talking and persuasion) ☐ .

(iv) If physical strategies only were used please describe here:

(v) If verbal strategies only were used please describe:

(vi) If both physical and verbal strategies were used together please describe:



(vii) Did the strategies (physical or verbal or both) prove to be successful in resisting the attack? Yes ☐ No ☐.

(viii) Why?



Q.8 Was the client intoxicated (drunk) or high or both? Please state:




Q.9 (a) Had you taken anything or drunk anything prior to meeting the client or when with them voluntarily? Yes ☐ No ☐.

(b) If yes. Please describe what you had taken:



Q.10 What were the circumstances of the sexual assault(s)? (e.g. Was there a disagreement regarding the sexual acts to be performed?)



Q11. (a) Where did this/these sexual act(s) happen?

If other, please state:

(b) If the incidents occurred at multiple locations. Please state here:

Q.12 What type of approach was used by the assailant(s)?

Please state if other option chosen

Q.13 (a) Did the assailant have a weapon? Yes ☐ **No** ☐

(b) If yes. Please state type of weapon:

Q.14 What sex acts did it involve? (anal/oral/ digital penetration).

Q.15 How long did the incident last? **If more than 5hrs, please state length of time:** (hours).

Q.16 (a) How many assailants were present? **If more than 5, please state:**

(b) (i) What was the ethnicity of your assailant(s):

If other ethnic group is selected, please state here:

(ii) If the offenders were from different ethnic groups. Please list:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

(c) (i) What was/were the age(s) of the assailant(s)?

Please select

Older than 60, please state age(s):

(ii) If there were multiple assailants. Please list ages here:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

(d) Sexual Orientation of assailant(s) if known:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

(e) State the sex of the assailant(s)?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

(f) If more than one assailant, then please state the breakdown of assailants by sex:

[illegible]

Q.17 Was any homophobic language used in these incidents? Yes ☐ No ☐.

Q.18 Was this a/Were these new client(s) (one you had not seen before) or a regular

client(s)?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

Q.19 If it was a/they were regular client(s) how long had you known them?

Q.20 (a) Had this happened before with this/these client(s)? Yes ☒ No ☐.

(b) If yes. On how many occasions?

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

Q.21 What physical injuries were inflicted during these incidents?

Q22. (a) Did you seek medical treatment for this/these incident(s)? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(b) If yes.

If other is chosen please state where you attended on this/these occasion(s):

Q.23 (a) Did you report the sexual assault(s) to the Police? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(b) If no. Please explain what factors influenced this decision? Please complete, then click [here](#) to proceed to Q.24

(c) If yes. What was the response of the Police?

(d) Did the case(s) go to trial? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(e) If it did go to trial. What was/were the outcome(s)?

(f) If no. How far did it/they get within the criminal justice system?

Q.24 (a) How did the experience(s) of sexual violence affect you emotionally?

(b) Did this incident affect your lifestyle? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

(c) If so how?

Q.25 Are there any ways in which you try to prevent repeat sexual assaults:

Q.26 (a) Did you contact any victim support agencies for help? Yes ☐ No ☐ .

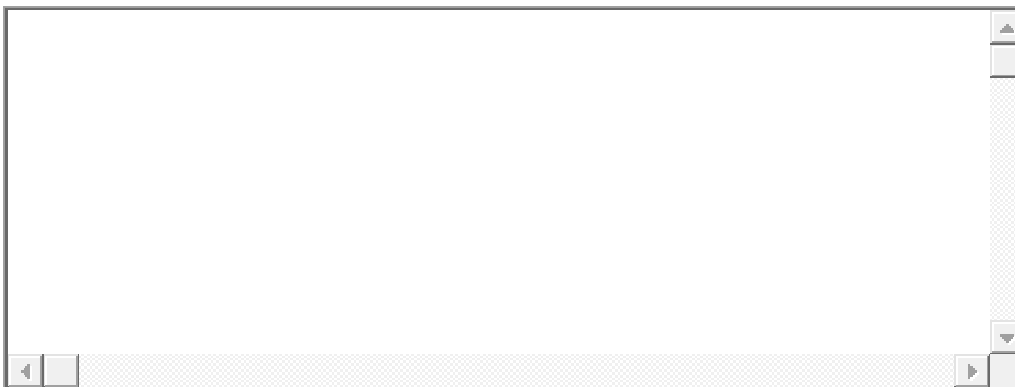
(b) If yes. Please state which one(s)?

A large, empty rectangular text box with a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small triangular buttons.

Q.27 (a) If a friend of yours found themselves in a similar situation having been sexually victimised. What advice would you give them? (e.g. regarding reporting the incident and which support services to contact)

A large, empty rectangular text box with a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small triangular buttons.

Q.28 Any Further Comments:

A large, empty rectangular text box with a thin black border. It has a vertical scrollbar on the right side and a horizontal scrollbar at the bottom, both with small triangular buttons.

Please can you check that you have ticked the consent box at the top of the page. Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. It is much appreciated especially considering the sensitive nature of the subject matter, you have contributed to a study which aims to raise social awareness of the issue of sexual violence within male sex work and the treatment of its survivors from an international perspective.

Please press  to send your completed form.

For those who are concerned about the privacy of their computer. You can delete your search history or individual items such as this website address following these instructions:

Windows/Internet Explorer 4.0 and above:

Delete History Files (This also clears the Drop Down Address Bar).

- ❖ On the menu toolbar click on Tools/View > Internet Options.
- ❖ Then click on the 'General Tab' in the dialog box that opens and go to the History section.
- ❖ Where it states 'Days to keep pages in history' change the number to 0 and click the 'Clear History' button.
- ❖ Then, click 'Apply' then 'Ok' at the bottom of the 'Internet Options' dialog box.
- ❖ To ensure all items have been deleted. Click on 'History' on the web browser toolbar - this should be empty. Also click on the arrow on the right of the URL address box - which should also be clear.

Clear Browser Cache

- ❖ On the menu toolbar click on Tools/View > Internet Options.
- ❖ Then click on the 'General Tab' in the dialog box that opens.
- ❖ Go to 'Temporary Internet files' if you wish to delete all files then click the 'Delete Files' button.
- ❖ A confirmation dialog box will then pop up for you to confirm this action. Click 'Ok'.
- ❖ However, if you just wish to delete selected web addresses - click on 'Settings' > 'View Files'
- ❖ Select the files you wish to delete and use the delete key or click Edit > Delete.

For further information regarding instructions to safeguard the privacy of the material you have viewed if using other browsers. Please click on the following link:

http://www.snbw.org/dv_faq_frame.htm?dv_faq/protect_me.html&dv_faq_left.htm

which will take you to the SNBW website the focus of which is domestic violence but they provide useful information on Internet Safety which is clear and user friendly.

Last updated: 13 September 2005 10:27. The views expressed in this document are those of the document owner.

Appendix 2.4 List of Themes and Sub-Themes derived from the Web-Based Male Sex Worker Questionnaire Data.

| Themes | Sub-Themes |
|---------------------|---|
| Sexual Violence | Victim resistance Distrust of police |
| Protective measures | Trust 'gut instinct |
| Advice if raped | Report to police Contact SW5 |

Appendix 2.5 Tick-Box Information Letter



I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims”. As part of this research, I wish to find out how often male rape is perpetrated against male sex workers involved in street prostitution and/or off-street sex work (working from apartments or other venues). Off-street sex work, in recent years has been enabled by the use of mobile phones and the Internet to make contact with potential clients. The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of male sex workers of male-on-male same sex rape.

This issue cannot be considered alone so a number of background questions about your general experience as a sex worker are included. It is recognised that the responses to some of these questions may be difficult.

However, in order to raise awareness regarding the impact of this crime it is important to cover as many of its aspects as possible. Each question has been carefully considered and the detail required is to enable a full understanding of the impact of this type of sexual assault on you as individuals.

All responses provided will be **anonymous and confidential**. Thus, there are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity (as they will each be given an identification number).

The ultimate aim of this research is to raise awareness and feedback the findings to the relevant service providers to help improve services for male rape survivors.

Questionnaires must be returned to the WMP reception desk before December 8th 2006.

Should you have any queries regarding the study, my contact details are as follows:

Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons); M.A.; M.Sc., School of Psychology – Forensic Section, University of Leicester, 106 New Walk, Leicester LE1 7EA, England.

Tel. 0116 252 5057 or via e-mail: JJ28@le.ac.uk.

Joanna Jamel, B.A.(Hons), M.A.; M.Sc.

Appendix 2.5.1 Tick Box Consent Form



I am conducting research for my Ph.D in Psychology at the University of Leicester, entitled the “Prevalence, Resistance and Response to Male Rape Victims”. As part of this research, I wish to find out how often male rape is experienced within male sex work, such as street prostitution and/or off-street sex work (based in apartments and other venues). The purpose of this questionnaire is to access the experiences of male sex workers of male-on-male same sex rape. This issue cannot be considered alone so a number of background questions about your general experience as a sex worker are included. It is recognised that the responses to some of these questions may be difficult. However, in order to raise awareness regarding the impact of this crime it is important to cover as many of its aspects as possible. Each question has been carefully considered and the detail required is to allow a more complete analysis.

All responses provided will be **anonymous and confidential**. There are no ways in which your completed questionnaire may be linked to your identity (as they will each be given an identification number).

I also wish to highlight that the disclosure of criminal behaviour towards named individuals which places those individuals at risk may require me to tell others what you have disclosed. However, the intention is to keep the contents of the questionnaire/interview confidential.

I would appreciate your complete honesty and genuine feelings regarding this issue (these could be elaborated upon in the further comments section). The ultimate aim of this research is to raise awareness and feedback the findings to the relevant service providers to help improve services for male rape survivors. **Questionnaires must be returned to WMP reception before December 8th 2006.**

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Should you have any queries regarding the study or its findings, my contact details are as follows: Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons); M.A.; M.Sc., School of Psychology – Forensic Section, University of Leicester, 106 New Walk, Leicester LE1 7EA. Tel. 0116 252 5057 or via e-mail: JJ28@le.ac.uk.

Joanna Jamel, B.A. (Hons), M.A.; M.Sc.

Consent Form

I -----. Having read the brief statement above outlining the aims and objectives of the study, feel that I have adequate information to enable me to make an informed decision to participate in this study. I am also aware that I retain the right to withdraw my information at any time and that it will subsequently be destroyed.

Signed:_____.

Date:_____.

Note: These forms will be detached from the questionnaires which will be anonymised and provided with identification numbers to ensure confidentiality.

Appendix 2.5.2 Tick Box Questionnaire Schedule



MSW Questionnaire

Part 1:

1. Demographics:
 - a) Age: _____
 - b) Country of Birth: _____
 - c) Sexual Orientation _____.
 - d) Country of Residence: _____.

Part 2:

2. How did you become involved in the sex industry? **Please tick one box.**

Through friends ☐ By chance ☐ Boyfriend/partner ☐

Through use of public sex venues such as parks etc. ☐

Saw newspaper advertisements ☐ Other ☐.

If other please state: _____.

3. Why did you start selling sex? **Please tick one box.**

Pay for college education ☐ To earn money for food and shelter ☐

Due to problems finding employment and immigration status ☐

To pay for a drug habit ☐ Other ☐.

If other please state:

_____.

4. How long have you been selling sex? **Please tick one box.**

1 year ☐ 3yrs ☐ 5yrs ☐ 7 years ☐ 10 yrs ☐ Other ☐.

If more than 10 years please state_____.

If other, please state: _____(for example, for 4 weeks or
3months 0yrs) including breaks you have had.

5. a) How do you contact clients? **Please tick one box.**

Brothel ☐ Word of mouth ☐ Internet Chatrooms (e.g. Gaydar) ☐ Newspaper

advertising ☐ Flyers/Notices ☐ Other ☐

If other, please state:

_____.

b) Do you work only in London? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

c) If no. What other cities do you work in the United Kingdom? **Please tick one box.**

Please list them _____.

d) Do you travel to other cities outside of the United Kingdom? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

If yes. Please list them _____.

6. a) Have you ever had any female clients? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Skip to Question 8.

b) How many female clients have you had during the time you have been selling sex?

Please tick one box.

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐

If more than 10, please state _____.

c) What ages were they? **Please number the appropriate boxes if more than one female client seen (e.g. 25-32 ☐ 4).**

17-24 ☐ 25-32 ☐ 33-40 ☐ 41-48 ☐ 49-56 ☐

57-64 ☐ 64+ ☐.

d) How did you establish contact with your female clients? **Please tick one box.**

Met at a bar ☐ Met in chatroom on the Internet ☐ Through an advertisement
in a magazine ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please

state:_____.

e) Please state which sex acts were requested by female clients?

Please tick the boxes that apply.

Full anal sexual intercourse ☐ Oral penetration by penis ☐

Anal penetration by finger ☐ Vaginal intercourse ☐

Other ☐. If other please state: _____.

f) ***Please number box regarding the sexual acts most often requested by
female clients (1 = most frequent, 2 = second most frequent, 3= less common acts
4=least requested acts).***

Full anal sexual intercourse ☐ Oral penetration by penis ☐

Anal penetration by finger ☐ Vaginal intercourse ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state:_____.

7. Where do you take your female clients? (car, 'cottage', hotel room, own flat etc.)?

Car ☐ Cottages (public toilets) ☐ Hotel room ☐ Own flat ☐

Client's flat ☐ Brothel ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state _____.

8. a) Have you ever sold sex on the street? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐

If no. Skip to Q9.

b) If yes. How long has it been since you have sold sex on the street? **Please tick one box.**

1 year ☐ 3 years ☐ 5 years ☐ 7 years ☐ 10 years ☐

Other ☐. If other, please state _____.

c) Where do you take your male clients? (car, 'cottage', hotel room, own flat etc.)?

Please tick the boxes that apply.

Car ☐ Cottages (public toilets) ☐ Hotel room ☐ Own flat ☐

Client's flat ☐ Brothel ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state _____.

9. Do you sell sex from **off-street venues** (such as brothels etc)? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

10. a) Does whether you sell sex on the street or through apartments or brothels depend on what international city you are in? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

b) If yes. Please explain. (For example in Barcelona it is easier to sell sex on the streets)

11. a) Have you have experienced sexual violence (such as forced anal intercourse) during the course of your work at an **off-street location** (for example, flat or brothel)? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐

If no. Skip to Question 12.

b) Please state the type of **off-street locations**. Please **tick** which boxes apply.

Flat ☐ Hotel room ☐ Brothel ☐ Other ☐.

If other please state_____.

c) Please number the type of sexually violent acts experienced on these occasions

Please **number** the boxes (1 = most frequent, 2= less frequent 3 = rare 4 = happened once).

Forced anal intercourse ☐ Forced oral penetration by penis ☐ Anal penetration
by finger ☐ Anal penetration by object ☐ Forced oral-genital contact
("rimming") ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

d) Was the client intoxicated (drunk) or high? Please **tick** the appropriate box.

Alcohol ☐ Ketamine ☐ Ecstasy ☐ Hash ☐ Crystal Meth. ☐
Cocaine ☐ Heroin ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

12. a) Have you experienced sexual violence when selling sex on the street?

Please **tick** the appropriate box.

Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Skip to Q.26.

b) If yes. On how many occasions? Please **tick one** box.

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐

If more than 6 occasions, please state how many: _____.

c) Had you taken anything or drunk anything prior to meeting the client or when with them? Please **tick** the appropriate box.

Yes ☐ No ☐.

d) If yes. What did you take? Please **tick** the appropriate boxes.

Alcohol ☐ Ketamine ☐ Ecstasy ☐ Hash ☐ Crystal Meth. ☐

Cocaine ☐ Heroin ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state _____.

e) Please **number** the type of sexually violent acts experienced on these occasions

Please **number** the boxes (1 = most frequent, 2= less frequent 3 = rarely 4 = happened once).

Forced anal intercourse ☐ Forced oral penetration by penis ☐ anal

penetration by finger ☐ anal penetration by object ☐

Forced oral-genital contact (“rimming”) ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

f) State the circumstances of the sexual assault. (Was there a disagreement between you and the client?) **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

g) If yes. What was the disagreement about? **Please tick one box.**

The use of condoms ☐ Sexual acts to be performed ☐ Other ☐

If other, please state_____.

h) Where did these incidents happen? (**Number boxes according to the number of sexual violence incidents which occurred at these venues**).

Car ☐ Your flat ☐ The client's flat ☐ A hotel room ☐ Brothel ☐

Other ☐. If other, Please state_____.

i) Please specify which acts were attempted on this/these occasion(s).

j) Please specify if these acts completed on this/these occasion(s).

k) How did you respond to the rape attack? **Please tick boxes where applicable.**

1. Froze ☐.
2. Used physical and or verbal strategies ☐.
3. If physical and/or verbal strategies were used please describe:

13. How long did the/these incident(s) last? **Please tick boxes that apply if more than one incident.**

30 mins ☐ 1-2hours ☐ 3-4hours ☐ 5-6 hours ☐ 7-8 hours ☐ 9-10
hours ☐ 11-12 hours ☐ **overnight** ☐

More than 12 hours. Please state _____ hours/ days (**delete as appropriate**).

14. How many clients were present? **Please tick one box.**

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ More than 6 ☐.

If more than 6, please state _____.

15. a) Was any homophobic language used? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

b) If yes . Please give examples of the words used.

c) Was any racist language used? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

d) If yes. Please give examples of the words used.

16. a) How did this/these incident(s) affect you? **Please tick boxes that apply.**

Depressed ☐ Exploited ☐ Fearful ☐ Confused about

your sexual orientation (Being gay, bi-sexual, heterosexual) ☐ No effect ☐

Other ☐. If other please state_____.

b) How did this incident affect your lifestyle? **Tick as many boxes as apply.**

You are more fearful of meeting new clients ☐

You choose the location where you will take the client ☐

You tell friends where you are going ☐

You get friends to call you at a certain time unknown to client ☐

In your private life, you are seeing more sexual partners ☐

You are seeing less sexual partners in your private life ☐

Other ☐.

If other please state_____.

17. Was/were this/these client(s) known to you? **Please tick one box.**

First time client(s) ☐ Client(s) seen before ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

18. If you had seen this/these client(s) before. On how many occasions?

Please tick one box.

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐.

If more than 5 occasions. Please state_____.

19. a) Had this happened before with this client? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

b) If yes. On how many occasions? **Please tick one box.**

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐.

If more than 5 occasions. Please state_____.

20. What physical injuries were inflicted? **Please tick as many boxes as apply.**

Bruising ☐ Skin lacerations ☐ Broken bones ☐ Internal injuries ☐

Other ☐. If other, please state_____.

21. a) Did you seek medical treatment? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

If no. Skip to Q.22.

b) **Please tick which you attended, if any.**

Hospital ☐ G.P. ☐ SARC (Sexual Assault Referral Centre) ☐

Sexual Health Clinic ☐ GUM (Genito Urinary Clinic) ☐

Sapphire Suite ☐.

- c) If you did not attend one of these what were the reasons behind this?

Please tick one box.

Thought you would be judged ☐ Did not want to answer awkward questions ☐

Injuries did not need medical attention ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state _____.

- d) Did you tell them about the circumstances of the assault? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐

- e) If no. Why not? **Please tick one box.**

Thought you would be treated negatively ☐

Afraid the police might be informed ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state _____.

22. a) Did you report the crime to the Police? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

b) If no. What factors influenced this decision? **Please tick one box.**

Thought the police would not believe you ☐

Anti –gay response expected ☐ Lack of confidence in the police ☐

Because the assailant was a client ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

c) If yes. What was the response of the Police? **Please tick one box.**

Supportive ☐ Judgmental ☐ Anti-gay ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

23. a) How far did your case progress within the Criminal Justice System? **Please tick one box.**

Case fully investigated ☐ Case went to court ☐ Case withdrawn due to

insufficient forensic evidence ☐ Central Prosecution Service (CPS) decided the

case was not strong enough to go to trial ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

Skip to Q.24 if the case(s) did not reach the courts.

b) If the case(s) went to court what was the outcome? (for example the sentence received by the assailant(s)). Please state the outcome(s).

24. As a result of these sexually violent incident(s), do you do anything differently now when meeting clients? **Please tick as many boxes as appropriate.**

Carry a weapon ☐ Tell a friend where you are meeting a client ☐

Get friend to call at a certain time ☐

Cut off point at a certain time of night regarding the meeting of clients ☐

Always check venues for potential weapons ☐ Other ☐.

If other, please state_____.

25. a) Did you contact any victim support agencies for help? **Please tick one box.**

Yes ☐ No ☐.

b) If yes. Which ones? **Please tick as many boxes as are appropriate.**

Survivors ☐ Victim Support ☐ Rape Crisis Centre ☐ Other ☐.

If other please state_____.

26. If a friend of yours found themselves in a similar situation having been sexually victimised. What advice would you give them? (E.g. regarding reporting the incident and what support services to contact?)

27. **Any further comments?**

(Please use additional sheet if required).

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 2.5.3 List of Themes and Sub-Themes derived from the Qualitative Content of the Tick-Box Questionnaire Data

| Themes | Sub-Themes |
|---------------------------|--|
| Sexual Violence | <p>Coerced sex acts</p> <p>Drug and alcohol consumption and condom use</p> <p>Resistance strategies</p> <p>Impact on lifestyles</p> |
| Advice | <p>Health – HIV status</p> <p>Risk (of violence) assessment of client</p> |
| Sex work as an Occupation | <p>Enjoyment</p> <p>Not sordid</p> <p>Dangerousness of street sex work</p> <p>Lower risks of sexual violence and STIs in the porn industry</p> |

Appendix 2.6 Telephone Interview Script

Hi! My name is Joanna. I am carrying out research at the University of Leicester on sexual violence committed by clients against male sex workers focusing on escorts. What I mean by '*sexual violence*' (are forced sexual acts which had not been negotiated at the beginning, for example if a blow job was agreed upon but then the client buggered you as well). Although, I am particularly looking at incidents where clients may have raped escorts, I am also interested in situations where clients have engaged in any unwanted sexual acts against the escorts

If you are interested in participating in this research then you can complete a questionnaire at www.mswrapesurvivors.com. My research is independent and unfunded but the Working Men Project and SW5 are supportive and also have links to my web page on their website.

The aim of this research is to improve services for escorts and other male sex workers who may have been subjected to sexual violence by raising awareness of this issue and feeding back to the relevant organisations how they can improve services for this group. These questionnaires also ask for information in general about male sex work, as not a lot of research has been carried out on escort work. **All questionnaires will be anonymised and coded so there will be no way to connect the information back to you.**

Appendix 2.6.1 A Record of the Escorts Contacted and the Outcome of the Telephone Interviews.

| | Date | Escort | Location | Ethnicity | MOB | Outcome | Need to call again | Publication |
|----|----------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----|--|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. | 06/10/05 | M. | Oxford Circus | Caucasian | | *N/A | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | M. | | | | Not willing to participate | - | |
| 2. | 06/10/05 | R. (19 yrs) | | Caucasian | | N/A | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | R. | | Caucasian | | N/A | - | |
| 3. | 25/11/05 | | Yorkshire | | | N/A – Answering machine – didn’t leave a message. | BDSM No. | |
| 4. | 06/10/05 | Rh | Soho | Oriental | | Positive response will check out my website and complete survey. | - | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 5. | 06/10/05 | V. | | Black | | E-mailed – no response from [e-mail address]. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | V. | | | | Doesn’t wish to participate. | | |
| 6. | 06/10/05 | Rb | Soho | Caucasian | | No experiences of SV – Not willing to complete survey. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 7. | 06/10/05 | A. | Northampton Northampton | Caucasian | | E-mailed [e-mail address] – no response. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | A, | | | | Telephone number not in service. | | |
| 8. | 06/10/05 | Rj | | Indian | | E-mailed [e-mail address] – no response. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | Rj | | | | Escort said send him the link via his e-mail address. | | |
| 9. | 06/10/05 | J. | | Caucasian | | E-mailed [e-mail address] – no response. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 22/11/05 | J. | | | | Positive about research have given him my website address. | | |

| | Date | Escort | Location | Ethnicity | MOB | Outcome | Need to call again | Publication |
|-----|----------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----|---|--------------------|------------------|
| 10. | 06/10/05 | S.R. | Yorkshire | Caucasian | | Interested but not overly enthusiastic re. completing survey. Wanted me to call again – not appropriate. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 11. | 06/10/05 | B. | | Caucasian | | E-mailed [e-mail address] – no response. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 24/11/05 | B. | | | | Said to e-mail him the link. E-mail sent on the 24/11/05. | | |
| 12. | 06/10/05 | D. | | Caucasian | | E-mailed [e-mail address]. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 25/11/05 | D. | | | | Said to e-mail him the details at [e-mail address]. | | |
| 13. | 06/10/05 | L. | Soho | Black | | Positive response – asked me to text the details which I did and he has completed the survey. | - | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 14. | | P. | | Caucasian | | Positive interest – gave him my web address. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 15. | 25/11/05 | B. | | Caucasian | | Interested – asked me to e-mail him my link to survey at [e-mail address]. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 16. | 10/11/05 | Lk. | | Caucasian | | N/A – doesn't accept withheld numbers – which is what the university number is. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 17. | 10/11/05 | L. | | Caucasian | | N/A. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 25/11/05 | L. | | | | Answering machine – didn't leave a message. | | |
| 18. | 10/11/05 | Jy | | Indian | | N/A. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 25/11/05 | Jy | | | | Not interested in participating in this research. | | |
| 19. | 10.11.05 | M. | | Caucasian | | Positive response – believes those escorts working from brothels, those who take drugs with their clients and are young are more at risk. 8 years ago an incident happened re. Non-payment – altercation ensued and then hit client with a frying pan in self defence. Gave him my website address to complete the questionnaire. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 20. | 11/11/05 | C. | | Caucasian | | Positive – He asked me to e-mail him the details at [e-mail address] | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |

| | Date | Escort | Location | Ethnicity | MOB | Outcome | Need to call again | Publication |
|-----|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------|-----|---|--------------------|------------------|
| 21. | 11/11/05 | G. | | Caucasian | | No SV but maybe willing to participate – he took down the details of the website. Discussed the lack of political organisation of male escorts compared to female escorts. He mentioned how dated the government’s approach is - as they are still under the impression that the majority of male prostitution is street-based whereas the reverse is true regarding off-street prostitution. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 22. | 26/10/05 | M. | | Caucasian | | Based in Soho – interested asked to send him an e-mail which I did to [e-mail address]. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 23. | 11/11/05 | Canadian M. | | Caucasian | | Positive response – asked me to e-mail him at [e-mail address]. | No | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 24. | 11/11/05 | Capital Escorts | | | | No record of any SV according to their escorts and have been running 25 years. Said try GAYDAR. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 25. | - | T. | | Caucasian | | N/A. | Yes | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 25/11/05 | T. | | | | Number unavailable. | | |
| 26. | 25/11/05 | Ri | | | | Interested and asked me to e-mail details to [e-mail address]. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 27. | 25/11/05 | Ls | | | | Interested and has taken the website address. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 28. | 25/11/05 | Li | | | | Telephone number discontinued. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 29. | 25/11/05 | Do | | | | N/A – answering machine didn’t leave a message. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 29/11/05 | Do | | | | He asked me to text him the address for the link re. the survey. | | |
| 30. | 25/11/05 | Po | | | | N/A – answering machine didn’t leave a message. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 29/11/05 | Po | | | | N/A. | | |
| 31. | 25/11/05 | Ts | | | | N/A. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 29/11/05 | Ts | | | | N/A – May not answer withheld numbers. | | |

| | Date | Escort | Location | Ethnicity | MOB | Outcome | Need to call again | Publication |
|-----|----------|-----------------|------------|----------------|-----|--|--------------------|------------------|
| 32. | 25/11/05 | K. | | | | No SV experienced himself - but will put down any relevant info. re. escorting, asked me to e-mail him at [e-mail address] He also suggested that SV was likely to be pretty rare. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 33. | 29/11/05 | MI (Spanish) | | | | No answer – didn't leave message. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 34. | 29/11/05 | Sy - Paddington | | Indian | | No answer – didn't leave a message. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 35. | 29/11/05 | Mo | | Indian | | Not interested has not experienced any sexual violence. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 36. | 29/11/05 | FYB (19 yrs) | (Victoria) | | | N/A. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 30/11/05 | | | | | N/A – went straight to his answering machine. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 37. | 29/11/05 | Ry | | Italian/Indian | | N/A | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| | 30/11/05 | Ry | | | | N/A - calls going straight to his answering machine. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 38. | 29/11/05 | Le | | | | Not interested. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 39. | 29/11/05 | Dn (26 yrs) | | | | Couldn't talk at the moment but not interested has not experienced any SV. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 40. | 29/11/05 | Ao (25 yrs) | | | | Asked to text link and he will complete the survey. Texted him the link. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 41. | 30/11/05 | Kn | | | | N/A | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 42. | 30/11/05 | Pl | | | | N/A – Said to call him later. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 43. | 30/11/05 | Mk | | | | N/A | | <i>Gay Times</i> |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|----|----------------|--|--|---|--|------------------|
| 44. | 30/11/05 | Mc | Central London | | | Yes – will have a look and asked me to send him a text. But, he has not experienced any sexual violence. I texted the link. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |
| 45. | 30/11/05 | DI | | | | Very little English – but asked me to text link, which I have done. | | <i>Gay Times</i> |

*N/A = No answer, SV = Sexual Violence.

Appendix 2.7 Male Escort Interview Schedule

Provided introduction regarding my PhD research on client-perpetrated sexual violence against male escorts. Remind participants that this information is being gathered to present at the Western Region Scientific Study of Sexuality Annual Conference in San Francisco.

The ice- breaker used was that although as a research in the area of male sex work I had an understanding of the theoretical issues and concerns of male sex workers as highlighted by the available research. I am keen to understand the escorting '*scene*' in London from their perspective.

1. Have you ever engaged in street-based prostitution?
2. Do you work from off-street locations such as brothels, saunas, own apartment, client's apartment or hire a venue (apartment when required)?
3. What were your reasons for engaging in male sex work on a full/part-time basis?
4. Where are the main locations used by male escorts e.g. Soho, Earl's Court, Coleherne bar (largest gay bar in Europe)?
5. How do you make contact with clients e.g. through gay bars, train stations,
6. Do you advertise online or through the *Gay Times* etc.?
7. Can you give an estimate of the fees that are charged?
8. Do you use recreational drugs or alcohol with clients?
9. Which is more popular street or off-street based sex work?
10. Is the 'carding' of telephone boxes still used?
11. What times are the most busiest for them?
12. Have you ever experienced sexual violence (e.g. being forced to do a sex act not previously agreed etc.) by a client?

Appendix 2.7.1 Male Escort Interview Transcripts

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Interviewer: | <i>"Bascially...It is [D...] isn't it?"</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>"Yes."</i> |
| Researcher: | <i>"I am going to be presenting at this conference in San Francisco on some of my research on male sex work. Because I can only read so much, and I really want to know what is going on in the London 'scene' and...so your kind of ...you know... your own perspective on it. And also may be a little bit about yourself and stuff..."</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>"Ok".</i> |
| Interviewer: | <i>"I have got a couple of questions, it is very informal".</i> |
| Interviewer: | <i>"Do you do any street work at all or is it mainly off-street?"</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>"... the closest I got to the street-based is I done a bit of 'phone boxing'/'carding'..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I was going to ask you about that".</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>"...I've never mmm gone in the streets to find a client, No..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh yeah, so definitely not that [working on the streets]...I know that is kind of less than it used to be more popular".</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>"For women and transsexuals you can do it...but for gay men except maybe less experienced ones, you hardly ever or very rarely find a gay man who does street work".</i> |
| Interviewer: | <i>"I know it has dropped off a fair bit [street-based sex work], so it is mostly off-street.</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You talk about 'carding' telephone boxes, this has lessened as well, because of</i> |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| | <i>the law and British Telecom...?”</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“Again, ladies and transsexuals do ‘carding’...: “When I did ‘carding’ I was getting, they were like a ‘straight’ ‘straight’ clients...out clubbing. They were not clients that were coming to see me, just obviously got a bit too horny and ‘oh let’s see what it’s like with a boy’...too many...and (laughs) it just really didn’t work out too well...so I wouldn’t do it again...when I did it I just did it I thought, well, to see if I could get any clients and I got a couple but I wouldn’t do it again and I don’t think any other boys would”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“So they were just curious, yeah?”.</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“Yeah...yes....too much time...”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“‘Carding’ not that popular either any more among gay escorts”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“How would you make contact then with clients?”</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“I would use the Internet, Internet profiles, I did work for an escort agency for a little while, but now I’ve started using Internet profiles and advertising”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Would that be advertising solely on the Internet or through gay publications such as ‘BOYZ’?”.</i> |
| MSWP1: | <i>“I have done ‘BOYZ’ before but lot of people do do ‘BOYZ’ but I don’t ‘cause just for the simple fact there is too many people on there”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“I know there are a wide variety of gay publications out there, so if ‘BOYZ’ is choc-a-block full of escorts advertising, which ones would you kind of prefer then or . . ?”</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“Explain what do you mean?”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Like which magazines or would it be solely on the Internet that you advertise?”.</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“I would advertise in the ‘Gay Times’”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“It would be rare to put a photo in to advertise your services in the ‘Gay</i> |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| | <i>Times'?"</i> . |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No not at all, I would put a picture, but it would have to be a good one and I have my picture on the Internet. I need to build up my body a bit before putting a picture in, do get better clients [from the Gay Times]"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"It is high maintenance, isn't it?"</i> . |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"For the Internet – would it be like 'Gaydar' and stuff?"</i> . |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, it would be 'Gaydar...Sleepyboyz' and things like that..."</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"I have got to kind of tell people in the States what is the situation here, what's happening and stuff. So I figured the best people to tell me are you guys as you 'know where it's at'"</i> . |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Agrees non-verbally"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, so basically, it is more the Internet more than anything which is being used?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, the Internet is the main, main..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, if you can take me through, once you go on the Internet, into a chatroom or something like that, you would make contact with the client – would you give them a mobile number then, or something?"</i> /" |
| MSWP1 | <i>"On the profile, I have got a picture, yeah, and my mobile number will also be on the profile, once they have browsed your picture you will get a call, which is what happens most of the time. You can go into the chatroom, ask what do you want, chat for a bit and then they might give you a call"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"So all they need to do basically is look at your profile?"</i> . |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, it depends on what type of escort they are looking for as to whether they will contact you..."</i> |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Interviewer | <i>"Ok. So they have made contact with you. Would you go to a client's place or....?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Normally whatever is easiest, they come to me".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Do you work from your own apartment?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No, I use, I work from my friend's apartment".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That is good as you have your own space".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, actually I live in a hostel..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"What made you decide to go into sex work?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"You mean escorting?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Sorry, I keep saying 'sex work'"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Originally, I was quite depressed, I went through a pretty bad phase, I didn't know whether...I couldn't face anything...I am now doing another job at the moment..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Ok".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...(continues on) As a student is work experience, I am not getting money for it. I am doing this [escorting] to support myself. Because I have not got enough experience to get a good job, that I start to get a wage, it is just that...Before I was doing it just to get by, whereas now I am getting myself sorted...You gotta do what you gotta do..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yes, got to get some money in".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"So basically, you are doing it [escorting] part-time. I mean are a lot of your friends doing it part-time as well..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So how long have you been doing it [escorting]?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>" Mmm...About a year and 3 months".</i> |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Interviewer | <i>"Not too bad as you have the work that you really want to get into, that's good".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It is no joke trying to do your kinda work experience, when you are not earning the money, but you need to get the work experience to get the job you want. Believe, me I know".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>(Laughs).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"My questions are probably going to go all over the place, and you will probably think, what is she on about..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>(Laughs)</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"What about... mmm... because I know pimps are not that popular or that . . .".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Right".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"(Continues) (what can I say) common, I suppose, in escorting or whatever. What are your own kind of thoughts?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...a place round the corner obviously run by a man, he is very laid back...like pimping as he is running a brothel...you do whatever you want kind of thing".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Not the same as in female kind of escorting, then?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I didn't think so, but I just thought I would ask just to make sure. Again from what I have read, it [escorting] is more independent".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Whereas with kind of female escorting and stuff, there is that tendency, for may be even a partner being involved or whatever, it is totally different".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Mmm (agrees)".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I just wanted to make sure I got it right".</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"That's alright..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Ok, mmm, obviously it would be pretty much similar for 'maids' as well? Or would some escorts have maids? You know where mmm basically, all I have ever seen them mentioned is with female escorts, whereby they would sit in one room, nothing to do with the actual sexual services, they might just keep a note of who is coming when and sort of keeping track of clients and stuff like that and kind of safety feature as well".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I know nothing about that, that is another one of the female escorts things, to have maids...I don't know of any male escorts who have maids...."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah. The laws have become a lot tougher as well even if they are only kind of doing...a list and going out and getting food and stuff (it may be seen as managing the female sex worker/escort)".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay... street-based sex work, I would have thought it would have been in Soho, but as you have said it has dropped off a lot. With regard to escorts kind of doing their own thing, or working from brothels and stuff, where would be the area? Would it be Earl's Court?".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes. Earl's Court..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It's <u>the</u> area. I thought that would be it. What about with regard to pubs and stuff? Because, someone was telling me recently about the Coleherne bar which is the largest gay pub in Europe, apparently".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Really".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, is that still quite popular? Because I am getting differing answers..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, the Coleherne is popular but I think...would go clubbing more than going to the pub".</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"Okay. Clubbing more popular [than going to the pub]. So might you meet clients there?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, never".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I think once in the past...but very rarely. But there are...who encourage you to get high and stuff...I wouldn't pick up a client in a bar stuff, I think you can, but I wouldn't know where to go".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, you have taken clients out clubbing at their request?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I have never taken clients out clubbing (laughs)".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I thought it would be a bit unusual, but you never know".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No, I do know of other escorts who take their clients clubbing...but they go to a club where they don't know anybody".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I don't know whether you might know, not possibly from personal experience but maybe through friends and stuff as to whether they have had any female clients? Because I have not found any information (as woman going to hire an escort)".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I know gay escorts who have done a husband and wife, but you mean male escorts that women pay for sex?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yes".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I...I... don't do it myself but have you heard of 'EROS'?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, I haven't".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"It is a site www.eros.com it has got lots of different escorts on there, it is not really...mainly for transsexuals and women. But there is men on there that have... that women pay... and women pay the men for sex... there are a couple of us advertise in phone boxes...and bisexual couples (man and a woman who would</i> |

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| | <i>do a woman and a man). Some would pick us on type and body...I don't think anyone does it specifically..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Again, there isn't a lot of information on this..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I think, women are less...I don't know why, but I think women are less likely to pay the escorts. I think that market is mmm..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Very specialised..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Quite small...small market, yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"They get paid more though, straight, straight escorts".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right. Mmm. You said that some gay and bisexual escorts would go to see a married couple..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes. They do straight couples but advertise as being bisexual..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I get that now. Okay".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Mmm, again from what I oh...what about your thoughts on...do you think escorting is less kind of stigmatised now, that people don't think of it as kind of a lesser profession that it is more kind of acceptable?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I will be honest with you, I think it is still not seen as quite a low and not a great profession. You got doctors, you got nurses, you got teachers, I don't think it is seen as a normal profession, I think it has still got quite a bit of stigma about it, but I think the...I dunno about straight escorting...but escorting in general has got...gay, gay men, escorting a bit more, I don't know how to say...a bit more, it's not as...working the streets, get crack and smack and it's really like kind of...In London, escorting is...more 'glamorous' is not the right word...mmm..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Respected..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...(contd.) classy..."</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"Rent boys are more..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Ladies that don't do 'street work'...I mean some do, but in comparison to some of the stories regarding escorting. You don't seem to find it in gay escorting, I mean I have heard bad things...in general, most of the escorts go to nice pubs and wear nice clothes and things like that"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, okay"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...(continues) And they are not crack heads (laughs)"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That is what I was gonna ask you? That...I suppose the guys that still, the minority that are still out there on the streets that have crack habits or whatever, because everyone else will have found other ways to contact clients. Okay"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So, this is probably not going to apply now, I'll ask anyway, but previously, you said you wouldn't meet a client in a gay bar"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"But, from some of the stuff I have read, it's been said that before gay bars were used; train stations, adult theatres (you know for like kinda porn films)..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"(Interrupts)...cottaging..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, cottaging and all of that kind of thing, so has it kind of lessened off, all that, there wouldn't be much cottaging and stuff?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I think, what with cottaging in general, which you are not getting paid for there are loads of places you can go. I think you probably could pick up a client that way, but it is not something that I would do. I think if you wanted to take a chance, you could find someone there who would be willing to pay...It's possible to find clients who are quite likely...Sorry, what was the question again?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Mmmm, kind of like adult theatres?"</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"I don't really know about adult theatres...I know they may hang around there but ...".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I think that is more American type stuff, so yeah".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I know that one person and the only place he works is gay bars...".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Cottaging is normally not paid for..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"(Interrrupts) yes, I know but I think it is possible, if someone is gagging for it and they've got the money in their pocket...I think might probably make about £20 or something like that".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, much cheaper there then. I mean with regard to prices and stuff? You know obviously, not how much you charge, but if you could give me a general idea, of how much it would be say, for an hour, or for overnight or whatever?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"For an in-call (which is an hour)...it would be between £80 and £100 for the going rate. For an out-call for one hour is between £120 and £150. And, for overnight some people charge, the average is about £400. Some people do special deals and say I will stay the night for £200 or some people may say an hour for 50 quid kind of thing, it just depends on how quiet it is".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"You will find that the ones that charge...£40 an hour than those charging £45 an hour is earning a lot more because he is getting more clients. He may laugh at him..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So he's the one laughing instead. Right, thanks for that, okay. Right we have talked about clients. Mmm. What okay, as well as the escorting scene where they work from their own apartment, or may be like you have worked from your friend's, mmm. Is there kind of a big recreational drug scene, with poppers and that kind of thing?"</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"Mmm. What do you mean, me and my friends?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, no, just in general..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"The clients use... lots of...lots of clients use poppers...A lot of my friends wont take poppers because mmm...I don't know if you ever tried them?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I tried them once, and they just give you a headache and you just think what's the point? My friend's got the same problem"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"A lot of clients take poppers, but the escorts don't. A lot of clients, well not a lot but some clients take cocaine. And they ask you to do it with them, some people do it and some people don't..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It is your choice isn't it?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, so it is not really part of the scene as such, by the escorts to take drugs with the client?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No, for the escorts to take with the clients is not part of the scene. A lot of escorts take drugs when they are going to a club at the weekend"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay. When they are off duty kind of thing"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"None of them have addictions...I mean obviously some of them have addictions but on the whole they take them recreationally in the club, but they don't have addictions and things obviously..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay so when you are working, mmm, What times would you normally work between?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Normally (Interviewer interrupts)..."</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"I suppose you have to work it around your work experience?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, the work experience is during the week".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, right".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I work from home as well as doing it from my work placement...I pretty much work anytime, but my busiest times are at the weekend...Like I really don't go out as much at the weekends, if I'm worried it is going to be busy, I do my things like going to visit my family, I'll do it during the week and things. The fact is if I go out at the weekend, I think of all the money I could have made that I don't make".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I think, right...I really, really try and work hard during the week..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"The actual job really depends on the clients that you get and a lot of the time they are available at the weekend, so you wouldn't have like set times that you kind of...(MSWP1 interrupts)".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It's like whenever..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...24/7..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I got that 24/7..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Seeing as you have worked for a year and 2 months, have you ever had any kind of dodgy clients, that may have been violent or...?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I have had clients that who were rude and never had clients who were violent, no...with good reason because I am very polite and well mannered..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You have never had any that, you'd agree to whatever services you were going to provide, however, before they would pay you or something like that. They might say, well, no I want this as well, kinda forcing the issue".</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"I am quite strict with clients and sometimes clients will get annoyed because, you are wearing...protected...as I would never want to catch something, and am very funny about it, even if I was to give oral sex I would use a condom. Sometimes, the client...you've got...I would say I just don't want to catch anything...and if I had something now, I could give you something..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yes, so it is for their protection too".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...But I'm clean, but if they are having sex without a condom, they are obviously not going to be clean, and I put it in them kind of term...They isn't really any excuse not to ask for no condom...There is no need...in my eyes they are complete idiots...that actually offer to have sex without a condom".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Exactly, yeah...But then again there are some which are just persistent and yeah, and I presume they ask for more money too".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah...it is just not worth it..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Have you ever had clients that have bounced a cheque or anything like that?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So you have been lucky like that or cash only..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"One client didn't have enough of money and bought me a laptop, then said apparently laptop is being tested..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"...Clearly, you haven't had any bad experiences?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No, I've been quite lucky, with gay escorts, a lot of gay men are a lot less confrontational and married clients are trying to keep it a secret and will just pay the money...it does happen, but is a lot less common than in the popular escorting scene".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yes that is one of the things I am looking as well as whether there is any sexual violence and stuff like that on the escorting scene. Looking at, there seems to be a</i> |

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| | <i>lot more safety procedures in place for female sex workers than male sex workers. I don't know whether you have heard of the 'Ugly Mugs Scheme'?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"What they have is that if there are some dodgy clients, sex work organisations or those that provide help and support to sex workers as opposed to escort agencies (although some may be involved), slips handed out to with the description of these dodgy clients with what they have done or whatever".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"No, I think, it's because it is quite rare to have these type of client...if there was a dodgy client, it would get around very very fast..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Just to avoid..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...even out clubbing...everyone tends to know everybody else...there might be the few who wouldn't find out, but in general, most people will find out, I have got a lot of friends that are escorts, there's a real dodgy one going around...be careful..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay. There is no need then".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I don't know it might help, I am just saying, I don't know, I am not a 100% sure".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I just thought I would ask, in case there was anything that I didn't know about, because, again (MSWP1 interrupts)".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"This place would tell you (SW5)..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yes, that was what [D...] was saying that yeah, that word would kinda get around..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"...Have you or any of your friends worked in any other cities or anything like that...?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"The legal situation...I wouldn't do it...would travel with client if they paid for</i> |

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| | <i>it... ”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“You haven’t worked in escorting yourself in other cities, like?”</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“I have travelled in England...been out of London .once or twice...waste of time... ”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Is this ‘cause as well, this was quite dated research that was done that said some escorts may work in London say for a couple of months and then they might travel to say in Amsterdam...”.</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“Yes, you can make a lot more money by travelling around...obviously...a lot of the people that you find. I think...other countries might be great and have been quite successful travelling around and getting big money...some people take this ...and have got very good reasons why...to work it properly...work really hard and save enough money...to set them up for the future...travelling from city to city”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Again, I think I was reading there was some research about escorts who work in Glasgow and Edinburgh, escorts from there would travel to London sometimes or split their time. Obviously they must be doing it full time”.</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“Yes...If you are working in London you can make a lot more money with a lot less difficulty...then...for the same number of clients”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“At the moment is the completion getting really fierce in London, are there more escorts than clients?”</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>“There is probably more escorts than clients (laughs)...but...there is not...there is a lot of escorts trying to get work, but there is enough clients for everybody”.</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"I suppose there is a lot of competition, but if you look after your body and wear nice clothes and whatever, compared to the more ugly escorts, who are not paying as much attention to themselves and how they are groomed. You are going to get more clients".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yes, obviously, different types...some clients want a bit muscle, some want them a bit skinnier, and some...enough there for everybody. So not much competition unless someone is your type".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"If someone was very good looking but muscley, then no competition, unlike someone who was slim...you don't really get jealous of anyone".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, that's good".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Say with your friends and stuff and they are also involved in escorting, but then again, if you are saying that a particular type...and they look quite different from you then they are not going to be competition for you or there could be problems".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah, There can be problems, sometimes with my friends...I have got some friends who are transsexuals make £250...it kinda works out...works out".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"...Some probably don't work as kind of well together..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I don't really have many friends like myself, they are all quite different".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You must have a preference for a type of client too. Such as clients choose you for example. You might say I don't like the look of him, may be".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"My favourite type of client is rich, well spoken...no...they are very respectable, they're very nice, they are quite interesting as a person as well...all fairly".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So obviously, for those clients you would go back to their hotel and stuff?".</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah, yeah..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I was gonna say would that be a hassle, yeah?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"...There was one client and I forgot to ask his name...So they said what's his name, I'll just check for you? I said don't know his name but I lied and said I always call him by his nick name...and I managed to blag it..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh...yeah, especially if it is a really glitzy hotel, it must be a bit daunting anyway, to go in and stuff?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Would you offer any kind of specialist services, like I know some escorts may specialising in S&M or solely offer one type of service over...?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Do you know what 'active' and 'passive' means?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Well, I like to be 'passive' than 'active', because when you got a 'big old man' in front of ya, it's quite hard to actually get...I don't mind doing it...but obviously when you have to pay... 'watersports' and a lot of these things I wont do...I don't mind things like role play...once you get to know them..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You are making the decision there and then. Because, obviously depending on the client too, you might say yes to say one client who wants to, because you know by their kind of...how they speak or how they behave, that they are not going to be a threat".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Mmm "(affirmation).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Well, I am trying to think...Do you thing I haven't asked you anything that I should have? I have covered a lot of stuff...about violence and safety, the connection between mobile phones and the Internet and profiles and stuff. Mmmm. You don't have to answer this but because you seem quite comfortable</i> |

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| | <i>obviously with the escorting that you do and everything, and you do have friend who are escorts. Do your friends that know you and who aren't escorts know you do escorting work, if you know what I mean or...?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Mmm. A lot of my friends that don't do escorting work I don't tell them... some of them I have told them that I don't do it anymore...most of my, a lot of my, some of my friends like the ones who are transsexuals, all of my friends who I have told and do know are fairly open, they're fairly open-minded and they are fine with the fact that I do it...they don't really mind. I think the attitude is that as long as you are picking your own life, your own option kind of thing..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"They're supportive and stuff..."</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah...all pretty..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I mean you seem quite close with your family and stuff?"</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"I am pretty close with my family, my mum did find out, she...she was a bit annoyed she accepted it and things. But...Soho...and then she couldn't handle it any more...she was then pretty cool with it, but she didn't like me doing it at least not all the time. I didn't tell her, she found out..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, that was what I was gonna... ask you...again through some of the stuff that I have read, it's that about people. They kind of defined as two-phase, that some escorts may, it 's called 'passing' and what it is, is that they may tell some of their friends that they are doing escorting work but they mightn't tell family or other friends and it's kind of a...stressed out...as you have got to kinda remember who I've told what to...and then there is the 'covering' which is not telling anyone so that's even more stress because at least you have some support from the people you have told. So that's why I was asking you that kind of thing".</i> |

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| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah, okay, I'm the 'passing'" .</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You're the 'passing', right. But, that's good that you have kinda a network there, a support network which is really good".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Yeah..." .</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That's good...it's good for your state of mind..." .</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I really appreciate you coming to talk to me".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Well, Good luck with your mmm...presentation".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, yeah, thanks, thanks a million, because I am gonna be saying, well, the guys in London have told me this is how it is".</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>Laughs.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Best of luck with your work experience..." .</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"You too..." .</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Take care..." .</i> |
| MSWP1 | <i>"Okay, Bye".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Bye".</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"So your name is [W...]"</i> . |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yes"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Basically, mmm it is really kind of general stuff"</i> . |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"mmm I had all of these nice neat questions and now I wrote all over it...as I have thought of other things...Mmm. with regard to the street scene in London at the moment, would you say that it has really lessened off now?"</i> . |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, Do you kind of work through brothels or work from your own apartment or do you travel out to clients?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"...I do them all really"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, right okay, it is like whatever"</i> . |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, your own apartment, the client's, and brothels possibly"</i> . |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah"</i> . (MSWP2 confirms the above is correct). |
| Interviewer | <i>"...Would you ever kind of hire a separate apartment to work from?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"No, I'd use my own"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"You don't mind that, 'cause it's your own place and having kind of clients back there?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Not really no, it's fine"</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"How long have you been escorting?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"A year and a half"</i> . |

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| Interviewer | <i>"And mmm how did you find it? Have you had any kinda dodgy kinda clients, that have been abusive or anything like that?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>" Not really, no, I don't think I have".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, okay, with regard to the whole London scene, when there was kind of a street-based clients around Soho and that.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>" Yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"(continues) . . .But mostly kind of brothels or off-street escorting would be around Earl's Court, would that be the main area?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah, yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"For contacting clients, if you could take me through, how you would kind of normally would do it? Whether it is through advertising in the 'Gay Times' or in 'Boyz' or on the Internet.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"I don't use magazines ever, I only use the Internet".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, Internet only, cool". "Okay, would it be 'Gaydar' and stuff".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Is there another one mmm... 'Gay.com or is that name wrong'?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, there is, but I wouldn't use that".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So that would be your preference [Gaydar], you wouldn't use anything else?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"No".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, okay...the client would make contact with you through Gaydar looking at your profile, or possibly calling you on your mobile or whatever. Or would you meet the men in a chat room or something to gauge what they're like?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"...yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I suppose you could probably gauge better by having a brief conversation in a</i> |

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| | <i>chatroom? ”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, I only go in the chat rooms, if I am sat at the computer, if not, it’s just... ”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Okay, mmm can you think, in your opinion whether escorting is now a more acceptable profession?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, yeah”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Do you think that is generally or within the gay community, for example or...”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“I think, definitely more in the gay community, but I know girls who would never have dreamed of doing escorting that are doing it now”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Right, okay, so it is definitely more acceptable that it was?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, a lot more”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“With regards say to your clients, for example, would you accept clients across the board, when they’re gay, or bisexual or female clients or would you just concentrate on one type of clients?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Gay or bisexual”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Gay, or bisexual, okay. Yeah, I was just asking another of the escorts about what the scene was with regard to female clients and whether you would get any or not. He said they were mostly in the minority”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah... ”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Because, again there is not a lot written about females going to escort, so that’s why I was just asking as to whether you might have heard anything or whatever?”. So I just thought I’d ask, ‘cause if I don’t ask I wont find out”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah”.</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>“(continues)...so that’s why I was just asking as to whether you might have heard anything or whatever?” So I just thought I’d ask, ‘cause if I don’t ask I won’t find out”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Okay, with regard to say...not how much you would particularly charge...but in general, what would you consider to be average for like an hour or overnight or whatever?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“£350 for overnight, for an hour (out-calls) £120, (in-calls) £80”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Out-calls, £120, In-calls £80, I’ll have to see how much the Americans charge?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Would you ever ‘card’ telephone boxes to get clients?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“No”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Because, I know that has dropped, off a bit, but it was popular at one time and now it’s not as popular...You probably get better clients by going through the Internet, anyway”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah...it usually means they got more money”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Yeah, for example, say, you have said that you have not had any abusive clients or anything like that. What about clients who may decide on a fee with you for certain service, hadn’t paid you yet but demanded on another service which hadn’t been agreed with you before paying? Has that kind of situation ever happened or?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“No, never”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“They’ve all been quite straightforward.”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah...they’ve all been quite ”.</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"That's good to hear, okay, you've no bad clients at all".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"It's only on the Internet, in the chat rooms, you get a few people, who are...or...say stupid things, one guy wanted to hypnotise me..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"...I think that's pretty dodgy, anyway, I wouldn't like to be hypnotised personally...Is there any particular service that you would say definitely not or would you decide on meeting the client or how would you kind of deal with that (I mean would you do S&M and all these other varieties - more specialised stuff), you know what I mean?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"I don't do specialised things."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Then there would be some guys obviously...offer more specialised stuff..."</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So you're more straightforward"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"They can make more money doing that but it is just too much"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"For all the hassle"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"What about clients being particularly persistent with regard to asking to go 'bareback' or whatever, 'barebacking'?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"You do get a few like that"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"And how did you...?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Just say no"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"They are being a bit silly, aren't they a bit foolish, really?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, I think a lot of them are...really..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Would you say to them possibly, that, no you are not going to do that and explain, kind of why and all that it is safer for them, obviously, as well as you"</i> |

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| MSWP2 | <i>"No, I just tell them no..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, you just tell them no...Right?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"I mean if they were to ask then I would tell them..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"But you think it's just down to them not being aware, really of the many risks. Okay"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"I think a lot of people like around fifty, they never really...they've been married and then they got divorced, and even if they are married, they still have a lot of problems around them then the young ones do."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"They definitely wouldn't be up-to-speed on all of this..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So would you get a lot of older clients or...?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah, yeah..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"...the more mature ones..."</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"(continues) yeah, yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, right, okay...mmm..."</i> <i>"Oh yeah, have you had clients that say they might want to take recreational drugs – and say 'we're doing it and we want you to do it as well'"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, I have done, yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Do you mind doing it or do you do it with some and not others"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Well, I used to not mind doing it, but I've stopped doing drugs now..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, some escorts don't take recreational drugs, you know, while they're working, but at the weekends and stuff they do"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It is good that you have not had any abusive clients, but have you heard yourself through the grapevine or whatever, other escorts having problems with"</i> |

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| | <i>clients that have been... ”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“I did read something in the newspaper round here about a year ago that he was murdered”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh, right”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“A Chinese escort”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“I shall have to look that up now...so that’s about a year ago?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah...about six months to a year”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“I’ll have to check the papers for that...so a Chinese Escort?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, Oriental”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“That would be quite rare?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah...”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“ ‘cause, I mean I know they’ve been doing more...”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“...girls...”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“...females tend to be more targeted than males, which is why I am trying to kind of assess the level of violence...against male escorts”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“The thing is there is more violence towards the young escorts than the older ones...The clients are a bit more...afraid of them ”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“I suppose especially if they go to the gym a bit and...wouldn’t want to...”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“...I was just curious...as well, with regard to some kind of stuff that I have read about, because I have read accounts of escorts being subjected to sexual violence. Or being say, asked for an out-call and when they get there, there is more than one client there? Which is what I was kind of asking as to whether you have heard of any situations like that or...?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“I heard of a friend of mine who had gone to a client and there’s been three</i> |

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| | <i>other escorts there”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh right”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“(continues)...which he didn’t know about”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Right”. “I hope he charged extra”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“No, he didn’t”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh, dear, but that’s not on”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“So have you always worked in London or have you travelled around?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yes...”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“You’ve said you only use the Internet to make contact as opposed to gay bars and stuff like that, whereas some escorts use gay bars”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, yeah, no I only use the Internet”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Are you escorting full-time?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, yeah”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Mmmm. What made you decide to enter into this kind of work?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“...to clear my debts...”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Good motivator...”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“How do you find it? ‘Cause you’ve been doing it a year and 6 months”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Well, yeah, I am trying to get a part-time job, now...the need’s gone down...”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh, right”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“(continues) as there’s more people doing it now”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Yeah, I was going to ask you that now, as to whether there was more competition now?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, there’s a hell of a lot”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“So there seems to be more escorts than clients?”.</i> |

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| MSWP2 | <i>"Mmm (affirmation)".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"But then I was told that it depends on the escorts, as obviously some clients have particular types that they go for".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, that's true".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"(continues) so...there may be more competition between some escorts than others, kind of thing"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right...so you are hoping to get a part-time job, well, good luck with that. Anything in particular, anything you fancy?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Just bar work at the moment, but I plan to move on to music production".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Really...".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah...music company"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Wow, excellent, the music biz, can't get more exciting than that... Well best of luck with that."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Well, do you think I haven't asked you anything that I should know about the London 'scene'?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Mmm".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I think I have got everything covered".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Just that there are a lot more straight men doing it now".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Really...that's interesting 'cause...".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"(continues) especially Eastern European and Brazilian...or they say they are straight and then change to bisexual after a while".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, okay. Would this be, 'cause I know there is kind of different escort agencies and stuff like that, but those that you were saying were straight and stuff, would</i> |

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| | <i>that be at the more kind of...the higher end – kind of ‘Suited and Booted’ type ones?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>(Non-verbal communication).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Right. So they would be targeting more female clients...?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“No, they would still be targeting male clients”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh, right, okay...ahh, they are still targeting male clients but saying that they are straight”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Mmm (affirmative)”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“That’s interesting”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“You get a few like that...Eastern European...you get Brazilians like that as well”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“...later on they say they’re bisexual”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah, it’s just they’re not open about their sexuality”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“They’re sort of figuring it out that it is easier to say straight first and then...”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“I know some of them send money back home to their family, and they show me pictures of their children and things”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Right, so, I suppose if they are Eastern European, it’s probably that they can’t get legitimate work as well”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“I suppose they would mostly work through brothels and stuff would they?”.</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“Yeah”.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“(continues) they wouldn’t be independent, anyway or would some of them?”</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>“ Immigration issues....some based in brothels...others independent ”</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>“Oh right”</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"Because I would have figured it would be easier to work through a brothel, rather than being independent..."</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>" (continues) Especially if they are Eastern European or whatever, yeah. Well that's interesting. Is there a bigger influx of Eastern European escorts on the 'scene', really? I know with regard to female escorts there are a lot more coming in now "</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, there is now I would say"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"As you said...(I don't know where your accent is from?)..."</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yorkshire"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, right, I was only up there the other day"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Really"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I like York. "And I was in Sheffield recently. Yeah, York is really nice"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah it is yeah"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"But, eh, God, a long way from home"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>(Laughs).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"But eh, it doesn't take too long on the train"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Nah, I manage to get back in two and a half hours"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, not too bad..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"This will be the last question, as I have taken up enough of your time as it is. But, would you have like friends who are escorts or do a lot of your friends not know you are escorting or"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Some do, some don't, I've got a few friends who are escorts"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah...okay"</i> |

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| MSWP2 | <i>"It would depend on the person".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, I know...So how long have you been down in London, then?"</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Five years now".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Wow, you like it here, obviously, mind you there would be a lot more action here than in York".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"Yeah, yeah..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Mmm, right, I think that is pretty much everything covered". "Thanks a million [W.] for sparing the time. Take care and I wish you the very best as well".</i> |
| MSWP2 | <i>"You too. Bye".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Bye".</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, so basically, how long have you been escorting?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Two years".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Do you work from your own apartment or brothels or..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Sometimes my own apartment, sometimes in brothels..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Sometimes at the client's..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Of course".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, right. Mmm. So why did you start escorting, what kind of made you decide really that..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"I started because, mainly, I was...in London, and...it was hard for me to find work because my English was really low, and don't have any kind of support from my family, and...doing everything for myself".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"God, yeah".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"(continues) and so...I put this type...and now I put my advertisement..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right, so you advertised in the magazines".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Magazines, Internet..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So for the magazines would it be like 'Gay Times', or 'would it be Boyz' or...?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"'Gay Times', actually I don't get any kind of feedback from 'Gay Times', I have to say, now I have to work...what I get from 'Boyz'. But not much difference, really for me. Some people told me that they working quite a lot".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"(continues) so I don't know really, may be the picture, may be when I answer the phone but...I never receive too much calls".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No. That's a pity".</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"On the Internet, do you get more feedback, more clients".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yees. But you know, I think more Eastern Europeans, things have really changed. I don't know, I ask you..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, some have said there is a lot of competition, but some have said that it depends on the escorts themselves with regard to . . .the clients will like a particular type".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yeah, of course".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"(continues) or it may be that some types are more popular than others".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Which types are more popular?" (laughs).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"They didn't tell me which type, but they were just kind of saying that some clients liked say 'tall and skinny' or 'well built' or, you know...so there's that kind of range".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>(Laughs)</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, they didn't say that 'tall, blond with blue eyes may be the favourite, no, they didn't say anything like that. It's just they said that there is a lot more competition now because there are a lot more escorts than clients, and that's why they said it is difficult for some escorts to get work and things so...you know that's what they are saying generally".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Because, I have a Chinese friend..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I mean obviously there may be a big demand for Chinese escorts, so you know, it depends really. It depends on the picture in the magazines, the quality of that, and a whole lot of other factors".</i> |

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| MSWP3 | <i>"I put a really good picture in...and despite that picture nobody called me. Everyone...other escorts got a lot of calls...I don't know..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, it's...it's a tough one, this is what I have been told so far. So, you are doing it full time?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Mainly, yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"At weekends mostly? Or...well if you are doing it full time it is everyday, isn't it".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Actually, the day I have more work, is Friday or Sunday".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh right, so Friday and Sunday".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Some of them I asked as well whether they put cards in telephone boxes, because people used to that, escorts used to do that but they don't do it anymore".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Usually transsexuals...people..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, okay".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Transsexuals, more easy for them to find work, I don't know why but..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I don't know a lot about trans..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>Interrupts. "Transsexuals".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Transsexuals, I was going to say transgendered". Mmm. So the clients that you've had, have they been married or gay, or a mixture".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"...all of them..." really, many, many, many, types".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"All different types..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"...really, really, many, many, many, types".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So you've had all types then, gay, straight, all, married..."</i> |

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| MSWP3 | <i>"Yes, I have tried everything "</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Sometimes, I did it with another escort".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So two together with a client".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No, no an escort paid me" (laughs).</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"oh, right, that's interesting. Oh, for the Internet was it Gaydar".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yeah".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That seems to be what everyone uses".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Gaydar, Gay London Escorts..."</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Gay London Extra?"</i> . |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Gay London Escorts (that is quality one), Escupedo".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Have you ever had any clients who were kind of violent, or abusive to you?"</i> . |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Sorry..."</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Who were aggressive?"</i> . |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Who...for the moment, till today, no aggressive, no aggressive".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Most people have said that their clients are fine, they haven't been violent or hit them or anything like that so. You know not nasty clients, they've all been nice".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"I am quite lucky, I think".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I think people are, seem to be, unlike the female scene where there seems to be more violence than on the male scene".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Because they are more vulnerable".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, well, they more on the streets, than off street in brothels, in saunas..."</i> . |
| Interviewer | <i>"Would you ever make contact with clients in saunas or anything like that?"</i> . |
| MSWP3 | <i>"What...?"</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"In saunas?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Noooo. Not really into that. I don't like".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It's better through the Internet".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"May be, too..".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Depressing?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yeah, I can't stay in the sauna".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, really I don't know much about saunas".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Really expensive, actually £14/£15 just to go there".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"So they are rising the price...when I was in London first, was £10 now £15 in three years".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, that's a lot especially if you are not going to be guaranteed to get . . .".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"(interrupts) and the escort doesn't get much...some amount of money".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It's not good, not good".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You are doing your escorting work, it must be difficult to find other kinds of work, if you're doing this full time as well, anyway".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"...I think from the point of view, really, I don't really like doing escorting work but I don't really disprove myself for doing it. So, no way. I no happy, but I no sad. It's ok".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"It's okay, yeah, it's good not being sad".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No sad, no because...No."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That's okay, then. Some are part-time and looking for other work".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Actually, I...I am a student so doing a course. No"</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"That's good".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"...No, no, not doing only, only, this".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You need a break, yeah".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No, of course".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"And I work for this family and make espresso...not only this".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"When it happen, happens, I try to organise it myself, in a way it is more in the night, more in the evening".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"That's what I was going to ask you, mostly evenings?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Sometimes, they will call at one o'clock and want to have this for two, so everything is...everything..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, have the clients asked you to take drugs, if they're taking drugs if they ask you to take them?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No, actually it is my choice, if they take drugs, that I take as well but I don't like ecstasy or...cocaine is fine...crystal...I don't like cheap drugs too much".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Right. With regard to the London 'scene', do you think there is a particular drug preferred by escorts?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yeah, crystal..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Crystal meth".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"It is lovely".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Would some of your clients have taken alcohol and stuff before you met them, would that be often, no, or?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"No".</i> |

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| Interviewer | <i>"Have you had any drunk clients?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"...No...absolutely".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"You would say no anyway to them if they were drunk, would you?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"It depends on...which way drunk".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, how badly".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Okay".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, I was also going to ask whether there were any particular services you . . . that you wouldn't provide. Like you might say no I don't do S&M, you would tell the client..."</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"(interrupts), Sometimes, I say, sometimes...especially asked for 'barebacking' I try to don't do that...Only one time I did like that..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Okay, yeah because I heard clients asked for that a lot for 'bareback'. They're trying their luck, because most escorts were saying that they would say no, that they won't do it and they have to, it's...some clients are not mmm well educated about the risks of 'barebacking'. They don't know all the problems...so".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"They know...but".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, they are ignoring, okay, they are pretending they don't know then".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"In a way it is more exciting the 'barebacking sex'".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, some escorts have said, not those I have met today, but those that I have read about that there is a lot of married clients might say, well, I'm married so therefore I don't need to wear a condom...I am safe, kind of thing. They will try that excuse".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Would you say that the Earl's Court is the key area for male sex work, with regard to working from brothels, or saunas, that is the main point...etc.</i> |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yes, maybe, Soho for escorts is one of the focal points for sure".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I know Soho used to be popular but not so much popular now?".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"I think still quite popular, it's more organised now.</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So more organised in Earl's Court?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yeah. I think so anyway...I mean the focal point definitely is Earl's Court. But, anyway, the West End...is too much...this is because this is hard, basically...the more rich people...much money. If the people already working in East End they...here. I know a lot of them, they work...in Canary Wharf".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Mmm, yeah, nice. Okay, alright, very quickly. I don't want to take too much time and I have to go for my train soon as well. If you could tell me kind of what the charges are in general for escorting, I know they probably differ, but say for an hour or for overnight. What you think the average would be?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"The average £300 between £300-£400 for overnight. I don't know, I think the escorts make this really really large but I think they may take..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"So they might go for less".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Yes".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"What about for out-calls?".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"£100-£120..."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"And for in-calls?".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"£80-£100".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Do you think there is anything that I haven't asked you that you think I should know?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Nooo, I don't know."</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I think we have covered a lot".</i> |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| MSWP3 | <i>"I thought this was an interview for drugs...but it is not for drugs"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"No, no, that was just, it is just basically what is the general situation really, and your own opinion on escorting, so...I am trying to think, I have covered about making contact, and...possible reasons why...to enter into escorting, charges and stuff, because that all comes into it".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"I think we have covered most everything".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Yeah, I think so. 'Cause the Internet seems to be a favourite for making contact".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Actually, I prefer that way".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Well, thank you very much, I really appreciate you coming to see me, and I wish you the very best".</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"You have any vouchers, gift vouchers, I was just asking...?"</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Thank you so much. By the way where you from?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"I am part Italian".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"I thought there was Italian in your accent, 'cause I 've got friends in Italy so ...Okay, well, best of luck. What are you studying, by the way?"</i> |
| MSWP3 | <i>"Photography".</i> |
| Interviewer | <i>"Oh, I hope it all works out".</i> |

Appendix 2.7.2 List of Themes and Sub-Themes derived from the Interview Data

| Themes | Sub-Themes |
|-------------------|---|
| Phenomenology | <p>Phoneboxing</p> <p>Street-based sex work</p> <p>Alternative venues</p> <p>Brothels</p> <p>Multiple venues</p> <p>Geographic locations</p> <p>Pimping</p> |
| Accessing clients | <p>Gay publications</p> <p>The Internet</p> <p>Older clients</p> <p>Saunas</p> <p>Difficulties in attracting clients</p> |
| Stigma | <p>The Gay community</p> <p>Family reaction</p> |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Drug Misuse | <p>Recreational drug use</p> <p>Taking drugs when with clients</p> |
| Barebacking | <p>Desired by clients</p> <p>Most escorts unwilling to have unprotected sex</p> <p>Those escorts who do not wear condoms are stupid</p> <p>Older previously married clients believe marriage is a protective factor</p> <p>Sometimes persuaded by clients</p> |
| Sexual Orientation | <p>Increase in straight men escorting</p> <p>Eastern European and Brazilian men</p> <p>Fluidity of sexual orientation</p> |
| Absence of Sexual Violence | <p>Gay men non-confrontational</p> <p>Secretive nature of clients</p> <p>Lucky</p> <p>Female sex workers more vulnerable</p> <p>Young male escorts more at risk</p> <p>No formalised warning system necessary</p> <p>Sexual violence only a problem with heterosexual clients</p> <p>Denial as a protectionist response against demonisation by heterosexist society</p> |

| | |
|--|---|
| Absence of Sexual Violence | <p>Gay men as non-confrontational</p> <p>Secretive nature of clients</p> <p>Lucky</p> <p>Young inexperienced male sex workers at risk</p> |
| Female sex workers as victims of sexual violence | |
| Intoxicated clients | |

Appendix 3.1 The Content Analysis Dictionary for the Crime Scene Variables.

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1. | year |
| | This is the year the newspaper article was published. |
| 2. | publication |
| | This variable provides information regarding distribution such as being a 1=regional broadsheet, 2= national tabloid, 3=national broadsheet, 4= international broadsheet, 5=web source, and 6= regional tabloid. |
| 3. | country |
| | Home country of the publication |
| 4. | journalistgen |
| | The gender of the journalist. This is a key factor in identifying any possible gender biases in the reporting of these stories, 1=male, 2=female. |
| 5. | words |
| | The number of words used in the article – the importance lies in contrasting it with the reportage of female rape victim newspaper articles. |
| 6. | tone |
| | The tone of article 1 =non-judgmental, 2= myth-laden or 3 =.sympathetic |
| 7. | vicoffrel |
| | The victim-offender relationship – were they 1= acquainted, 2=, strangers, 3=intimate. |
| 8. | vicphycharac |
| | Were the victims physical characteristics described in the article – 0=no, 1= yes |
| 9. | location |
| | The location of the incident – was it 1=indoors or 2=outdoors. |
| 10. | context |
| | The context was it a dating, familial, religious, military, street, park, cruising, leisure activities, educational, car park, pub, business, social (string variable) |
| 11. | approach |
| | The approach taken by the offender(s) 1=blitz, 2=confidence, 3=surprise, 4=alcohol used, 5=drugs used. |
| 12. | offphycharac |
| | Were the offender(s)'s physical characteristics such as build mentioned, 0 = no, 1= yes. |
| 13. | vicdescclathing |
| | Were the clothing of the victim described, 0 = no, 1= yes. |
| 14. | typphyviolused |
| | Physical violence used against the victim, 1=beaten, 2= kicked, 3= strangled, 4= beaten and kicked, 5=hit. |
| 15. | threatweap |
| | Was the victim threatened with a weapon. 0 = no, 1= yes. |
| 16. | weaptyp |
| | What was the type of the weapon used, 0= none, 1 = knife, 2=gun, 3=household instrument, 4= syringe. |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 17. weapused | |
| | Was the weapon used on the victim, 0 = no, 1= yes. |
| 18. Sexacts | |
| | The sex acts perpetrated against the victim, 1=anal rape, 2=oral rape, 3= digital penetration, 4= penetration using a foreign object, 5= yes but unspecified, 6= vaginal penetration, 7 = oral and anal penetration. |
| 19. noff | |
| | Number of offenders involved in the perpetration of the rape (1=1, 2=2, 3=3+). |
| 20. Homophobic attack | |
| | This was reported as a homophobic attack, 0=no, 1=yes |
| 21. vicage | |
| | Victim's reported age.(1=16-19, 2=20-24, |
| 22. vicethnicity | |
| | Victim's ethnicity reported (1= Caucasian, 2=Asian, 3=Oriental, 4=Afro-Caribbean, 5= Other). |
| 23. vicsexorient | |
| | Victim's sexual orientation reported (1= straight,, 2=bisexual,, 3= gay, 4=transgender, 5=transsexual). |
| 24. vicalcohol | |
| | Victim has consumed alcohol, 1=voluntary, 2=coerced intake, 3= spiked, 4 = no |
| 25. vicdrugs | |
| | Victim has consumed drugs, 1=voluntary, 2=coerced intake, 3=spiked, 4= no. |
| 26. prevsexhist | |
| | Previous sexual history of the victim reported, 0= not described, 1=general sexual history. |
| 27. descvicalcoconsump | |
| | Victim's alcohol intake commented upon. For example the victim was heavily drunk or had consumed x number of drinks. 1= volume described, 2=.general description. |
| 28. offage | |
| | The reported age or age range of the offender(s) |
| 29. offgen | |
| | The reported gender of the perpetrator (1=male, 2=female, 3-female and 2 males). |
| 30. offsexorient | |
| | Offender(s) sexual orientation reported (1= straight,, 2=bisexual,, 3= gay, 4=transgender, 5=transsexual). |
| 31. offethnicity. | |
| | Offender(s)' ethnicity reported. (1= Caucasian, 2=Asian, 3=Oriental, 4=Afro-Caribbean, 5= Other). |
| 32. offalcohol | |
| | Offender has consumed alcohol, 0=no alcohol taken, yes=alcohol taken. |
| 33. offdrugs | |
| | Offender had taken drugs, 0 = no drugs taken,, 1= drugs taken |
| 34. offenderid | |
| | Offender was identified as 1=prison officer, 2=priest, 3=police officer, 4=fellow inmate, 5=business colleague, 5=inmate, 6= fellow sailor 7=neighbour, 8=friend. |
| 35. reportrape | |
| | Rape reported, 0=no, 1=yes |

| | |
|------------|---|
| 36. | reportphya |
| | Physical abuse only reported not rape. 0=no, 1=yes. |
| 37. | agencyreportr |
| | The incident was reported to 1=police, 2=prison authorities, 3=other. |
| 38. | trial |
| | Case went to trial, 0= no, 1=yes, . |
| 39. | sentence |
| | Sentence length in years and months. |

Appendix 3.2 A Qualitative Content Analysis of the Male Rape Newspaper Articles

| MRSNA015 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Broadsheet | The Boston Globe | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: <i>“Sexual assault in the shadows: Male victims in military cite devastating impact on career, life...”</i>.</p> <p>“... the <i>troubling incidence</i> of sex crimes against men in the service has <i>languished in the shadows, comparatively unremarked</i>”.</p> <p>“A Pentagon study of sexual assault in the military released in May found that 9 percent of the 2,012 reported victims of sexual assault in the armed forces in 2002 and 2003 were men. Most said they were assaulted by the fellow servicemen. Those figures include 118 service members, some of them men, who say they were sexually assaulted during the current conflict”.</p> <p>“... a former US marine who said he was <i>beaten and sexually assaulted</i> in 1975 while in basic training, said he was dubbed a <i>‘training failure’</i> <i>after he complained</i> and was required to leave the service”.</p> <p>“... a Boston man ... said he was <i>raped</i> while in basic training in the Army in 1978, was <i>finned for an offense</i> he says his commander never specified.</p> <p>“Petty Officer 3d class B.P. says he did precisely what a rape victim in the military is supposed to do. After, hanging up on his father, he called his superior officer and remained in the apartment until two officers from the Naval Criminal Investigative Service arrived. He told them that after a night of drinking with other sailors at several local bars, he returned to the apartment of one of them for the night because the base curfew had passed. Shortly after he went to sleep in the guest bed, he woke up to find his friend sexually assaulting him. [B.P.] a <i>slender man</i> with <i>trim blond hair</i>, said <i>he threw off his assailant and, enraged, beat him until the other man fled</i>. The following day, B.P. was questioned again at length. But this time, he said the investigating officers did not seem to believe him.</p> <p><i>‘They were making sly comments. They asked me three or four times if I was sure I wasn’t gay, which I most definitely am not’</i>. [B.P.] They were just not listening to me. Several weeks later, [B.P.] said, his story had been ‘completely turned around’ by investigators, and he was given a choice: <i>admit to participating in consensual sodomy</i> and to <i>beating up the other man</i>, or face court-martial on both counts. If convicted, he would probably have received a prison sentence and dishonorably discharged. [BP] decided to accept what he and his father concluded was ‘the lesser of two evils’. In March, he admitted to the charges and received an other-than-honorable discharge. ... Lieutenant [C.S.], a spokesman for the U.S. Navy said the other sailor was charged with an offense in lieu of a court-martial and discharged. [C.S.] would not say what the charge was or what kind of discharge the sailor received”</p> | | |

For M.P [the father] . . . the outcome has been *shattering*. *Devastated* by the *emotional storm* that engulfed their only child, he and his wife separated for four months before reuniting in July. But he wonders whether his son will ever recover. . . . *And then he cried.*

“The Pentagon’s report cites several reasons that service men and women are often unwilling to report sexual assault, including fear of reprisals by the offender and concern that, ‘the chain of command . . . would not believe them and would ignore the complaint altogether’. Also, the report found ‘a general perception that reporting male-against-male sexual assault might cause people to question the victim’s sexual orientation’.

“[C.G.] Why would I ever bring it up to anyone? . . . , [aged 43] . . . who said he was *raped* in 1983 by a superior officer while stationed at Dover Air Force Base . . . People would think I was gay. You would be ostracized. . . . Besides, he said his alleged assailant, an officer, had warned him that no one would take the word of an enlisted man. In *despair*, [C.G.] *twice tried to commit suicide* while still in the Air Force, . . . he was eventually given administrative discharge . . .”

“[G.H.] didn’t tell for 31 years. He was 18 when he arrived in Vietnam in the Spring of 1969, a *scrubbed-face Iowa boy with coke-bottle eyeglasses*. What he says happened to him in his first few months there would *alter his life forever*. On a hot night in June, shortly after [G.H.] fell into a drunken sleep in his bunk, *another soldier slid in behind him*. . . . ‘*I remember my legs being forced apart*’, . . . ‘*I remember trying to turn over, but being forced back down. I will always remember his face*’. [G.H.] didn’t speak up for several reasons. Ashamed that he had not been able to stop the attack, he knew that if anyone found out he would not be able to face them. There was also his assailant to consider, a *large* man who eyed him *angrily* from across the barracks. [G.H.] went on to live an outwardly conventional life. He married, had two children . . . Like many **male rape victims** [G.H.] *struggled* with the need *to constantly reassert his manhood*. In 2001, he was arrested in a prostitution sting... Afterward, [G.H.] told his wife what had really happened to him in Vietnam. ‘*He had told me years back this guy tried to attack him and that he had leveled him*’ recalled Alice, breaking into tears. ‘*I think he told me the version he wished had happened*’. And so the facade of normalcy began to crumble . . . In 2001, [G.H.] *attempted suicide at least four times*... [G.H.] feels better now, thanks to an array of medications and to a support group for veterans .. But he remains consumed by what happened to him. He spends many afternoons in his basement office, a dim cubicle that he calls his ‘bunker’ searching websites for his assailant. He has tried unsuccessfully over the years to find him, unsure at some level, if he really wants to. ‘*If I found him , I would have to kill him*’ [G.H.] said fingering one of his three knives he keeps lined neatly near his computer. ‘*When he breathes his last breath I want him to be looking at me*’ . . . “*But among the veterans interviewed by the Globe there was a clear sense that, as in the case with [B.P.], reporting an offense led to trouble not so much for their assailant as for them.*”

“ . . . The other-than-honorable discharge that [B.P.] received still *burns like shrapnel*. It means that he is unlikely to receive any federal benefits for his two years of Navy Service”.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------|----------------------|
| MRSNA059 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| Regional - Broadsheet | Lancashire Evening Post | Non-Judgmental | Male |
| Textual analysis | <p>Headline: “Male rape victim denies lies on assault” .</p> <p>“A youth who has told a jury he was raped in the home of a man has denied lying about what happened. The youth accepted that there were discrepancies in what he had told police in a statement and what he had said in evidence from the witness box. But he insisted he had been raped by the defendant, Robert McDowell inside his flat in Ingol. . . . <i>The jury had been told</i> that the defendant and others were celebrating another person’s success in examinations and had been drinking in Ingol and later at McDowell’s flat. <i>He is alleged to have made a sexual approach to the youth but was rebuffed. Later the youth told the jury</i> after he had fallen asleep on a couch in the defendant’s bedroom, he woke to find him standing over him. <i>He claimed he was raped on the bed after the defendant put the couch under the door so nobody could come in”.</i></p> <p>“When arrested and interviewed by police, McDowell totally denied that any sexual encounter had taken place. He said that earlier in the evening he and others had been drinking champagne. <i>McDowell told police</i> he had gone to bed but was woken by a disturbance and was later told that the youth had jumped out of the window. I don’t know why he jumped from the window. The next thing, police were kicking my door in. “</p> <p><i>“McDowell in his evidence to the jury</i> said that after drinking in the John O’Gaunt pub in Ingol the group had returned to his flat. He made sandwiches in the kitchen and went straight to bed. Mr. Jackson [defence barrister] asked him: Did you at any time during the evening indecently assault or have any sexual relations with him? He replied that he had not”.</p> | | |

| MRSNA086 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Tabloid | This is Local London | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Men no longer have to suffer a silent burden”.</p> <p>“Men have been victims of sex crimes for as long as women, but do not get the support women do. . . . Tony was feeling low, he had just split up with his girlfriend when he bumped into Frank. They got chatting and Tony was invited back to Frank’s home for a drink. After a few drinks, Tony fell asleep. He awoke to find his host on top of him. As he <i>struggled</i> to free himself, Frank became <i>threatening</i> and <i>forced</i> Tony to be still. Then he <i>raped</i> him. . . . “</p> <p>“[Interviewee] said: During the actual rape, male victims feel the same as females, they freeze and are very fearful. After the rape, men feel different to women, and police attitudes to female victims, make it easier for them to come forward. But men do not get the same support”.</p> <p>“When Tony went to the police to report the rape, he was made to feel weak and as if he had brought the crime on himself”.</p> <p>“Quite often, when a man comes forward and reports a rape, his sexuality is called into question”.</p> <p>“In a way, men are now treated as women victims were treated 30 years ago as if they asked for it in some way”.</p> | | |

| MRSNA100 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Tabloid | This is Brighton | Non-Judgemental | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Man claims knife gang robbed and raped him”.</p> <p>“Police are investigating an allegation of male rape. The victim, in his forties, was said to have been attacked on Brighton Beach near the West Pier after he had been out celebrating a birthday party. He was approached by three men, robbed at knifepoint and assaulted. The attack happened at 11.35 pm last Monday but has only recently been reported to the police. Anyone with information...”.</p> | | |

| MRSNA101 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|-----------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Broadsheet | The Seattle Times | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Rape makes both sexes vulnerable”.</p> <p>“A man was <i>raped</i> near the Seattle downtown library last weekend. He was walking after 10 p.m. when a man stopped him and asked him a question. He was <i>hit</i>, and then two other men <i>pulled him into the bushes</i>. They <i>tried to rob him</i>, and then someone, for some reason, raped him. . . . The case made news when police worried it might be an escalation of the attacks on men walking alone downtown. But no it wasn’t connected to the others. And that makes it even more difficult to fathom.”</p> <p>“A man being raped seems like such an ugly detour from our familiar criminal landscape. More than 7,000 women are sexually assaulted every year, according to the American Medical Association. We accept that number reluctantly, like we do earthquakes. You can be as prepared as an Eagle Scout – carry yourself confidently, carry a whistle constantly – but if one happens, there’s almost nothing you can do about it and then you are changed forever”.</p> <p>“Men suffer 5 percent of sexual assaults, the AMA says. I started to put ‘<i>only</i>’ in front of that number, <i>as if it were good news</i>, as if men were somehow <i>spared</i>. <i>But they haven’t</i>. And while that may be a hard truth to comprehend, the police know it better than anyone. So they treat male rape cases the same as they do those involving women”.</p> <p>“[Seattle Police Lt. Low] . . . said the <i>unusual rape</i> – that it was a <i>public street, downtown, before midnight</i> – makes it a ‘<i>top priority</i>’ case. At first it was tempting to read those words and wonder if this <i>poor man</i> was <i>getting something female rape victims don’t</i>. It was easy to <i>question the attention</i> this case got, when <i>female rape cases only occasionally get into the paper</i>”.</p> <p><i>“But in the end gender doesn’t matter”.</i></p> <p><i>“Male rape victims are just as frightened , just as shamed, just as traumatised as their female counterparts”</i></p> <p>“The only difference is that women have to live with the possibility of rape no matter their age. From early on, they learn to adapt their behaviour and expectations to that sinister possibility, from the way they walk to the places they go and at what time”.</p> <p>‘[Director of the Sexual Assault and Traumatic Stress Center – Berliner] I don’t think many men have to do that’.</p> <p>“This case may change that”.</p> <p>“ . . . Welcome to our world, gentlemen. There aren’t many comfortable chairs”.</p> | | |

| MRSNA103 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|-----------------------|---|------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Tabloid | Evening News | Myth-Laden | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Gay rape attack on Calton Hill”.</p> <p>“A 32-year old man was <i>raped</i> after taking a late-night stroll along the top of Calton Hill – <i>one of Edinburgh’s most notorious gay haunts</i>. It is also thought at least one other man was involved in the attack – the <i>second gay rape</i> in the city in recent months. . . . The most recent took place near the New Calton Cemetery, an <i>area exposed as being a popular hang out for gay lovers</i> after <i>used condoms</i> and <i>hypodermic syringes</i> were found there by the Evening News less than a week ago”.</p> <p>“The victim had been <i>drinking</i> at popular <i>gay bar</i> CC Blooms until about 2am on Sunday morning. He left the pub and walked along Royal Terrace and up Calton, when he was attacked by at least two people”.</p> <p>“The attack comes months after a 30-year-old man <i>claimed he was raped</i> in daylight in Princes Street and after a leading doctor claimed male rapes committed in Edinburgh had <i>trebled</i> gang in one year . . .”.</p> <p>“ . . . Police are keen to speak to a man seen in the area of Calton Hill who is described as in his <i>early 30s, 5ft 7in tall of medium build, with fair straight hair, wearing a light peach-coloured shirt and dark trousers</i>”.</p> | | |

| MRSNA106 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Tabloid | The Patriot Ledger | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Defendant acquitted in rape of teen; lack of assault of evidence leads to judge’s evidence”.</p> <p>“A man accused of raping a teenage boy in a Route 3 rest area in Norwell last year was acquitted Friday on all charges . . . The youth, . . . now 18 said O’Donnell [the accused] <i>ruined his life</i>.”</p> <p>“ ‘<i>I’m the victim, but I ‘ve been made out to be the bad guy</i>’ he said. I ‘ve been harassed and had to leave a school I attended for four years. I can’t live a normal life from now on. The man who ruined my life will go home and watch TV’. . . . Muse [O’Donnell’s attorney] said ‘I never believed he was involved in this, this was the right result. I am very, very pleased for him’. Muse had introduced evidence showing there was no physical evidence of an assault and noted that the alleged victim had incorrectly identified at least three men as being his second assailant.”</p> <p>“The teenager testified that after he drove into a rest area with car trouble on Feb 8, 1999, two vehicles, one with New Hampshire plates, drove up. He said O’Donnell <i>dragged him</i> across the guardrail and into the wooded area where the driver of the New Hampshire vehicle was waiting. He said the second man held him while O’Donnell assaulted him, then the two men reversed places, continuing the assault. No other men have been arrested. The youth said he <i>struggled</i> and <i>fought against both</i></p> | | |

men during the attack, but was unable to get free. . . . He said he wrote O'Donnell's licence plate number on his hand before driving to a service station to report the assault. . . . Detective Edward Cain said *the victim was visibly upset, crying and shaking. 'He had a torn sweater and his clothes were wrinkled'*, Cain said. Police *traced the plate number to O'Donnell and arrested him after the victim identified him as his attacker*".

" . . . State police . . . searched the rest area *but found no sign of a struggle in the woods or clearing. O'Donnell had no cuts or bruises* consistent with a struggle and *neither did the alleged victim*, [Sgt.] Mason testified. The *doctor who examined the teenager found no evidence of penetration or sexual assault*, according to Muse, O'Donnell's lawyer. But Assistant District Attorney David Tobin said *the doctor's report also indicated that the absence of such evidence didn't rule out a sexual assault.*"

" Muse said O'Donnell was at the rest area that night to urinate but denied any contact with the teenager. O'Donnell told police he had a prostate problem that caused him to urinate frequently. DNA *tests on a swab of the alleged victim's genitals revealed saliva samples from two individuals, and one of them was O'Donnell.* [Regarding misidentifications of the second suspect] .

. . The youth said he didn't get a good look at the second suspect".

"The youth's father was upset with Friday's verdict, but praised his son for coming forward . . ."

"Rape crisis counselor Jeffrey Bradley who worked with the teenager said the verdict will discourage others from coming forward. Many *male rape victims never report their assaults*, he said. Their *sexual orientation is always called into question.*

It's *remarkable* that this boy came forward and followed it through to trial. He has to live with what happened whether he comes forward or not. The not-guilty verdict is

hard-to-accept, but it's better that the victim reported the assault. *If this were a girl there would be outrage*".

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| MRSNA127 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National - Tabloid | The Mirror | Myth-Laden | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Gay rapist hunt arrest”.</p> <p>“Gardai have arrested a man thought to be part of a <i>gang</i> who <i>raped</i> a man in a secluded mountain lane. The arrested man, in his 30s, was brought to Tallaght Garda station for questioning early yesterday morning. He was later released and a file sent to the DPP.”</p> <p>“The gang met their victim in a <i>gay bar</i> in Dublin city centre at the beginning of December. He went with them to his house in Tallaght and he was then taken to the Dublin/Wicklow mountains where he was <i>raped</i>. Gardai said at least <i>three of the four-man gang raped him</i>. They are now confident they will be able to arrest the rest of the gang. It is understood that, while being questioned yesterday by gardai, the suspect revealed the identity of the others.”</p> <p>“A garda spokes man said: ‘This was a <i>very serious attack</i>. He was <i>very brave to come forward</i>, it’s <i>very unusual</i> in a case like this’. The Rape Crisis Centre says one in five people going to it is a male rape victim”.</p> | | |

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| MRSNA131 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National - Tabloid | Scottish Daily Record & Sunday Mail | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Male rape victim wins payout for sacking”.</p> <p>“<i>The father-of-one, who had split from his wife</i> just before the incident, said he went to a party after finishing work. . . . He had a couple of ciders then remembered nothing until he woke up and realised that he had been <i>raped</i>. He thinks his <i>drinks had been spiked</i>, probably with the <i>date rape drug Rohypnol</i>. The [employment tribunal] was told he sought hospital treatment, had an AIDS test and told his estranged wife of his ordeal, but was <i>too embarrassed to go to the police</i>. ”</p> <p>“Last night, he spoke of how he was trying to <i>rebuild his life</i> and <i>criticised the lack of support for male rape victims in Scotland</i>. . . . He said : ‘The law here treats male rape as common assault so once the police are involved the whole thing is taken out of your hands. <i>It is not dealt with as sensitively as when it is a female victim</i>’. “</p> <p>“<i>The man and his wife are back together</i> and he wants to return to nursing but thinks it will be impossible. . . . The man’s claim that he was the victim of sex discrimination because a woman would have been treated differently was rejected. . . .”</p> | | |

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| MRSNA154 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National - Broadsheet | The Irish Times | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “<i>Breaking the silence: Male rape victims often face a wall of denial and misunderstanding in their attempts to come to terms with their painful experience</i>”.</p> <p>“In 1997-1998, 17 per cent of rape victims calling the Rape Crisis Centre in Dublin were male, an increase of seven per cent on 1996-97. Yet the <i>rape of males</i> by males is so <i>stigmatised</i> that our culture seems to <i>deny that it exists outside prisons and perhaps the military</i>, making male rape victims feel even more <i>alienated</i> and <i>misunderstood</i>”.</p> <p>“Andrew’s life seemed to be going perfectly. He was excelling at university and confidently believed that he would achieve his aim of an honours degree, followed by a post-graduate course and a PhD. . . . He also found a girlfriend . . . when the relationship broke up, Andrew over-reacted and found himself in the midst of a full-blown emotional crisis. . . . scrape by with an honours degree. He began behaving uncharacteristically, shocking friends and family. . . . ‘So I isolated myself from more and more people as a result of my behaviour until I had no friends left by the end of the summer. I was heartbroken’”.</p> <p><i>“What had broken his heart?”</i> One night, while away in Europe, he confided in a friend and the cause of his pain came pouring out. The <i>rape</i> had been as <i>unpredictable</i> as it was <i>brutal</i>. A man who Andrew believed was <i>his friend took advantage</i> of his <i>physical vulnerability</i> while he was <i>‘under the influence’</i> in the early hours of the morning, after a <i>night of partying</i>. The rapist happened to be <i>gay</i>, although before the rape this fact had seemed inconsequential. ‘I’m open-minded. He was gay. So what?’ says Andrew. <i>It hadn’t occurred to him that he could be vulnerable to a sexual assault</i> while <i>most woman are accustomed to constantly assessing the safety of situations</i>, Andrew - like most men – believed he was invincible”.</p> <p>“During the rape, Andrew cried and asked his friend ‘why’ why are you doing this? He was a virgin, and had never expected his first sexual experience to be like this. When it was over, Andrew was so stunned that he almost immediately blocked the trauma from his conscious mind”. . . While still in Europe, he learned his grandmother died and he had a <i>nervous breakdown</i>. Two days later he summoned the courage to phone his mother and tell her that he had been <i>raped</i>. She insisted that he return immediately to Dublin and his recovery began . . . The Dublin Rape Crisis Centre was greatly supportive, but Andrew felt that the centre’s <i>feminist ethos</i> did not truly encompass his own experience. ‘I believe the experience of rape is gender neutral . . .’ He hopes that a support system can be arranged in tandem with counsellors in which rape victims could contact each other regardless of gender.”</p> <p>“ ‘We should be able to talk about this openly. I shouldn’t have to feel that there’s a stigma preventing me from sharing my pain. The reality is that I do feel ashamed and I do feel <i>dirty</i>’, he says. He thinks it will be a long time before he will be able to have an intimate relationship. He realises now that he had always taken for granted that his sexuality was personal and sacred . . .”</p> | | |

| MRSNA157 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
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| National - Tabloid | The Mirror | Non-Judgmental | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “PRISON RAPE BEAST GETS EIGHT YEARS; VICTIM WAS CELLMATE; ANTHONY CAWLEY JAILED FOR PRISON RAPE OF MALE SEX OFFENDER” (formatting retained from article).</p> <p>“Anthony Cawley, the prisoner known as ‘<i>The Beast</i>’ who was raped as a child in a boys home, was yesterday jailed for eight years for the <i>prison rape of a male sex offender</i>. The sentence will run from May 2002 when a 20-year term he is serving for the rape of a woman ends. . . Last February Cawley, 31, a <i>member of the travelling community</i>, pleaded guilty to raping a 27 –year-old remand prisoner in Arbour Hill in 1996. <i>It was the first prison rape to be reported and successfully prosecuted in Ireland.</i> . . . In 1989 [Cawley] received a concurrent 10-year term for attempted murder. The <i>male rape victim</i> had shared a cell with him while <i>awaiting sentence for raping a woman</i>. He was later jailed for <i>four years but this sentence was increased to six by the Court of Criminal Appeal</i>. Prior to sentencing, Cawley told his counsel, Barry White SC, that he was willing to undergo therapy.”</p> <p>“The court was previously told that the man who <i>abused Cawley</i> as a child had died in Canada. Mr. Justice O’ Higgins said “From the age of five or six he was on the streets. He was frequently <i>beaten by his father</i>, on occasions he was <i>chained naked to the wheels of a wagon</i>. ‘He sought refuge at the age of six or seven in Garda stations and he spent a great deal of time in the custody of the state. He was <i>repeatedly raped while in the custody of the people of Ireland</i> and from the age of 10 he was sniffing glue on the streets. By 15 he was deeply involved in crime”’.</p> <p>“But <i>the judge said that while he accepted Cawley had been brutalised, he had to have regard to the safety of society</i>”.</p> | | |

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| MRSNA179 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| Regional Broadsheet | Tulsa World | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Stigma of Male Rape Hinders Victims’ Healing”.</p> <p>“As a 32-year-old pastor of a Denver area church in 1989, ‘David’ didn’t expect a trip to a downtown park to end up in <i>blood, tears and thoughts of suicide</i>. He didn’t expect an incident that would cause him never to return to his ministry and that would cause others to say he was lying about what happened. David didn’t expect to be <i>raped</i>. More than seven years later, David . . . employed in professional management, still keeps his secret from friends and family. <i>It’s a kind of story no one wants to tell – and no one wants to hear.</i>”</p> <p>“ ‘Not all families are safe places to go for support’, he said. ‘My family is very judgmental’.”</p> <p>“Male rape is a secret that thousands of men nationally live with. <i>Few ever will break their silence</i>. Too many people <i>wouldn’t believe them</i> if they related their experience or <i>wouldn’t look at the victim in the same light</i> if they <i>believed the stunning truth.</i>”</p> <p>“ ‘The thought that real men can’t be raped – that’s a myth’ said Debbie Rollo [CallRape]. The rape of a man is an act that the public at large simply <i>can’t fathom</i> actually <i>happening outside of prisons</i> said [Psychologist] [consultant to CallRape] Dr. Glen Matlock . . . ‘People think about crime happening around them, but how many men do you think <i>leave their home at night worrying about being raped by another man?</i> People just don’t believe that it happens. It doesn’t enter the consciousness’.”</p> <p>“Experts say that this belief may be perpetuated by the fact that the rape of males – a crime that is almost solely committed by other males - - is a practice protected by the silence observed by its victims. Rape crisis counselors estimate that about 10% of raped women report the crime to the police. Men report it even less, according to the National Victim Center”.</p> <p>“Cpl. Randy Lawmaster [Tulsa Police Sex Crimes Unit] . . . The <i>reports are so rare</i> that the department does not collect statistics on male rape, he said. . . .”</p> <p>“ . . . As males to tell something like that to our closest friends it would take an extraordinary man to tell something like that and an extraordinary man to listen to it in a compassionate way”</p> <p>“David said his search for support after he was raped by two men nearly drove him to suicide. But finding a <i>male volunteer at a rape crisis</i> center who <i>‘believed and didn’t judge me’ probably saved his life</i>”.</p> <p>“He had gone to a park just outside downtown Denver to relax and read a book, he said. Surrounded by marble statues, rose gardens and children playing, <i>he fell asleep</i>”.</p> | | |

‘It was like utopia in the middle of everything’, he said. He woke up as it was getting dark outside, and this utopia became his own *personal hell*. About a block away from his car, he began walking through an area of large spruce trees. The park seemed devoid of people, he said. ‘I got *hit in the back of the head*, I thought it was a limb at first’ he said. ‘I fell to my knees, and I was in a sort of fog. *Then these men came at me*. I remember them as sets of clothes. I am not sure I ever saw their faces. I blocked it out if I did. *I was being forcefully held*. I thought that I needed to run, the force or the fear, I couldn’t. At first, I thought I was being robbed, but then one man stepped in front of me, and he had his pants down to his knees’.

“During the next 15 minutes, David was *forced to perform oral sex* on one man and then *both anally raped him*. A noise in the dark, wooded area caused the men to run away, he said. David stayed where he was, thinking that someone was coming. When no one did, he got up and dizzily made his way to his car, parked in a lot just 30 feet away, he said”.

“‘I was *terrified* they would come back,’ he said. ‘I sat in my car *crying*. I was in *so much pain*, and *I was bleeding*. I started driving but didn’t know where I was going. No place seemed safe’. He went home and showered, but he knew something was wrong. ‘There was too much blood’, he said. He went to a hospital, where a doctor treated him and a social worker talked to him, ‘but didn’t know what to say’, David said.”

“David called a *rape crisis center*, where a woman he talked to listened to his story and told him, ‘Real men don’t get raped. If you are getting off on this, I’m just going to hang up’. ‘I was *devastated*’, David said. ‘It was the one place I thought I would find compassion and understanding’. (He later found out that an obscene caller had been contacting the center to harass volunteers with similar stories, a common problem for centers). His next step was to report the incident to police. After detailing the events of his rape, David said the officer *laughed and told me that I must have really wanted this to happen to me*. ‘A second call to the rape crisis center found David talking to a male volunteer. He was the first person to believe the rape had happened and treat me like a human being’, David said. ‘That meant everything to me. By that point, I had pretty much *decided to kill myself*.”

“ . . . [Rollo] said the cons are finding someone who will believe the victim, the fear of retaliation by the perpetrator for coming forward, the justice system’s backlog of cases and the victim’s masculinity being put into question. David said that for him, the cons outweighed any pros *after police laughed off his credibility*. ‘*I never reported again*’. I felt police were saying *I deserved it*’, he said. ‘I wanted them to be punished -- I remember hoping someone does that to them - - but I didn’t go back. I realize that I might have helped to stop this from happening to someone else, but I didn’t go back”.

“Matlock said the officer’s reaction was unfortunate, but probably not rare in that situation. The misconceptions of male rape cloud the process, and the victim *is victimized a second time*, he said. Rollo said the primary advantage of reporting the rape is that it’s the most therapeutic way for the victim to fight back. ‘It’s very empowering for the victims if they can overcome the stigma, she said’. But that’s easier said than done. *Emotional problems*, such as the loss of control, fear, anger, confusion, and shame, are common among rape victims and *compounded for men*, Matlock said. . . .”

“ . . . ‘*We walk around as men believing that we can take care of ourselves, but safety is an illusion*, ‘David said. ‘*I can’t live that illusion. I know it can be taken away*’”.

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| MRSNA194 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| Regional - Broadsheet | The Advocate (Baton Rouge) | Non-Judgmental | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline : “Police arrest suspect after man reports rape”.</p> <p>“A 58 year-old apartment complex security guard was arrested Tuesday in the rape of an 18-year-old man earlier this month, city police said. Jack Lamar Howell of . . . was booked into Parish Prison with aggravated rape and aggravated oral sexual battery, Cpl. Don Kelly said. The victim told police he was waiting for a cab outside a 24-hour laundromat in the 2300 block of Government Street early Dec.10, Kelly said.”</p> <p>“The man drove the victim to the parking lot of a business near Government and Eugene streets and forced the victim at knifepoint to perform oral sex. He then sodomized the younger man, Kelly said. The rapist released the victim at a downtown Government Street restaurant, threatening to kill him if he reported the attack, Kelly said. Sex Crimes Division detectives identified Howell as their suspect when he showed up at the laundromat Sunday morning, Kelly said. . . . “</p> <p>“Neither the police nor the district attorney’s Rape Crisis Center had statistical information about the number of men who report being raped in Baton Rouge annually. Male-on-Male rape is rarely reported when the victim is an adult, Kelly said. ‘That’s probably the most under-reported crime because of the stigma attached to it’, he said. Kelly said, he could only remember one other case in the last nine years. East Baton Rouge Parish Coroner Hypolite Landry does medical examinations on male rape victims. He said he doesn’t remember any men reporting being raped by strangers in at least the past 10 years.</p> <p>“ ‘We see one or two (adult male rape victims) a year’, Landry said. Almost all are situations where men say they were raped while in jail, he said. But, Jane Wood of the district attorney’s Rape Crisis Center said the lack of reports doesn’t mean the crime is as rare as some would think. It is out there. It is happening, she said’”.</p> | | |

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| MRSNA213 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National - Broadsheet | The Times | Non-Judgmental | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Law is reformed to recognise male rape”.</p> <p>“The House of Lords last night created the offence of male rape with the aim of ending some of the confusion in existing sexual offences laws. Lord Ponsonby . . . won government backing for his move in the Lords to reform the law, <i>which police and counselling agencies believe has resulted in many cases of male rape going unreported. His amendment to the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill creates the offence of male rape with a maximum life sentence.</i> The Home Office said the amendment would extend the existing law on rape. ‘Effectively it means the extension of the definition of rape to include all acts of non-consensual intercourse whether anal or vaginal against men or women’, a spokesman said. He said the change would also give <i>male rape victims</i> the same treatment in courts as female victims, with their identity and address kept secret”.</p> <p>“ . . . The change in the law will mean the police will collect statistics on its extent and develop strategies for victims similar to those for female rape victims. . . . <i>A former convict who alleges he was raped twice by a cell mate is suing the Home Office for negligence</i>”. ‘William’ has issued a writ to try to force the authorities to take prison rape seriously. <i>Adam Sampson, of the Prison Reform Trust, which highlighted the case in its latest magazine, said William had been serving an 18-month sentence at Bristol Prison in 1991 for a non-violent offence. His cellmate, who a violent history, raped him and threatened to beat him if he shouted out. William alleges that his cellmate attacked him again that night.</i>”</p> <p>“When he complained to staff, William was segregated for his own protection and sent to Dartmoor. He has been denied compensation by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board.</p> | | |

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| MRSNA254 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National-Broadsheet | Sunday Times | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Speaking out on the last taboo”.</p> <p>“ They are the men who rape men. <i>Six serious sex attacks in three months in London alone have brought male rape to the public’s notice as never before.</i> This month, Britain’s first national conference on male rape is being held and will be attended by victims, voluntary workers, academics and police. <i>The last taboo is no more.</i>”</p> <p>“The latest male rape is a <i>28-year-old store detective</i>, who was <i>forced by three men</i> him into a <i>public lavatory at Piccadilly Circus and raped at knifepoint.</i> It was <i>10 pm</i> and the victim was washing his hands when the <i>gang struck throwing him against a wall.</i> He recalled: ‘At first I thought I was being mugged and said, ‘Just take the money’. It was when one said ‘We don’t want the money’ that I got scared’.”</p> <p><i>“The victim was dragged into a cubicle, held over the toilet by two men and buggered by the third.</i> The accomplices put their hands over his mouth to muffle his screams. The incident left the victim, <i>who is heterosexual, shocked and bewildered.</i> He travelled ‘on auto-pilot’ by train to his home outside London. ‘It was only in the early hours that it began to sink in what had happened. I just went into the toilet, threw up several times and jumped in the bath’. ‘For five days he was too <i>distressed</i> to leave his home or speak to anyone. Later he confided in the Samaritans, and eventually the police”.</p> <p>“”The selfish part of me said, ‘It’s a million-to-one chance that I’ll ever see them again’, and that it would be <i>too embarrassing to tell the police.</i> But <i>I am a store detective employed to prevent people from doing wrong. It is important for victims to come forward because it is the only way that these bastards are going to be caught</i>”</p> <p><i>“The man fair-haired, 6ft tall, slim, and a former school boxer, chain-smoked</i> as he spoke in the first-floor interview room at Vine Street police station, near Piccadilly. As women rape victims do, he must now wait three months to find out whether he has contacted the <i>AIDS</i> virus: a doctor told him that if the rapist had AIDS he has a 40% chance of being infected”.</p> <p>“This weekend police revealed that one <i>gang</i> may have carried out at least two attacks: the <i>Piccadilly rapists</i> are also suspected of <i>abducting a 20-year-old outside the Leicester Square Underground station last month. He was taken by car to a building and buggered</i>”.</p> <p>“Other attacks in London may have included an incident in May when <i>a 25-year-old man was raped on an underground train and last month when a 17-year-old man was indecently assaulted and cut on his thighs with a knife</i>”.</p> <p>“The number of <i>reported cases of forced male buggery in England and Wales has nearly doubled in six years from 633 in 1985 to 1,128 in 1991.</i> ...<i>Harvey Milnes,</i> a development worker with <i>Survivors,</i> a support group for victims of male sexual attacks, said he believed only one in 10 of the victims who telephone the group also contact the police. ‘There are many men who would</p> | | |

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| | <p>never think of reporting their rape or sexual abuse to the police. There is an assumption that will not be treated seriously or that they will be accused of inviting the rape in some way', he said."</p> <p>"However, the Metropolitan Police have won praise from Survivors and other support groups for their willingness to recognise the problem of sex attacks on men. Victim examination suites are available to men as well as women and a project started in March [1992] to train 26 'chaperones' to comfort male victims of sex attacks".</p> <p>The police and support groups have welcomed the change in the law last month brought about by <i>the Sex Offenders (Amendment) Act</i>. This gives anonymity, already offered to female rape victims, to the male victims of buggery and indecent assault. . . . One of the guest speakers will be <i>Michael King</i>, who co-edited <i>Male Victims of Sexual Assault</i>, published in July. He recently called for a change in the law to recognise male rape as a crime on par with female rape. '<i>The rape laws should be gender blind as in many parts of the United States and Canada</i>' he said. But King, a senior lecturer in the <i>department of psychiatry at the Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine</i> in north London, said men were both less aware of the dangers of sex attack than women and more reluctant to report the crime. 'Rape is probably the most traumatic experience a man can suffer in terms of humiliation', he said.</p> |
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| MRSNA258 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
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| Regional - Tabloid | Evening Standard (London) | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: "Male rape just what is the truth".</p> <p>"Suddenly, male rape has leaped to the top of London's crime agenda. After three recent sex attacks on men this once unheard of crime seems to be rife. But is it?"</p> <p>"Malcolm, <i>a professional in his early 20s</i>, was walking home from a <i>West End discotheque</i> in the early hours, one weekend last winter, when a man fell into step beside him. He <i>opened a conversation with Malcolm, recalling that he had seen him in the club he had just left</i>, felt no cause for concern. Then, <i>without warning, the stranger lashed out, bundled him into an alley and raped him</i>".</p> <p>"The police never learned of the attack because Malcolm refused to report it. Instead he sought help from Survivors . . . His experience from the Survivors case book, is typical of many that are dictating a profound shift in policy over the way male rape is handled by police and psychiatrists. <i>But while it may be tempting to imagine these changes are taking place because there is a sudden upsurge in the incidence of male rape, the evidence suggests otherwise</i>".</p> <p>"Current <i>alarm</i> was sparked by the alleged <i>rape of a 25-year-old man on a Northern Line train between Old Street and Angel, two weeks ago, an assault on a 23-year-old office worker in Brixton, last Wednesday, and an attack on a 19-year-old student in</i></p> | | |

Croydon, a month ago. The prolific activities of a pair of *violent* sex attackers does not constitute an epidemic, however. According to Scotland Yard statistics, 40 offences of buggery were investigated last year, but not all of them were necessarily male rape . . .”

“[Medical consultants from STD clinics] They had noted a *dramatic increase* in the number of men *asking for an HIV test* after claiming they had been *raped*. The *consultants* thought it sufficiently *worrying to involve the police*. The Yard’s attitude was that if the consultants were worried they should be, too. Their first response was to open London’s 10 rape-victim examination suites to men”.

“Then came the *Male Sex Abuse Project*, an initiative designed to examine the problem and devise ways of dealing with it. Project Leader Detective Superintendent Barbara Wilding said: ‘It became clear to us that men were not reporting that they had been raped because they were afraid of the reception they would get. They thought we would start challenging their masculinity or think they were homosexuals’.

“ ‘We decided we had to start offering the same treatment to men as to women’ ”

“The Yard set up a training course for ‘chaperone’, police officers – men and women – who take care of a man reporting that he has been the victim of a sexual assault. There are 25 trained chaperones. They take the victim’s statement, provide liaison with the investigation team and help with the trauma of court action. But their main role is to make it easier for a victim to come forward. This, says Dr. Michael King, of the Royal Free Hospital’s academic department of psychiatry, is part of a trend towards greater awareness of male rape as a social evil”.

“ . . . Dr. King said: ‘Male rape has always been around but what we are seeing now is increased recognition of it. *It’s not that more of it is happening, rather than we are more aware of it*’. His research involved interviews of 22 men who had been raped. Most of them, are homosexuals. *The evidence shows that homosexuals are, because of the circles in which they move, far more likely to be sexually attacked than heterosexuals*”.

“*But the so-called ‘stranger rapes’ are not to be dismissed*. Henry Leak, chairman of Survivors, said: ‘*It is not just a gay crime. Rapist and victim are often heterosexual and the rape itself is not necessarily about sex. It is often committed by angry, violent men who want power over their victim*’ ”.

“Survivors was set up five years ago, deals with about 300 cases a year. According to Henry Leak, the figure is not increasing but willingness to tackle the issue is. ‘People are less reluctant to talk about it now. They realise it is a problem and want to discuss it. By bringing it out into the open we show up the inequalities in the law. *Men who are raped are not given anonymity in court, for example, as women are*’ ”.

“*The idea of inequality is at the heart of changes in the way male rape is being handled*. There is *increasing pressure for ‘gender-blind’ treatment of rape victims*. According to Dr. King, men who telephone a rape crisis centre are *often devastated* by the *reception they receive*. The women who *run the centers often dismiss them as hoaxers*”.

| MRSNA259 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
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| National - Broadsheet | Sunday Times | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Society’s new forgotten victims”.</p> <p>“Two recent cases of <i>male rape</i> have <i>shocked</i> the country. Ten days ago, a 25-year-old man was raped while travelling on the underground. He was on his way to a <i>reconciliation meeting with his estranged wife, but exhausted</i>, he fell asleep between London Bridge and Angel. He woke up, startled to feel a <i>hand in his groin</i>; there were two men in front of him. Later, he would remember one had a small beer-belly and a stubbly face, the other cropped hair and a donkey jacket. He bolted towards the door; before he reached it, he was <i>clubbed down</i> and then <i>sexually assaulted</i>. They finished, laughing. He got up, dazed and shocked, and stumbled out of the tube. “</p> <p>“ ‘It was <i>a very unusual attack</i>’ says Detective Ian Avery from the British Transport Police. ‘Any kind of a rape or attack is <i>brutal</i>, but for a male to be raped like that is especially <i>brutal</i>’”.</p> <p>“<i>Rape is always an issue of power but, without in any way belittling the female victim, there is something particularly shocking about male rape. Society does not recognise it under British law it does not exist because the term applies only to vaginal penetration</i> and the few assaults that are reported are, according to Detective Inspector Steve James from the Serious Sexual Offence Committee, ‘the tip of the iceberg’”.</p> <p>“ In the past ten years, male rape has risen dramatically in the US, <i>but in Britain it is still rare enough to cause deep shock waves</i>. The attack on May 8 caused enough concern for a spokesman for British Transport to issue a safety warning to men travelling alone at night on the tube. <i>Within a few days, a second attack was reported in Brighton. A man was held by two men in a public lavatory while a third assaulted him</i>”.</p> <p>“ Police say there is a growing number of cases. To accommodate victims’ needs, a special branch of Scotland Yard, <i>the Male Sex Abuse Pilot Project has been set up</i>”</p> <p>“Until now, <i>male rape victims</i> have been in a sense, <i>the forgotten victims</i>. It is estimated in Britain that only 20-25% of cases of sexual assault of women are reported. <i>For men, that figure is significantly lower because sexual assault of males carries arguably greater feelings of shame and humiliation</i>. Scotland Yard says there were only 40 allegations of forced buggery this year, as compared to 1,200 cases of female rape. ‘We believe there are many more out there but a lot of men can’t cope with coming forward to report it,’ says James”.</p> <p>“The <i>fears of reprisal</i> are often <i>staggering</i>: If a <i>heterosexual man is raped he faces the stigma of homosexuality</i>. He is also <i>forced to accept his role as a victim in a society that is male-dominated</i>. Then, there is <i>the fear of AIDS</i>”.</p> <p>““There is also the fear that you won’t be believed, that you will be blamed’. says Ray Wre from the Gracewell Institute in</p> | | |

Birmingham, which studies and treats sex abuse. ‘All of life seems threatening, there is a fear of what will happen beyond what is happening to you’”.

“If a man is assaulted by another man, it is *assumed that it is a homosexual incident*. But *experts believe this is not limited to the gay world*. Detective James adds: ‘It is a misconception to believe the attacker has to be gay. It is an act of control and power’”

In, Britain, if a woman chooses to prosecute in court, she is guaranteed anonymity. *A man does not receive the same protection*. ‘His name can be given to the press, which for some men revives the whole experience’, says Harold (not his real name), 41, a rape victim who now works for Survivors, a support organisation that counsels male rape victims. Harold was raped by a ‘family friend’. *He remembers the shock, pain and physical sensations, he experienced afterwards. He remembers looking at himself and feeling ‘physically sick’*. Afterwards, the main emotion is fear. ‘You become afraid of the world, as everyone becomes potentially dangerousness’”.

“Other emotions come into play: *guilt, anger, frustration*. ‘You start to think was I giving off vibes that I wanted to be raped? Or worse, fear that maybe there is something that makes you *vulnerable* to another man.’ ‘There is a sense of invasion, a feeling that ‘you wanted to push something out of your body. You feel terribly *dirty*. And there is the issue that, being a man, you should have been able to fight them off. But you can’t. ‘For me, it was extremely confusing because I was raped by a man, yet I was attracted to girls’ says Harold. ‘It crumbled my self-esteem’. He claims that the experience left him ‘emotionally numb for a long time, and I found myself a victim in most situations. I kept allowing people to do things to me, and was unable to get out of bad situations’”.

“The turning point came one day when wandering through a bookshop, he caught sight of a book, *Male Rape*, by Richie McMullen, one of the founders of Survivors. Harold sat in a corner of the shop and began to read. ‘When I opened it up, I felt as though someone was putting their arms around me and hugging me’. He didn’t have enough money to buy the book; so he went and thought about what he had read and how similar other men’s emotions were.”

““Male rape victims tend to try and forget that it happened. But even if your mind can forget it, your emotions can’t. You have to be able to express the rage that you feel’. In *Male Rape*, Harold read about Survivors and began to attend counselling sessions. Harold believes that victims are able to recover only once they can face the act. ‘I was able to talk about it with them and that put me on the road to recovery’, *‘Will he ever forget the incident?’* ‘I’m still on the road not quite there. But moving towards it’”.

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|--------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| MRSNA278 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| Regional - Broadsheet | The Toronto Star | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Rape centre bars male rape victim”.</p> <p>“A 27-year-old apartment superintendent <i>contracted the deadly AIDS virus</i> after <i>being raped by two men, but a rape crisis centre would not help him because they only deal with women, a District Court judge has been told</i>. ‘That’s chauvinistic’ Judge Ted Wren said yesterday after hearing that the victim was turned away by the centre. Defence lawyer Katherine Corrick explained that her client was ‘<i>suicidal</i> and <i>extraordinarily distraught</i>’ after <i>being raped, tortured and handcuffed by two men</i> in March of last year”.</p> <p>“He and a friend were arrested a few days later after being found with knives while on their way to an apartment where they believed one of the attackers lived”.</p> <p>“Now a ‘carrier’”.</p> <p>“One of his assailants was infected with acquired immune deficiency syndrome and the <i>victim is at least ‘a carrier’ and may develop the disease</i>, Corrick said. ‘It’s really the ultimate punishment’, the lawyer told the court. Her client and his 32-year-old friend pleaded guilty to a charge of possession of dangerous weapons. The judge placed the victim on probation for two years and ordered him to continue taking therapy”.</p> <p>“Wren sentenced the friend to 15 days, saying he ought to have used better judgement. The man was also placed on probation for a year and ordered to perform 30 hours of community service. Both men were prohibited from possessing guns, ammunition or explosives for five years. The judge agreed with prosecutor Mary Hall that people should be discouraged from taking justice into their own hands”. <i>“Horrible experience”</i></p> <p>“But Wren added that he <i>‘can understand how under the circumstances (the victim) would act in that manner</i>. He was the victim of a ‘horrible experience’. It was fortunate police intervened before anything happened, the judge said. Hall explained that undercover police officers had the underground parking lot of a Tyndall Ave. apartment building under surveillance in the hopes of nabbing car burglars when they spotted the pair”.</p> <p>“They had intended to beat up the two attackers, the friend told the police. Hall said the police actually arrested a man suspected of being one of the attackers, but refused to identify him for fear of reprisals. She said both the victim and his sister had been threatened with harm if he identified either attacker”.</p> <p>“Corrick told the judge that her client was victimized as a child by a physically violent father and he claims to see the world as ‘a horrible threatening place to live’. Hall agreed he had ‘a very tragic background”, but said society couldn’t surrender to the law of the jungle”.</p> | | |

Appendix 3.3 A Qualitative Content Analysis of the Female Rape Newspaper Article

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| FRSNA065 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| National - Broadsheet | The Advertiser | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “More indignity for rape victims”.</p> <p>“ In December last year, a young woman was <i>raped</i> by an intruder who had broken into her suburban flat. Not only was she <i>raped</i> but <i>threatened</i>, <i>manhandled</i> and <i>abused</i> over several hours. When the offender left, she contacted the SA Police, who responded promptly. The women police who attended and took the young woman’s statement acted with the utmost care and professionalism”.</p> <p>“Because the rapist was a <i>stranger</i>, this was the type of case where immediate forensic testing for semen samples was vital. The offender had <i>attacked</i> the woman in the dark and had <i>threatened</i> that if she looked at him, she would <i>suffer further violence</i>”.</p> <p>“The primary evidence of the identity of the man needed to be established by DNA matching. The police asked her not to wash or to change her physical condition before samples were taken”.</p> <p>“When it came to medical examination, <i>understandably</i>, this woman wanted a female doctor. That is not an uncommon request. Even though her general practitioner was a male, a woman who had been through her ordeal did not want to be intimately examined by a man”.</p> <p>“At Police Headquarters, she was told the providers of medical examiners for these types of cases could not provide a female doctor for another 11 hours. “</p> <p>“It would have to be a male doctor on duty or nothing. <i>All the young woman wanted to do was to get the examination over, to wash and to be with her family. But she couldn’t and wouldn’t submit to examination by a male</i>”.</p> <p>“<i>Fortunately</i>, she knew a lawyer who, with help from the women police, found a female doctor. This doctor was not employed by Yarrow Place, the public-sector organisation set up to arrange these examinations. She performed the examination and took samples”.</p> <p>“<i>The story is chilling</i>. In my experience, for nearly two decades there was no problem having female doctors available to examine alleged rape victims. The well-established principle was that this was a choice which should be available for female victims”.</p> <p>“I am told, however, that there have been other cases where choice has not been available in the past two years. Why should there be such a problem? Other problems are being addressed, such as the confidentiality of counselling notes. Recent legislative amendments provide that the notes of counsellors who talk with people who have made complaints of sexual assault are not to</p> | | |

be disclosed in court proceedings. It seems reforms are being initiated when fundamental principles fall down”.

“ One can only surmise that the lack of availability of women doctors has to do with a lack, or shifting, of resources”.

“Whatever, the reason may be, there must *be commitment to the principle that women rape victims are entitled to choose a female practitioner*”.

“If resources are the problem, then more funding must be found. However, it seems that the problem could be readily addressed by an interim measure. With the goodwill of female medical practitioners, such as the one who attended that day, a panel of doctors could be available to undertake examinations if no female doctor employed by Yarrow Place were available”.

“Certainly there is an issue of training, but even if the examination was undertaken under the supervision of a trained male doctor, that would be preferable to no examination or a delayed examination at the expense of the victim”.

“*If nothing is done, then female rape victims may be left unsupported and further traumatised*, or the police and the Director of the Public Prosecutions may be denied vital evidence in prosecuting offenders. Had arrangements not been made through this woman’s lawyer for attendance of a voluntary doctor, this would have been such a case”.

Appendix 3.4 A Qualitative Content Analysis of the Male Sexual Assault Newspaper Articles.

| MSANA011 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| National-Tabloid | The Mirror | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “DRUG PARTY MAN, 20. IS GANG-RAPED; VICTIM’S SHAME AT REPORTING HORRIFIC ATTACK” (formatting retained from article).</p> <p>“The male victim of a <i>ferocious</i> gang rape had <i>to overcome the silence of shame</i> to report his <i>ordeal</i>, medics told Gardai”.</p> <p>“The 20-year-old took several hours to go for help after he was sexually assaulted at a <i>drink and drugs party</i>”.</p> <p>“The gang attacked him on a housing estate in Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick, a week ago and Gardai had to take him to St. Finbarr’s Hospital in Cork because Tralee General couldn’t handle the case”.</p> <p>“A man who saw the victim being brought into the Tralee clinic said ‘He was in a <i>terrible</i> state. He was absolutely <i>distraught</i>’”.</p> <p>“I heard people talking about the assault and the word most commonly used was <i>‘horrific’</i>”.</p> <p>“A Garda spokesman said: ‘We are treating the incident as <i>very serious</i>’”.</p> <p>“Vera O’Leary from Kerry Rape Crisis Centre said it was <i>unfortunate</i> that the victim had to be taken to Cork during his <i>trauma</i>. She said that while a sexual assault treatment unit had been opened in Tralee General Hospital in April 2002, there was only one medical examiner appointed”.</p> <p>She added: ‘Unfortunately, there is only one medical forensic examiner available.</p> <p>“‘At weekends rape victims have to travel to Cork. This situation can further add to their trauma and it is not acceptable’”.</p> <p>“This gang rape comes after three other male rapes were reported in Co. Kerry in the past year. However, it is thought that many attacks go unreported”.</p> <p>“Ms. O’Leary added: ‘Many men choose to remain silent as their best option mainly because they think they will not be believed’”.</p> <p>“A medical source said yesterday: ‘Male rapes are not being reported as there is a tendency to ignore them. Male sexual assaults are not talked about with the same openness that now surrounds female rape. Men tend to be embarrassed and feel their sexuality is in question if they go public on such attacks’”.</p> <p>“More than 30 sexual assault victims have been seen at Tralee since the unit opened. The services there are provided in a specialist out-patient clinic from Monday to Friday. Gardai have appealed for anyone with information on the assault to contact them”.</p> | | |

Appendix 3.5 A Qualitative Content Analysis of the Adult Rape Victim Newspaper Articles.

| ARVNA007 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| National - Broadsheet | Irish Independent | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Rape victim is living in fear of her attacker”.</p> <p>“Mary Shannon reveals: <i>I’m afraid of him knowing where I live</i>”. “Rape victim Mary Shannon last night revealed publicly for the first time that she is ‘<i>living in fear</i>’ of being confronted by her rapist Adam Keane”.</p> <p>“The 33-year-old-mother of three was staying last night at a secret address unknown to her attacker. Keane was <i>controversially</i> freed after getting a suspended prison sentence for his crime. Ms. Shannon, who <i>sacrificed</i> her anonymity to go public in protest at Keane’s suspended sentence, told the Irish Independent she is ‘<i>terrified</i>’ and feels extremely <i>vulnerable</i>”.</p> <p>“And her frightening <i>ordeal</i> now means she will not spend nights alone in her new home without an adult relative to protect her”.</p> <p>“In the past week, Ms. Shannon’s <i>plight</i> has been the centre of heated debate over the sentencing of rapists”.</p> <p>“She participated in a candlelit vigil in Ennis on Thursday as part of her campaign to have the DPP appeal Keane’s sentence”.</p> <p>“But last night she revealed, for the first time, that she now lives at a new address with her three children and she does not want Keane (20) to find out where it is”. “‘I’m afraid of him knowing where I live’, she said”.</p> <p>“She has been <i>fearful</i> since the night Keane broke into her previous home in Ennis and raped her. She said, she cannot help having feelings of terror of being attacked in her home. She always has an adult relative sleeping overnight”. “And when her children go to stay with their father at weekends, she moves back into her parents’ family home as it is the only way she can feel safe”.</p> <p>““I haven’t seen him since the train journey from Dublin after the court case when we were both on the same train””.</p> | | |

“That was when he turned to face me on the platform in Limerick afterwards and flicked a cigarette butt towards me. I felt he was glaring at me and that he had felt that he had won and I had lost”. “I haven’t met him on the streets of Ennis since the court but I am terrified of coming across him in the town’, she said”.

“She said local TD Pat Breen has written to the Director of Public Prosecutions at her request to ask for an appeal against the leniency of the judge’s sentence.

‘I have got fantastic support since speaking out about how I feel. People approach me on the street to say how brave I am. But I am not a circus’, she said.

‘No one has explained to me yet how he only got three years suspended sentence. I felt I was the one on trial, she said”.

“She said her 11-year-old son tried to help her as much as possible and ‘be the man of the house’ since her *ordeal* became public”.

“Their father lived in England and his mother elsewhere with a new partner. The newspaper stated that this wild behaviour was at odds with claims in court that Keane’s drink-fueled actions were ‘out of character’”.

“She said she still feels sad that her close friend, who was Keane’s girlfriend, decided to back Keane in his *claims* of innocence”.

“Meanwhile, she never heard of claims reported in a Sunday newspaper that Keane had mistreated kittens and puppies in his back garden in Ennis when he was younger”.

“However, she declared that a statement in the report that, in the past, he had driven a car at high speed up and down the road outside his home is ‘absolutely true’”. “The report claimed he hosted wild drug-fuelled parties at the home he shared in his late teens with his brother”.

| ARVNA049 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Tabloid | The Toronto Sun | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Rape victim still fighting; She lost both her criminal and civil cases, but says it’s still not over”.</p> <p>“It was exactly nine years ago today that <i>she</i> became one of the first known victims of the <i>date-rape drug GHB</i> and the catalyst for new regulations all around the United States”.</p> <p>“In those <i>long</i> years since A.J. has been searching for the justice that continues to elude her. The criminal case against the two Florida men who <i>she</i> says drugged and raped her was <i>botched by police incompetence</i>. Now the Toronto bartender has just learned that the civil case against them has fallen apart as well. And she is on the hook for \$41,000 in legal costs”.</p> <p>‘From day one I have only wished for one thing’, says the <i>pretty</i> 39-year old who doesn’t want her full name used. ‘I have wished for my day in court where I could stand in front of my predators, look them in the eye and watch the truth make them crumble’.</p> <p><i>“She never got that chance”</i>. ‘The bottom line remains that the predators that tried to break my spirit are walking the streets of Florida’, she says. ‘At the end of the day, a rape victims who everyone in the state of Florida agrees has been violated now stands alone in court with a \$41,000 bill from State Farm (Insurance) and no one to help me’.</p> <p>“It all began that night in a Boca Raton nightclub where she’d gone dancing with her sister and two bar-hopping <i>bodybuilders</i> they’d met earlier at another club. She recalls one of them bought her a drink and kept insisting she finish it. That’s the last thing she remembers. Her sister found her <i>half-naked</i> in the parking lot, <i>bruised, unconscious and near death</i>”.</p> <p>“Nicknamed the ‘leg spreader’, two vials of GHB were found in the glove compartment in a truck belonging to one of the men. A condom with the DNA of all three was found in the bushes. Three months later the <i>bodybuilders</i> were arrested . More than 13 women, many tourists, came forward to claim they, too had been drugged and raped by them. A grand jury added kidnapping and conspiracy charges”.</p> <p>“And then, just days before the case was to go to trial, the state attorney’s office withdrew the charges. There were concerns the investigating officer had illegally seized the GHB from the car and the two bottles had then been mixed up and placed in the wrong evidence envelopes”.</p> <p>“The two men were set free. A.J. filed a civil law suit. ‘It was Plan B’, she says ‘I wanted accountability’. She signed a contingency agreement with two Florida Law firms willing to take on her case together in September 2002, she settled with the company who owned the Boca Raton club where she <i>collapsed</i>. After attorney’s costs and fees, she got \$90,000. But it</p> | | |

was still not what she was after. She wanted an *apology* from the two men; she wanted an admission that *what they had done to her was wrong*".

" 'A trial was scheduled for Jan. 6, 2003,' "she recalls". 'After seven years I was going to get my day in court'. "Instead, her lawyers entered into an *unusual agreement* with her alleged attackers that she says she *signed under duress*: Rather than going after the two *'predators'*, they had A.J. agree to sue their insurance company, State Farm Fire and Casualty Co. and argue that their homeowners' insurance policies should cover the cost of \$500,000 the two men were now willing to give her for the *pain* and *suffering* they had caused through *'negligence'*".

"She says her lawyer said to sign *it by the end of the day or he would drop her case*. She signed. The *bold* gamble was successful at trial but was reversed on appeal. It was 'unreasonable and illogical', the court ruled, for A.J. to now argue that the two men didn't expect or intend the damage they caused her".

"Negligent Rape"

" 'The policy in this case does not provide insurance coverage for 'negligent rape' or sexual assault of an incapacitated adult', they said in their Nov. 19, 2003 opinion' ".

"The Supreme Court of Florida refused to hear an appeal. A.J. would get nothing from State Farm, except a \$41,000 bill to cover their legal costs. And she had *signed away her right to sue the two men* who now admitted that they had caused her *bodily harm*".

"*What makes matters even worse* is that A.J. insists that *she was never informed by her lawyers that she had lost her case*, a charge they deny. She says her first inkling came only a few days ago when she suddenly learned they were dropping her as a client. Her Fort Lauderdale attorney maintains they have done everything they can for A.J. and that she knew that going after the insurance company was the only chance she had of collecting anything from these men. 'It was a calculated chance and risk that she knew she was going to take,' he says". " 'When something goes sour all of a sudden someone wants to look back and either blame the lawyer or blame someone else'.

"He wishes her well, Herman adds, but there is no more that he can do. " 'The judicial system doesn't always come out your way'".

"*Battered and bruised*, she *still refuses to admit defeat*, *She will not be a victim again; she will not let them win*",

" 'It's been nine years and people say 'move on', A.J. says fiercely. 'but it's not over until I say it's over' ".

"And she has only just begun".

| ARVNA058 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| National - Broadsheet | The Sunday Independent | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Gardai wait three days to take rape victim’s statement”.</p> <p>“A woman was brutally raped last Sunday night in Kilkenny city had to wait three days before Gardai came to take her statement. The scene of the crime was not sealed off <i>until Friday last, five days after the attack</i>. The rape happened in a house within minutes of the Kilkenny Garda Station. Now the Kilkenny Rape Crisis Centre is calling on the Garda Commissioner to explain why there was such a delay”.</p> <p>“At 8pm last Sunday, a man who was staying in a house in Kilkenny city was woken by screams. He ran to the sitting room of the house where a 57 year-old woman had been watching TV. There he saw a man in his mid-20s apparently raping the victim as she lay there screaming”.</p> <p>“He called the gardai, who came to the house within minutes and took the young man aside while a female garda comforted the woman. The man who alerted the gardai was asked to leave the room while both the victim and alleged attacker were being spoken to. He did not give a statement to the gardai <i>until Thursday last</i>”.</p> <p>“Because the victim had drink taken, gardai decided that they could not take a statement until the following day. The alleged attacker was allowed to leave the house. The victim’s face was badly beaten during the attack. She received a black eye and there were bruises and cuts to her knees, legs and body. Gardai did not bring the woman to hospital for examination”.</p> <p>“The following day she was to be brought to a Garda station but when she arrived, she was too frightened to go into the building. Friends contacted the woman’s family and she was later brought to St. Luke’s Hospital. there she could only receive minimal treatment, as evidence, which would be crucial in a prosecution, still had to be taken from the victim and this procedure is done at Cork University Hospital. Gardai were informed the victim was in St. Luke’s and was available to make a statement”.</p> <p>“By late Monday, the <i>victim had still not been visited by gardai</i>. Members of the victim’s family attended the station requesting that a statement be taken from their sister and the young man to be arrested and questioned. Gardai told both sisters that this matter could not be discussed with them, as the victim was an adult. One sister told the Sunday Independent: ‘The way we were treated was a disgrace. Our sister was violently raped and they would not explain to us why they had not arrested the attacker or interviewed our sister’ ”.</p> <p>“The Kilkenny Advocacy Group, who supports rape victims, was contacted and immediately went to visit the victim. The group also contacted gardai and demanded that a statement be taken so that the woman could be transferred to a</p> | | |

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| | <p>sexual assault unit at another hospital. By late Monday night, gardai had still not attended, and Garda Headquarters was contacted. The following morning, the victim's family again visited the station and insisted that a statement be taken. Again, they were told that this matter did not concern them".</p> <p>"On Tuesday, the victim was transferred to St. Canice's psychiatric unit and while there, the alleged assailant was seen prowling the grounds. When the victim was heard this, she became very distressed. By Wednesday evening, it was widely known in the town that the woman had been attacked was <i>still waiting for a statement to be taken</i>. One of the men who reported the incident to the gardai told the Sunday Independent: 'By this time, concerned people had decided to take matters into their own hands. There were now cars being driving around looking for this man and if he had been found, he might have been killed'".</p> <p>"On Wednesday, the Kilkenny Rape Crisis Centre was called in. A counsellor sat with the victim for many hours and eventually at 11.45pm, gardai attended and took the victim's statement. When they realised the seriousness of the alleged assault, they took her clothes and they explained that this was necessary in an attempt to gather DNA evidence. After further investigation, the house was sealed off on Friday.</p> |
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| ARVNA143 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| National - Tabloid | The Mirror | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Report: The man who raped me gave me AIDS”.</p> <p>“<i>Felicity Campbell is 33 years old.</i> We sit beside each other in the children’s nursery of the woman’s crisis centre of Eldorado Park, a mixed race township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. It’s the only space we can find to talk. Battered toys are scattered about, but Felicity seems oblivious to the innocence of the surroundings. She sits composed, the fold of her cream-coloured dress falling loosely around her, and stares into the corner of the room”.</p> <p>“ ‘I was 12 years old the first time I was raped. A relative used to take me in the front room behind the couches when I got home from school. He touched me and put his penis inside me. He kept doing it until I was 15 years old’, she says. ‘I never told anybody’. Felicity speaks quickly, and nervously twists her handkerchief as she tells her <i>miserable</i> tale. It is one that is not unique in a country with the world’s highest incidence of rape. ‘The second man who raped me was the friend of my boyfriend. <i>I was 18.</i> The rapist was sentenced to five years in jail. And last year I was raped again’, she says. ‘I was waiting to catch a taxi in Johannesburg when a guy <i>came from behind me</i>, shoved a <i>gun</i> in my back and told me to get into his car. he drove to a field, <i>raped me three times</i>, then <i>threw</i> me out of his car. I ran I didn’t look at his licence plates or anything I just ran to a taxi and went straight to the police station. But I never heard back from them”.</p> <p>“In 1998 in South Africa 116 rapes were reported per 100,000 about eight times more than are annually reported in England and Wales. Women’s groups say the real figure is anywhere between 20 and 50 times more than that, giving a conservative estimate of a million rapes a year. The University of South Africa estimates that one in two South African women will be raped in her lifetime – and colour is no protection, with women of all races at risk. <i>Fear of the crime</i> is so prevalent that insurance companies are now offering policies to cushion the victim’s financial burden. This would give them access to the morning-after pill, HIV tests, STD medications, home security upgrades and self-defence courses”.</p> <p>“Mothers in rural areas often keep their girls away from school, fearing they will be raped on the way. Some women cut short their plans to get home before dusk. Others buy guns. But <i>when despite all the precautions</i>, a woman is raped, that it is often just the <i>beginning of her horror</i>. A Johannesburg hospital found that 40% of men between the ages of 20 and 29 – the most common profile of the raping population – are HIV positive. Young girls and babies are increasingly the victim of desperate men who believe the popular South African myth that having sex with a virgin will cleanse them of HIV. The rape of girls surges from the age of 11, peaking between 13 and 25”.</p> | | |

“Felicity’s initial HIV test came back negative. Then in the January of this year, the hospital asked her to come in to discuss her latest results. She replays the doctor’s words over and over in her mind: He said. ‘I’m sorry, Felicity, but that man who raped you had AIDS and now you do as well’. He told me that I have only six to eight months to live. The strain of HIV in Africa – subtype C - is the most virulent in the world, and is capable of killing an adult within a year”.

“Felicity *bows her head*. She is *crying*. What makes my heart so sore is that I’m going to die and leave my children alone. My baby girl is only nine years old and my son is 12,’ she says. Who is going to look after them?”.

“The World Health Organisation says anti-retroviral drugs, such as AZT, can stop transmission of HIV in up to 81% of cases if taken within 72 hours of intercourse, yet the South African government refuses to provide them to rape victims, because they’re expensive. And President Thabo Mbeki infuriated the medical community last year when he claimed that AZT was toxic”.

“ ‘Felicity straightens up and wipes her eyes. I feel angry about what has happened. I want to beat the doctor’s diagnosis’, she says. I hold her hands and mumble something about treatments, *but my words are empty*. We both know that *her last rapist, who is probably dead already, is taking her to the grave with him*”.

“What’s happening in this country is genocide,’ says Charlene Smith, a 42 year-old rape survivor. This government is knowingly failing to save and secure the future of its people, allowing them to die”’. Charlene a journalist, says she was raped repeatedly by a stranger at knifepoint last April in her Johannesburg home. She wrote about it in detail, and when the alleged rapist was brought to court, chose to give her evidence in public. ‘If we opt for closed courts,’ she wrote, we opt for shame, instead of saying, this is your doing - heal it.”

“Of the 49,300 rape cases reported in 1998, only 9% resulted in convictions. Charlene’s experience with the police was hardly an inspiration for other women to come forward. ‘Five days, after I was raped, the police lost everything’, she says. I complained to the minister of the police, who contacted the police commissioner’s office, who said there was no such case. The rapist was calling me two or three times daily, telling me he loved me, threatening to return to kill me. I taped the calls. The police lost the tapes’. IN many cases only forensic evidence can convict rape suspects, but Charlene says police often fail to collect samples taken by doctors. If the samples aren’t collected after three days, they are destroyed and the case is virtually lost”.

“The police are grossly understaffed and underfunded, still in the throes of the chaotic transformation from the apartheid era. Stories abound of women who are kept waiting while *officers joke about whether they enjoyed the rape*. At times, the *police themselves are rapists*. Last October, a 14-year-old girl told a newspaper how she ran to the police after pouring hot oil over her father who was trying to rape her. After sitting in the waiting room for hours, she says she was taken by a policeman to a room where he forced her to lie across two chairs and raped her”.

“Even if women initially have the courage to go to the police, most victims give up, says Charlene, whose case is still before the courts. It is a continual process of women being re-traumatised. Finally, a lot of them say, ‘Stuff this – I am going home’. Rape is just the tip of the South Africa’s iceberg of violence and crime – the country also tops the

international murder-rate rankings. Experts can offer only partial answers. Most point to a 33% unemployment rate, the poverty of the vast majority of the country's black population and an all-embracing aggression caused by decades of apartheid".

"Maybe improving the justice system and speeding up convictions will act as a deterrent. Charlene believes education is the key. 'This is an exceedingly violent society', she says. 'If you swerve out in your car and I don't like it, I'll probably shoot you. We hit our children. We need to learn how to control that. We need peer mediation and programmes in our schools, regardless of race'.

"Last August, *30-year-old Ruweyda* (she has asked us to use her real name) was *gang-raped* in a township north of Cape Town. She was on her way to a birthday party with her friend Raymond when they got lost. We took a left, and there was this black van parked with its emergency lights on,' she recalls. I said. 'Let's stop. Maybe we can help'. "Five guys jumped out. They were armed. They beat up Raymond and locked him in the boot of our car. There were open fields. It was dark. They took me . . . Oh, God, I don't know".

"Ruweyda *stops talking and swallows hard*. They were having the most wonderful night of their lives. They joked through it all,' she says, They were busy for an hour, a bit more. I was too afraid to do anything. I prayed for it to be over. I can't remember their faces but I remember their clothing, the smell of their aftershave. After they were done, they told me it wasn't that great. They just left me in the field".

"Ruweyda stumbled back to the car. She let her friend out of the boot and together they drove an hour to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town, known for its humane treatment of rape victims. Ruweyda refused to be taken to the police station because she didn't trust the cops. 'I got home after 1am. I couldn't cry, she says. I remember thinking if I cry, I'll die crying".

"According to a study by Groote Schuur Hospital, 75% of rapes in the Cape Town area are gang rapes. Often groups of men will cruise looking for girls, or force a car off the road. If there is a man in it, they will kill him or lock him in the boot before raping the woman. In January, the police warned about women being pushed into the boot of their car while loading groceries at shopping centres. They are then abducted and usually gang-raped. A police memo offered these brutally frank instructions: There is a clip in the lining of your boot in the vicinity of the tail light. Please unclip it today, because if you are ever a victim of this method, you have immediate access to the tail light, which you should break, and stick your hand out of the hole to attract the attention of other motorists".

"Should the victim survive, shelters and counselling centres are few and far between. But new initiatives are being launched, mostly by women at a grass roots level. Rape trauma centres have opened at two police stations in Johannesburg. Both are paid for and manned by volunteers and non-governmental organisations. A project integrating the police and district surgeon at the hospital in Mdantsane has virtually become a one-stop post-rape centre, taking the policemen out of official, often *unsympathetic, surroundings of the police station*. The government has also begun to establish special sexual offence courts to speed up the justice process."

“Whether any of this will make an impression on the rapists remains to be seen. What is certain is that it will take a *long time for women to feel safe*. Either way, it is *too late for the women* who have already *suffered* the *abuse* in *silence*. Ruweyda has not told any of her family members about what happened. Two weeks before the rape she lost her older brother in a road accident and felt she could not add to her parents’ grief. It has been six months since the attack. So far, she has tested HIV negative, but she is by no means out of the woods yet.

“Ruweyda, lives with the *emotional wounds of her ordeal*, she has also lost two and a half stone in weight – having been forced to perform oral sex on the rapists, she now feels nauseous when she even thinks about eating. Ruweyda is doing what she can to normalise her life as a teacher. She has thrown her energy and love into her students, and is counselling an eight-year old in her class who was raped in January. She is also about to begin volunteering at a rape crisis centre in Cape Town. There are some parts of Ruweyda’s life that she thinks will never be mended. I always thought I would marry one day, but now – no’, she says. You might find it strange, but I’m very old-fashioned. I’ve never slept with a man before. The rape was my first experience”.

| ARVNA171 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| National - Broadsheet | The Mirror | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Gang rape victim says he knows his attacker; meeting at a gay bar ends in sex assault”.</p> <p>“<i>Gardai believe</i> that a <i>man</i>, who says he was <i>gang raped</i> by three men a week ago, may have known at least one of his attackers. And it’s also emerged that the <i>alleged victim</i> met his attackers in a popular Dublin city centre <i>gay bar</i>. Gardai investigating the <i>savage attack</i> say they’re confident they will make an arrest shortly.”</p> <p>““We believe the man, who has made the allegations, will be able to identify his attackers’. ‘He knew at least one of them,’ said a source. He’s still obviously suffering from shock. <i>‘It’s very unusual for a man to come forward after this kind of incident</i>, and he was <i>very brave</i> to do it’ ”.</p> <p>“The investigation began in the early hours of Monday morning after the man stumbled in to the Garda station claiming he was raped by at least three men. He told police he was subjected to <i>a series of brutal assaults</i>. The man says he met up with four men in the gay bar in Dublin’s city centre. From there they went to the man’s house in Tallaght. After that, they drove to the Dublin Wicklow Mountains where the attack allegedly took place”.</p> <p>“Gardai say they’re taking the allegations <i>very seriously</i>. ‘It seems to have been a <i>very serious attack</i>’, “said a spokesman, who added: ‘We expect to make arrests over the next few days’. According to the Rape Crisis Centre, 20 per cent of people who come to them are male victims of rape. Centre director Olive Braiden said last night: ‘Many of these cases concern rape when they were children or adolescents’”. ‘But rape of adult men is not common’. ‘However, many victims don’t come forward’. ‘Rape in these cases is the very same as with women – it’s the ultimate act of degradation. <i>It’s absolutely nothing to do with homosexuality</i> – it’s <i>just an act of violence</i>’”.</p> | | |

| ARVNA222 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| National - Broadsheet | The Times | Sympathetic | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: <i>“A rapist suspected of a series of attacks was urged to give himself up yesterday by his latest victim”.</i></p> <p>“In a rare public appeal by a rape victim, the 56-year-old businesswoman described how the man dragged her into bushes as she walked alone in the dark to a car park in Saffron Walden, Essex. The man told her he had a knife, punched her in the face, and ripped off her clothing during the ten-minute ordeal last Wednesday evening”.</p> <p>“Afterwards she managed to alert a 17-year-old youth in a parked car who called the police. The mother of four, who is a grandmother, told a press conference that she managed a conversation with her attacker. ‘I said, “Would you want your mother to go through this?” and he said, ‘No, I wouldn’t let it happen’. “I said that if there was another rapist like him out there, maybe his mother would be next”.</p> <p>“She said she had a message for her attacker: ‘I beg you to please come forward. You need help. Nobody in their right mind would have done this to a mother of my age, or even to a young person. I know you think you have got away with it but as long as I have the strength of my friends police and family, you will not.”</p> <p>Her adult son, who sat beside her at the press conference at Braintree police station, Essex, sobbed as she spoke of her ordeal. Police have linked the attack with the rape of a 21-year-old woman in Kelvedon, 10 miles away, on August 5. They also believe he may have knocked out a young Japanese language student in Saffron Walden a week before, and raped a French student near Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, on October 3. He is described as about 20 with very short hair.</p> | | |

| ARV320 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| Regional - Broadsheet | St. Petersburg Times | Sympathetic | Male |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Rape victim testifies”.</p> <p>“A woman who endured what a prosecutor called an exceptionally brutal rape recreated the two-hour ordeal during testimony Tuesday in Hernando Circuit Court”.</p> <p>“The woman also pointed across the courtroom at the man she has accused of committing seven acts of sexual battery against her on June 2 Willie Herbert Glasco Jr.”</p> <p>“Glasco, 24, of Newberry is charged with kidnapping and seven counts of sexual battery using force likely to cause personal injury”.</p> <p>“Glasco was taken into custody several days later after authorities found his wallet and driver’s licence where the rape allegedly occurred, just south of the McDonald’s restaurant on U.S. 19 in Spring Hill”.</p> <p>“The testimony of the woman, who was an 18-year-old Hernando high school student at the time of the attack, not only was effective, it took rare courage, said Assistant State Attorney Jim Dysart”.</p> <p>“Of the cases Dysart has handled in his four years as a prosecutor in Hernando County, she is the first adult who has testified against an attacker in a rape case, he said”.</p> <p>“We never made (Glasco) a plea offer, ‘Dysart said. The victim ‘wanted to hold the defendant accountable for everything he did to her and prevent him from doing it to anyone else’.”</p> <p>“Victims who testify are role models, said Sue A. Walker, the director of the Hernando County Rape Crisis and Spouse Abuse Center in Brooksville”.</p> <p>“ ‘They put themselves through a living hell’, she said. ‘They do it not just to get the person off the street, but also for our culture, to let rapists know that they can’t get away with it”’.</p> <p>“The victim testified that Glasco approached her about 11 p.m. that night as she walked south, a few feet from the northbound lanes of U.S. 19. He punched her and grabbed he by the hair to lead her to a field, farther away from traffic”.</p> <p>“She said she kicked him to try to get away and to try to attract the attention of drivers on U.S. 19. ‘He said to stop kicking or I would be hurt’, she said. ‘I was already in a lot of pain, and I didn’t want to hurt any more”’.</p> <p>“Though she was ‘very disorientated’ she said she was alert enough to try and talk him out of what she feared he was about to do”.</p> <p>“She said, ‘I was telling him he could still get away. I said, ‘You haven’t really done anything,’ He said, ‘we’ve already gone too far”’.</p> | | |

“Often crying, she went on to tell about how during the next two hours he repeatedly forced her to engage in various sex acts, sometimes threatening her, sometimes telling her he wanted her to be his girlfriend”.

“After he had repeatedly hit her and threatened her, she said, ‘I became very passive and tried to pretend it wasn’t happening to me’”.

“When the attack was over, ‘I said, ‘Just let me stay here. Rape cases almost always go unreported’”.

“He said he planned to take her to Clearwater. ‘I think in his mind, he really thought I was going to be his girlfriend,’ she said”.

“Instead, she saw a truck driving north on U.S. 19 and ran in front of it to flag it down. She said Glasco drove away”.

“Dysart finished presenting the prosecution’s case Tuesday afternoon. Assistant Public Defender Genie Buckingham will present her case today, and the jury is expected to begin deliberations”.

“Buckingham was not available for comment Tuesday, but argued during a motion that not enough force was used in the attack to justify the charges”.

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| ARVNA321 | Newspaper Title | Tone | Gender of Journalist |
| Regional Broadsheet | The Boston Globe | Myth-Laden | Female |
| Textual Analysis | <p>Headline: “Student cleared of rape; victim at URI says she can’t recall details”.</p> <p>“A Westford man accused of raping a University of Rhode Island student was cleared of the charge yesterday, after the woman said she could not remember what happened to her”.</p> <p>“David Lallemand, 19, was released from custody during a hearing yesterday in South Kingston District court when a judge ruled there was insufficient evidence that a crime had been committed and no evidence against Lallemand”.</p> <p>“In a related development, Pawtucket police were investigating what they believed was the suicide of a 20-year-old man who authorities suspected may have been linked to the alleged rape”.</p> <p>“The 18-year-old victim, also a Massachusetts resident, told Judge Vincent Beretta she could not recall what happened to her on the night of October 27th in the Tau Kappa Epsilon fraternity”.</p> <p>“According to officials at the district court clerk’s office, the victim testified that she could only recall attending a party at the fraternity house, entering a room where men fondled her, and waking up with her pants down around her ankles”.</p> <p>“She told the court that she ‘had been drinking all day’, and blacked out during the alleged attack and could not remember who allegedly raped her”.</p> <p>‘Dave began touching me, and, you know, I was telling him ‘I’m not that kind of girl . . .’ the victim reportedly testified. ‘From then on, I’m blank’”.</p> <p>‘I believed at the time that I was able to see that the attack’, she said, according to an account of her testimony published in today’s edition of the campus newspaper. ‘I am not able to see that now’”.</p> <p>“At the hourlong hearing, Beretta refused to allow as evidence the victim’s statements to police after the alleged attack. The woman testified yesterday that she was not sure about the accuracy of those statements, an official from the Attorney General’s office said”.</p> <p>“Beretta ruled the case lacked evidence to prove a crime had occurred and ordered Lallemand freed”.</p> <p>“Members of the state attorney general’s office said, however, that the investigation by state and university police is still open and that the case will be presented to a grand jury within two or three weeks”.</p> <p>“Sources said police are investigating two other suspects in connection with the alleged crime”.</p> <p>“The day after the alleged attack, the victim told URI campus police that a man wearing a fraternity pledge pin attacked her while 5 or 6 other men in the room watched and laughed. She told police that two or three of those men also tried to</p> | | |

rape her, but she was able to fight them off”.

“The victim was shown 21 photographs of Tau Kappa Epsilon pledges or associate members and picked out Lallemand, a freshman as her attacker and also identified another man in a photograph as being present during the attack”.

“Lallemand was charged with the crime on Oct 30th and was held without bail in the Adult Corrections Institution pending the outcome of yesterday’s hearing”.

“According the United Press International, *Lallemand*, who had been banned from school grounds, told reporters after yesterday’s hearing: ‘I felt as if everybody who read about this or even thought about this will see me and relate me to a rape, which is something I should not be related to *because I wasn’t even involved in it*’.”

“It was not clear yesterday whether Lallemand would be returning to classes this week. College officials had barred him from campus, pending the results of the hearing.”.

“Meanwhile, police said the former URI student who apparently committed suicide was at the Tau Kappa Epsilon party on the night of the alleged rape and was being considered as a suspect in the attack”.

“On Tuesday, the man was found on the living room floor of his apartment with a single gunshot wound to the head, said Pawtucket Police Lt. Tom Harris. A Colt semi-automatic pistol was found lying beside him. The man was pronounced dead at Rhode Island Hospital last night, a hospital spokeswoman said”.

“Thomas Connell, a spokesman for the Rhode Island attorney general’s office, had no comment on the apparent suicide or its possible link to the alleged rape”.