Sociology 4099: Victimology

Prof. J.S. Kenney

Overheads Week 5:Victim Subcultures:

This week we will review the following interrelated topics:

- (1) The organizational structure of victim subcultures;
- (2) The impact of support organizations on feelings of deviance/ depression;
- (3) The impact of support organizations on victim identity.

(1) Frank J. Weed: The organizational structure of victim subcultures:

* The crime victim movement embraces (1) Political advocacy (2) Social service

* These interrelate symbiotically

* 1990-91 Survey of U.S. crime victim organizations

* Weed outlines six topics emerging from these data, beginning with:

(i) Organizational Features

* Public vs. private distinction:

Public (e.g. victim/witness programs) Private (e.g. crisis centres/shelters)

* Public agencies:

Government money (often at risk) More bureaucratic Formal procedures Detailed internal policies Heavy caseload Serve wider interests (CJS) * Private agencies:

Mixed fundingPorous boundariesLess bureaucraticRely on volunteers/adaptabilitySome formal proceduresServe interest of constituents

(ii) Organizational Shaping of Victim's Problem:

- * Concept of victim open to multiple definitions
- * Organizations define them to fit pre-existing goals / functions
- * Actions taken in response vary on "relevant" aspects of "victim problem"
- * Three basic approaches:
 - (a) Assisting victim as CJS witness
 - (b) Assisting victim as client suffering psychological harm
 - (c) Assisting victim to advocate for changes

* Four basic types of service combine these in varying degrees:

- (a) Victim/Witness programs
- (b) Victim advocacy organizations
- (c) Women's centres/ shelters
- (d) Rape crisis/ sexual assault agencies

* Survey results coalesce around these four types

(iii) The Perception of a Needy Victim:

* All services are premised on idea of victim's needs requiring outside help:

- Suffering because of acts of offender
- Suffering further because of CJS

* Not seen as:

-Private problem-To be dealt with on own(i.e. many victims who don't report crimes)

* Survey results:

- Support above characterization

- Contrast with studies showing comparable recovery without services

(iv) Belief Systems of Service Providers:

* Coalesce around broad need of increased status for victims in CJS

* No ready consensus on more specific policies / reforms

(v) Crime Victim Work: A New Occupation:

* Victim service = a new career:

-Relatively stable funding for professional agencies
-Socialization to shared knowledge base
-Shared belief system

* Demographic characteristics (survey):

- Middle-aged women
- Middle-class background
- Average 6.5 years experience
- 40+ hour week
- -2/3 college graduates
- -37% graduate/professional education
- -Relatively high incidence of prior victimization

-Claim to direct experience/ moral authority

(vi) Local-National Linkages:

* Local organization's relationship to national umbrella organizations

- Specialized (MADD; POMC; NCADV)
- General (NOVA; NVC)

* Survey responses:

- General umbrella organizations most prominent across board
- Specialized local organizations linked more to specialized national agencies

Conclusion:

- * Differences in organization = differences in conceptualization
- * Consensus victims needy often self justification

* Victim's rights an ideal, but no consensus on specifics

- * Victim services = new career for specific group
- * Local-national links vary with organization

(2) Coates and Winston: Counteracting the Deviance of Depression: Peer Support Groups for Victims:

* People under stress want to know if reactions:

-"Normal" (to be expected) -"Deviant"

* Victims can compare reactions to:

- Friends/ family (often deviant)

- Societal standards (deviant)
- Other victims (rarely encounter)
- * Implication of deviance:
 - May transform unhappiness into depression
 - May be mitigated by positive validation of similar victims
 - Need research focus on peer support groups
- * Factors potentially affecting victim's experiences:
 - Comfort in sharing feelings vs. usual social niceties
 - Whether feelings validated or seen as different than group
 - Validation stabilizing vs. trading one deviant identity for another

* Limited prior research, so study initiated of 63 sex assault centres:

- Staff reported 92.5% of groups successful
- Only 20% reported any participants negatively affected

* Support groups also run by researchers to check feelings of self-deviance:

- Drop in perceived self-deviance
- Some reported alleviation of clinical condition
- Caution that data limited

* Opposite hypothesis: do support groups increase deviance/ depression:

Factors:

-Coming to feel sadness/anxiety normal and appropriate -Increase in unpleasant feelings -Downward spiral

* Prior research limited/ inconsistent

* Groups with professional leaders help overcome depression

* Little evidence at time of downward spiral

* Coates and Winston conclude (on limited evidence):

Participation in peer support groups helps victims feel less deviant
Participation confers no special advantage in overcoming depression
Neither harmful nor particularly helpful to victims
Positive effects likely cancelled out by simultaneous negative effects
More research needed to better identify positive/negative dynamics

(3) J.S. Kenney: Observations of a Victim Support/Advocacy Group:

* I investigated a victim support group during 1999-2000

* This included observations and interviews involving:

-12 victims -11 support volunteers/ staff

* This group was:

-Privately run -Focused on a particular type of victimization -Combined support and advocacy functions -Operated largely through volunteers

* Issue: how do encounters impact client's victim identity?

* Group exhibited tension between:

-Attempts to avoid increasing victim identity -Inadvertent ways it was encouraged

* Manifested in variety of ways (i-v)

(i) Training:

- Some volunteers take training to appropriately support victims

- Others not trained, or screened out

- Untrained supporters negating trained ones:

No boundaries Emphasizing "this was my experience, and it will be yours"

(ii) Inconsistent Application of Training:

* Despite training, some support staff:

-Asked leading questions
-Made suggestions
-Used own experiences as examples
-Distributed pamphlets with implicit victim characterizations
-Inadvertently encouraged self-fulfilling prophecies

* While claiming that clients "already saw selves as victims," not always so

(iii) Passing Personal Experience/ Inappropriate Advice:

* Two sides to this issue:

* Upside:

| -More personal touch | -Encouraged purpose |
|------------------------|---|
| -Understanding/insight | -Facilitated learning to cope/ take control |

* Downside:

-Extensive focus on offender/ crime -Focus on negative aspects of own/ other's case -Other's upset triggering one's own

-Difficultly separating own pain from others

-Well meaning, but inappropriate advice

-Keeping wound open

-People leave/ take away negative experience

(iv) Victim/ Non-Victim Conflict:

* On one hand, dual membership provides "balance"

* On other hand, "hierarchy of victims" encourages conflict

- Status based on victim status
- Encouraged externally and internally
- "Professional victims" (learning experience vs. claim to fame)
- Non-victim members drawn into dynamic ("Victims by association")
- Fought out over leadership positions/ membership/ influence

(v) Victim-Victim Conflict:

* Hierarchy of victims encourages conflict:

- Over status
- Claims of "revictimization" over favoritism in awards of:
 - Programs Training Committee positions Perks vs. "dirty jobs"
- * Classic examples of Holstein and Miller's (1990) "victim contests"
- * Such a dynamic does nothing to inhibit the victim identity

Conclusion:

* While attempting to limit encouragement of victim identity, this support group does so in the following ways:

- (1) Training some support volunteers, but not others;
- (2) Inconsistent application of training provided;
- (3) Inappropriate advice/ triggering upset;
- (4) Victim / non-victim conflict;
- (5) Victim/ victim conflict.

* New clients encountering such dynamics may have difficulty avoiding victim identity