

# Recurring Victimization in the AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct

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## Executive Summary

Sexual assault and sexual misconduct on university campuses is an important topic that members of the Association of American Universities (AAU) are working to address. In 2015, AAU and Westat worked with a university team of researchers and administrators to design and implement the AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct. Main findings from this study were presented in the *Report on the AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct* (Cantor, Fisher, Chibnall, Townsend, Lee, Bruce & Thomas, 2015).

The current report presents findings from a series of analyses using a subset of respondents from the survey who experienced recurring victimization during the academic year. Recurring victimization refers to experiencing more than one incident of sexual assault or misconduct within the current year. Prior research has found that a certain subset of victims are at greater risk for both *repeated* experiences of the same type of incident (e.g., repeated sexual assault) and for experiencing *multiple* types of incidents (e.g., sexual assault and stalking) (Daigle & Fisher, 2013).

Our findings support prior research and confirm that recurring victimization is common. Almost 70 percent of students who experienced a victimization within the past year reported more than one incident, and 90 percent of incidents involved students who experienced recurring victimizations. Descriptive analyses of victimizations revealed three distinct patterns: (1) victims who experienced single incidents, (2) victims who only experienced repeated incidents of the same type, and (3) victims who experienced multiple incidents of different types and repeated incidents (very few victims only experienced multiple victimization). Victims who fell within these three groups differed significantly on several background characteristics, knowledge of campus services and reporting processes, and perceptions of the campus climate surrounding sexual assault and misconduct. Victims with multiple/repeated incidents in general had significantly more risk factors than the other two groups, were more knowledgeable about campus services and reporting processes, and had more negative views of the campus climate.

Taken together, these findings have important implications. First, students who experience an instance of victimization should receive support quickly from campus programs and/or other off-campus resources to reduce their likelihood of re-victimization. Additional campus and service provider outreach may be warranted for students with higher risk factors for repeated and multiple

victimizations. Finally, additional research and/or engagement with student groups should be conducted to determine how to address student experiences and concerns and improve the campus climate surrounding sexual assault and misconduct.

## Introduction

Sexual assault and sexual misconduct on university campuses is an important topic that members of the Association of American Universities (AAU) are working to address. A key step in this effort is to identify characteristics of students who are most at risk for victimization. In 2015, AAU contracted with the research firm Westat to work with a university team of researchers and administrators to design and implement the AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct. Main findings from this study were presented in the *Report on the AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct* (Cantor, Fisher, Chibnall, Townsend, Lee, Bruce & Thomas, 2015). This survey is unique in its scope and provides a detailed examination of sexual misconduct rates and risk factors on a wide variety of campuses.

The purpose of the current report is to examine a subset of respondents who experienced recurring victimization during the current academic year (Fall 2014-Spring 2015). In this report, recurring victimization refers to experiencing more than one incident within the year. This is important for understanding patterns of victimization, as prior research has found that a certain subset of victims are at greater risk for both repeated experiences of the same type of incident (e.g., repeated sexual assault) and for experiencing multiple types of incidents (e.g., sexual assault and stalking). This pattern has been found for studies conducted with general population and college samples (Daigle & Fisher, 2013).

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**Recurring victimization refers to experiencing more than one incident within the current year**

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For example, one study found that 41 percent of college women who had experienced sexual victimization during the academic year had either experienced repeated or multiple victimizations (Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2009). In fact, a small minority of individuals accounted for most incidents of sexual victimization; 65 percent of incidents were experienced by only 6 percent of the recurring victims. Daigle, Fisher, & Cullen (2008) reported similar findings when analyzing data from two national-level studies of sexual victimization among college women. Almost half of reported victims (47%) experienced more than one incident in the current academic year, and approximately 7



percent of victimized women accounted for 73 percent of all incidents. Although the body of work on this topic is limited, findings suggest a stable pattern across time and settings, as Canfield (1987) reported that recurring victims of sexual assault in a community sample accounted for 36 percent of incidents reported, with an average of 4.8 incidents per recurring victim. Cuevas, Sabina, and Picard (2010) found high rates of recurring victimization among a community sample of Latino women, with almost two-thirds of victimized women reporting more than one incident, and many experiencing both repeated and multiple victimizations. This pattern also spans over the life course, as sexual victimization during adolescence is a risk factor for victimization during adulthood (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, & Stevens, 2011; Humphrey & White, 2000).

While these findings do not imply that all victims of sexual assault and misconduct will have recurring experiences, they do suggest that some individuals are at a higher risk for experiencing recurring victimizations. These findings therefore have important implications for how campuses and other service providers approach these incidents. If

**If victims who are at greater risk for potential revictimization can be identified and offered appropriate support, this risk could be reduced.**

victims who are at greater risk for potential subsequent victimization can be identified and offered appropriate support, this risk could be reduced. However, to date research on this topic has been limited. Studies of sexual victimization generally lack the sample sizes or detailed measurement of type of victimization and respondent characteristics to adequately address this topic. In addition, definitions of “recurrent,” “repeat,” and “multiple” victimizations vary among studies, as well as targeted populations, settings (e.g., campus vs. community), timeframes, and types of victimizations. Initial research from these diverse studies suggest that single, divorced, or separated individuals are at greater risk for recurring sexual victimization than those who are married, that younger individuals are more at risk than those who are older, and that females are more at risk than males (Daigle & Fisher, 2013).

Additional research is needed to confirm these initial findings in the college campus context and with large diverse samples. An important gap in the current literature also relates to potential differences in characteristics of repeated victimizations of the same type versus multiple types of victimization, and the extent to which each type represents a unique pattern of experiences. Finally, prior research has mostly focused on characteristics of recurring victimization in terms of incident and personal characteristics but has not examined how recurring victimization may be correlated

with knowledge of sexual assault reporting processes or perceptions (e.g., of the campus climate surrounding sexual assault issues).

This report presents findings from a series of analyses using data from the *AAU Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct* to address questions about recurring victimizations among college students. Our findings address two main research questions: 1) What is the nature and extent of recurring victimizations? and 2) What are the characteristics of students with different types of recurring victimization patterns? Descriptions of our study methods and findings are presented below.

## Methods

A detailed discussion of the main survey methodology can be found in the *Report on the AAU Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct* (Cantor et al., 2015).

### Sample

Data for this study was collected from 27 campuses across the country in the spring of 2015. The response rate for the study across all campuses was 19 percent, with 150,072 respondents completing the survey. The current report includes data from a subset of students who experienced at least one victimization incident within the current school year. Of this subset of students, most were female (69%), undergraduates (82%), and attended public schools (84%). The racial composition of the sample included 72 percent White students, 13 percent Asian students, 11 percent Hispanic students, 5 percent Black students, and 10 percent other/multi-race (percentages add up to more than 100 because students were asked separately about Hispanic ethnicity and race). Eighty-two percent of students self-identified as heterosexual, 5 percent as gay/lesbian, 12 percent as bisexual/asexual/questioning/not listed, and 1 percent declined to state.

### Procedures

For 26 of the 27 schools, all enrolled undergraduates, graduate, and professional students 18 years and older were asked to participate. In the one school where a census was not taken, a random sample of the student population was taken. On the first day of data collection, researchers sent email invitations to students' school email addresses that included an individualized link to the online survey. The field period for most schools was three weeks, and researchers sent reminder emails during this time to all students. To encourage participation, students were offered a variety of incentives. At 18 schools, students were either entered into a drawing or offered a \$5 incentive to complete the survey. Other schools used a variation on this basic design. The survey included questions about respondent background, experience with sexual assault and misconduct, perceptions

of the campus climate regarding these issues, and knowledge and use of campus resources.<sup>1</sup> The analyses described below use data weighted to adjust for the probability of selection, nonresponse and coverage. Estimates of standard errors were calculated using a jackknife replication method to reflect the sample design and the weights. For more details see Cantor et al. (2015).

## Measures

### Victimization Incidents

The current report focuses exclusively on students who reported experiencing at least one of the following types of sexual assault or misconduct incidents during the past year: (1) attempted and completed forced penetration, (2) penetration while incapacitated, (3) forced sexual touching, (4) sexual touching while incapacitated, (5) stalking, and (6) intimate partner violence (IPV). Definitions for each type of victimization are presented below.

*Penetration* was defined as:

- When one person puts a penis, finger, or object inside someone else’s vagina or anus; and/or
- When someone’s mouth or tongue makes contact with someone else’s genitals.

*Sexual touching* was defined as:

- Kissing;
- Touching someone’s breast, chest, crotch, groin, or buttocks; and/or
- Grabbing, groping, or rubbing against the other in a sexual way, even if the touching is over the other’s clothes.

*Force* was defined as incidents when someone was: “...holding you down with his or her body weight, pinning your arms, hitting or kicking you, or using or threatening to use a weapon against you.”

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<sup>1</sup> For more details on the methodology see Cantor, et al., (2015). A more detailed analysis of non-response and other aspects of the survey can be found in Cantor, et al., (2016).

*Incapacitation* was defined as a student being: “...unable to consent to or stop what was happening because you were passed out, asleep or incapacitated due to drugs or alcohol.”

*Stalking* was measured by asking students whether someone had engaged in the following behaviors. To be considered stalking, the respondent had to say that these behaviors, either singly or in combination, occurred more than once, and were done by the same person.

- Made unwanted phone calls, sent emails, voice, text or instant messages, or posted messages, pictures or videos on social networking sites in a way that made you afraid for your personal safety;
- Showed up somewhere or waited for you when you did not want that person to be there in a way that made you afraid for your personal safety; and/or
- Spied on, watched or followed you either in person or using devices or software in a way that made you afraid for your personal safety.

*Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)* was intended to capture violence associated with relationships that would not be captured in the questions on nonconsensual sexual contact. These questions were administered to anyone who said they had been in any “partnered relationship” since enrolling in college. To be classified as a victim, respondents had to say that a partner had done one of the following:

- Controlled or tried to control you;
- Threatened to physically harm you, someone you love, or themselves; and/or
- Used any kind of physical force against you.

## Recurring Victimization

For purposes of this report, recurring victimization refers to when a student experiences at least two victimizations within the current academic year. This second victimization could be the same type initially experienced or another type of victimization. Each time that a respondent indicated that they had experienced an incident, they were asked how many times they had experienced that type of victimization within the past academic year. The maximum number of past

year incidents that could be reported per respondent was 10 each for stalking and intimate partner violence, 8 for forced penetration, 4 for penetration while incapacitated, and 4 for each type of sexual touching (40 incidents total). For the current analyses, students and incidents were categorized by whether they fit definitions of repeated victimization and multiple victimization.

*Repeated victimization* is defined as experiencing any of the six types of victimization listed above more than one time within the current year (e.g., two instances of forced penetration).

*Multiple victimization* is defined as experiencing more than one of the six types of victimization listed above within the current year (e.g., one instance of forced penetration and one instance of intimate partner violence).<sup>2</sup>

*Single victimization* is defined as experiencing only one incident at all within the current year.

## Victim Characteristics

Several measures of victim characteristics were included in analyses. These measures consisted of demographics, lifestyle, and knowledge of campus services and processes.

*Demographics.* Respondents were asked a series of demographic questions including their age, ethnicity (Hispanic vs. not Hispanic), race, enrollment status (undergraduate, graduate or professional), school type (public vs. private), sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship status, and disability status.

*Lifestyle characteristics.* Respondents were asked about certain aspects of their college lifestyle. These included whether the respondent had been in a partnered relationship since enrollment and whether they had participated in any campus clubs/organizations.

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<sup>2</sup> Prior studies have used “polyvictimization” to refer to experiencing more than one type of different types of victimizations. The definitions used in this report subset sexual victimizations into several different subtypes, including two types of penetration (force; incapacitation) and two types of sexual touching (force; incapacitation). Since these are subtypes, we use the term “multiple victimization” rather than “polyvictimization.”

## Perceptions of Campus Climate

*Knowledge of campus services and processes.* Respondents were asked how knowledgeable they were about campus services and processes related to sexual assault and misconduct. Answers ranged from “Not at all” to “Extremely” using a five-point Likert scale. Items asked about respondents’ knowledge of:

- Their school definition of sexual misconduct,
- Where to get help if they or a friend have experienced sexual misconduct,
- Where to make a report, and
- What happens when a student reports an incident of sexual assault or sexual misconduct.

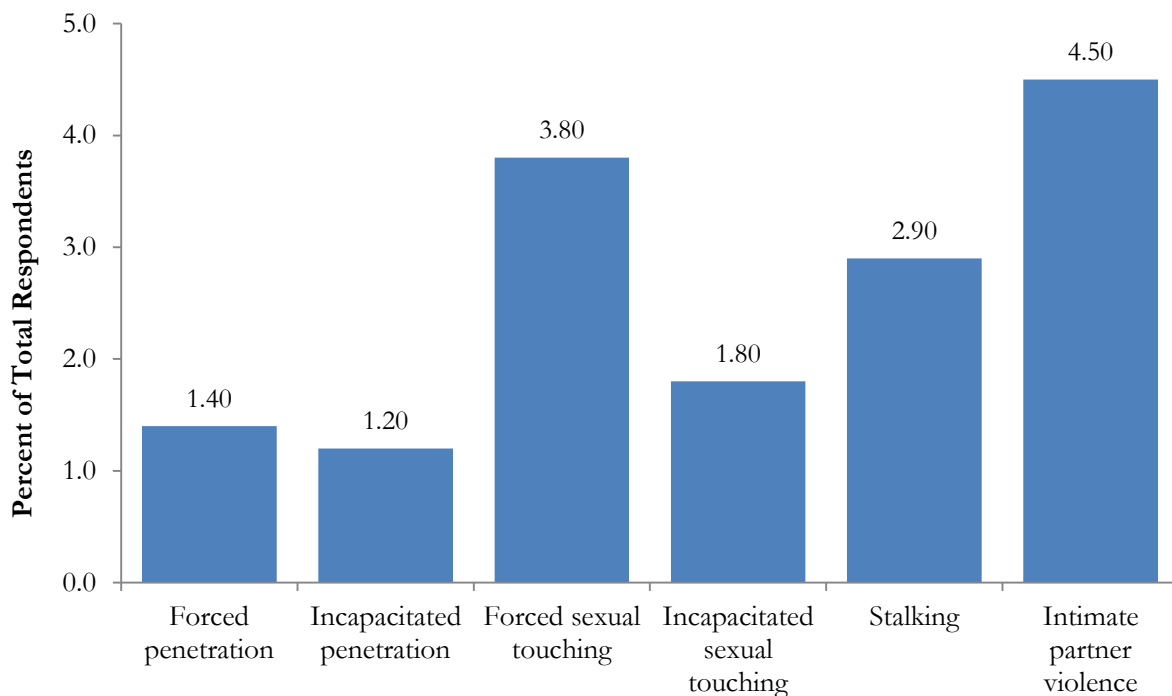
Respondents were asked a series of questions about the likelihood of certain reactions on campus to a reported incident of sexual assault or sexual misconduct. Answers ranged from “Not at all” to “Extremely” using a five-point Likert scale. Items asked about the likelihood that:

- They would experience sexual assault or misconduct on campus,
- An offender would retaliate against someone who made a report,
- Other students on campus would support someone who made a report,
- Campus officials would support someone who made a report,
- Campus officials would protect the safety of someone who made a report,
- Campus officials would conduct a fair investigation if someone reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct,
- Campus officials would take action against the offender if someone reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct, and
- Campus officials would take action to address factors that may have led to a reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct incident.

## Nature and Extent of Recurring Victimization

Recurring victimization analyses focus on the subset of students who experienced at least one type of victimization within the last year. Figure 1 below shows a breakdown of the percent of all respondents in the full study sample who experienced each type of incident. In the full sample, less than 5 percent of respondents reported experiencing each type of incident within the current year. The most common type of incident reported was intimate partner violence (4.5% of the full sample) and the least common were forced penetration, penetration while incapacitated, and sexual touching while incapacitated (1.2-1.8% of the full sample).

**Figure 1.** Percent of total study respondents that experienced each type of victimization incident within the current year

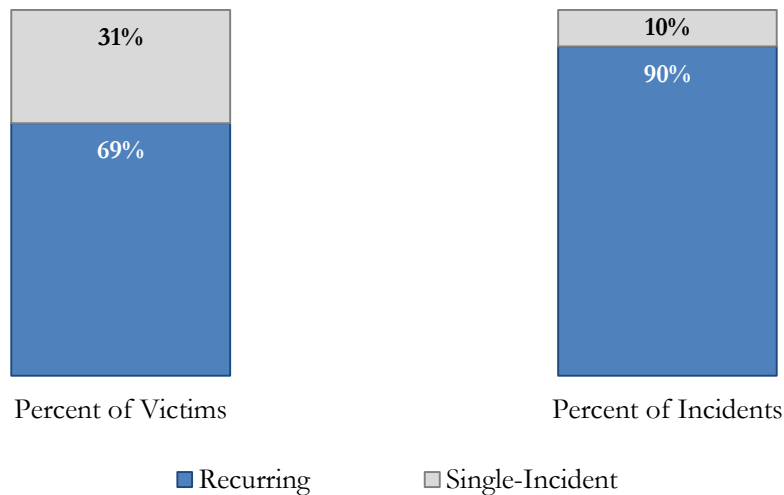


Next we examined the rate of recurring victimization among the subset of students who had experienced at least one victimization in the current year (see Figure 2 below). Among this subset of students, 31 percent reported experiencing only one incident during the current year and 69 percent



reported experiencing recurring incidents (repeated and/or multiple incidents). A substantial majority (90%) of incidents involved students who experienced recurring victimizations<sup>3</sup>.

**Figure 2. Rate of recurrence by victims and by incident**



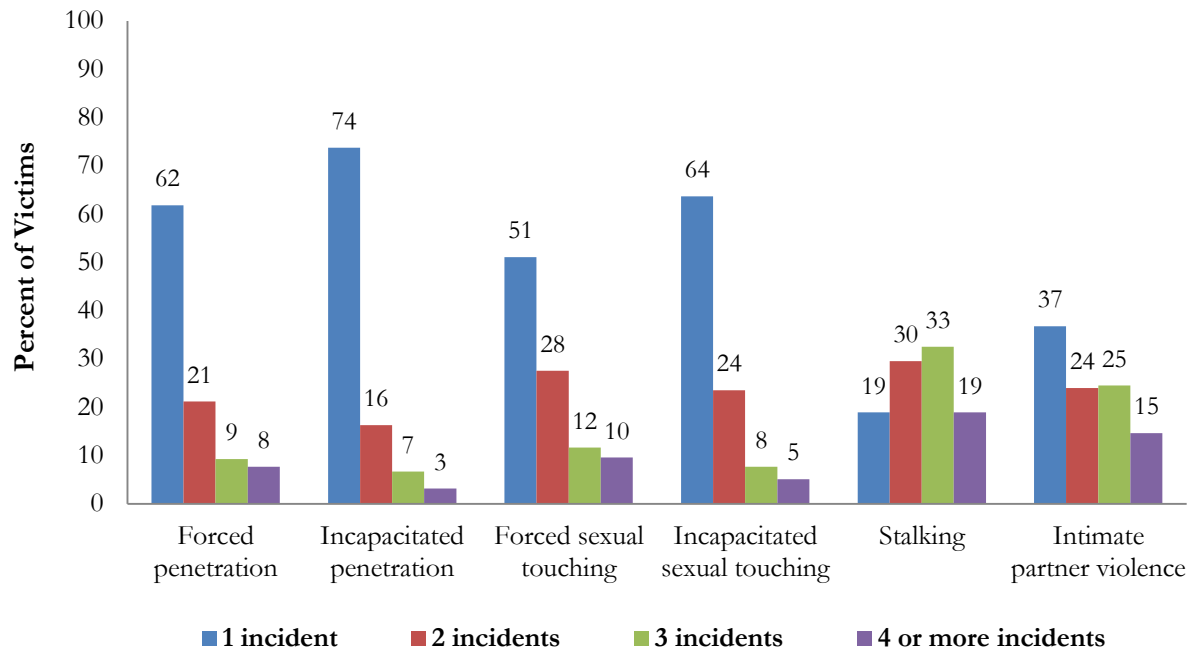
The maximum number of past year victimizations reported by a single student was 36. However, fewer than 1 percent of victims reported experiencing more than 14 incidents, and fewer than 10 percent reported experiencing more than six incidents of any type within the past year. The mean number of past year incidents among those who experienced at least one victimization is 3.1 and the median is 1.7.

Figure 3 below presents the rate of repeated incidents by type of victimization. Penetration and sexual touching (forced and while incapacitated) were most likely to be experienced only once during the current year. Stalking was most likely to be experienced more than once within the current year<sup>4</sup>. Intimate partner violence also has a high rate of repeat victimization.

<sup>3</sup> To calculate the proportion of incidents that were experienced by recurring victims, the weighted sum of these incident counts was calculated for students who experienced more than one victimization, and this was divided by the weighted sum of incident counts from all respondents in the survey.

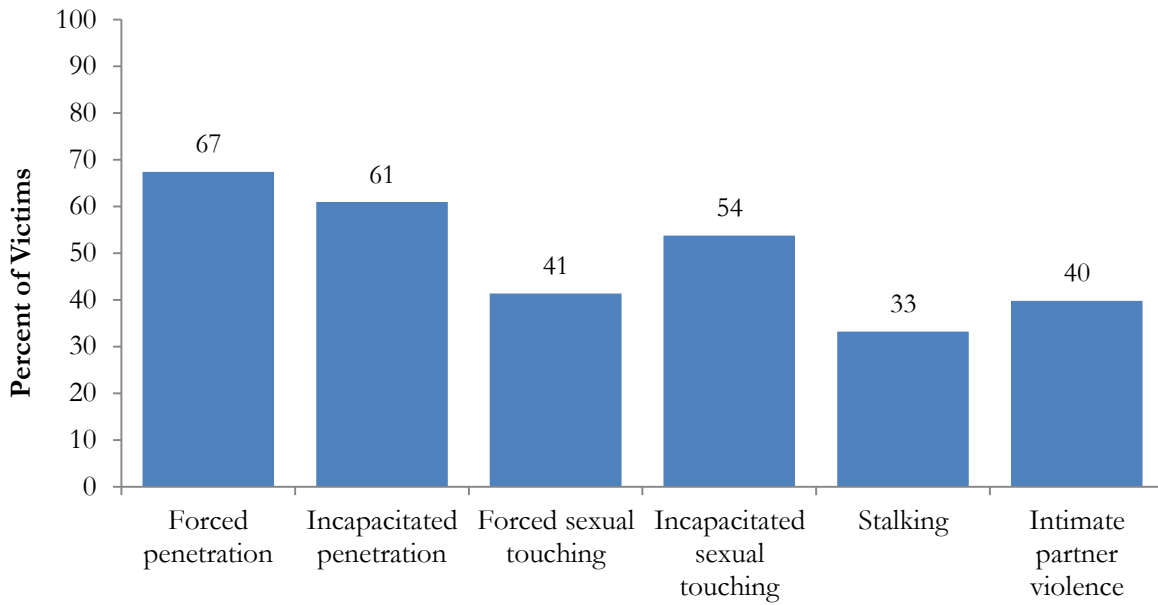
<sup>4</sup> Stalking is defined as occurring at least twice (see definition). This is one reason why the rate of repeated victimization is so high. When respondents were asked how many different times they had been victimized, stalking victims may have been referring to the individual incidents that make up this type of crime or separate instances of this type of victimization.

**Figure 3. Number of incidents reported during the current year by type**



We conducted a second set of descriptive analyses examining frequencies of multiple victimizations by type of incident. Figure 4 below illustrates how many victims of each incident type also experienced at least one other type of incident within the current year. For example, 67 percent of students who experienced forced penetration in the current year also experienced at least one other type of incident.

**Figure 4. Percent of victims who experienced each incident type and also reported at least one additional type of incident**



Some types of incidents were more likely to co-occur in the same year than others (see Table 1). For example, of those victims who experienced a forced penetration within the last year, 34.3 percent also experienced forced sexual touching and 32.8 percent experienced stalking.

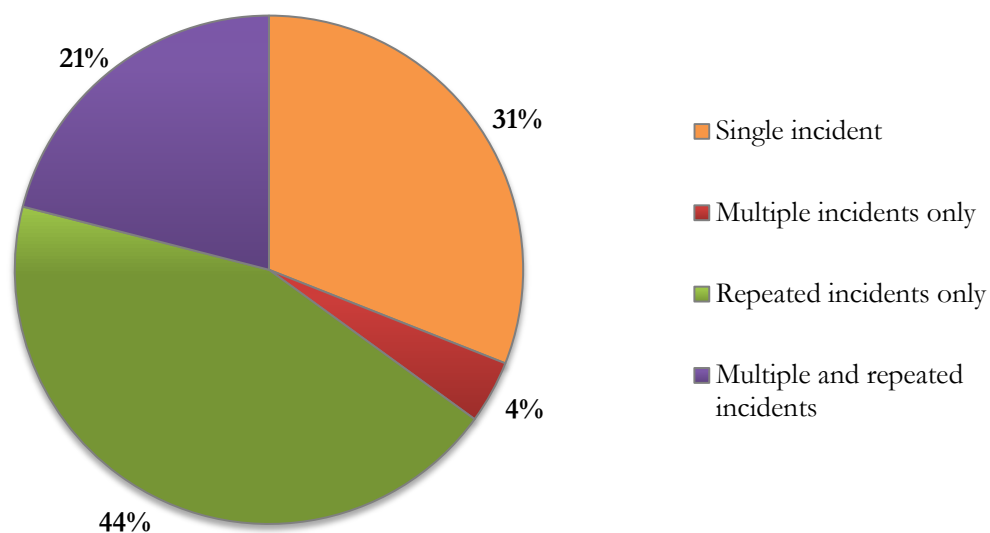
**Table 1. Percent of victims also experiencing incidents of another type**

Type of Victimization	Forced penetration	Incap. penetration	Forced sexual touching	Incap. sexual touching	IPV	Stalking
Forced penetration	--	13.5	34.3	15.0	22.9	32.8
Incapacitated penetration	16.5	--	27.6	29.0	14.1	19.6
Forced sexual touching	13.0	8.5	--	13.4	12.9	16.6
Incapacitated sexual touching	12.0	19.0	28.3	--	11.7	17.5
Intimate partner violence (IPV)	11.1	5.6	16.5	7.1	--	22.3
Stalking	10.4	5.0	13.9	6.9	14.6	--

## Patterns of Victimization

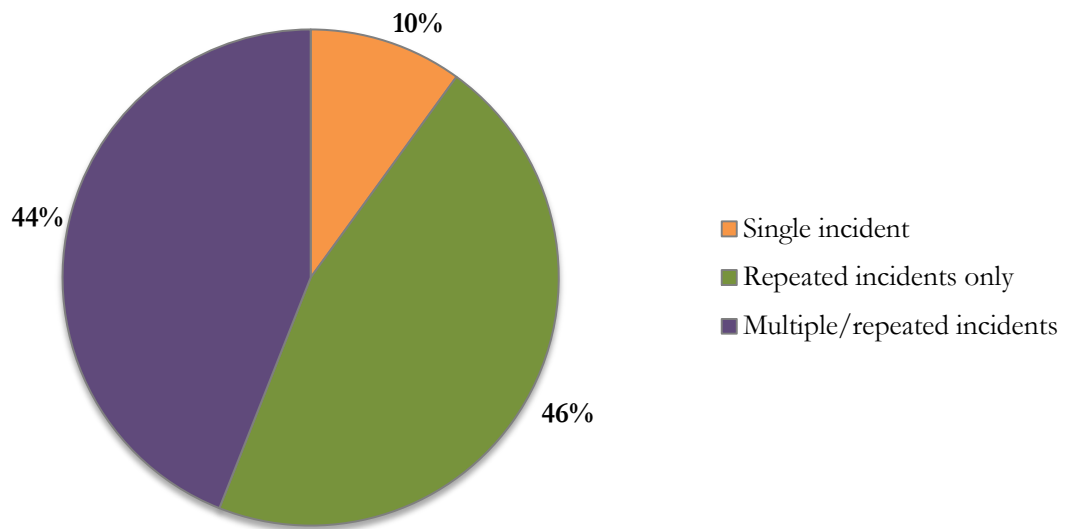
Analyses were conducted to determine the frequency of four separate victimization patterns within the current year: (1) experiencing a single incident, (2) experiencing multiple incidents without repeating the same type of victimization, (3) experiencing repeated incidents of the same type without any other type of victimization, and (4) experiencing both multiple incidents of different types and repeated incidents of the same type of victimization. Figure 5 shows that three of these patterns were relatively common; however, students were very unlikely to experience multiple types of incidents without repeating the same type.

**Figure 5. Percent of victims experiencing single, multiple, and repeated incidents within the current year**



For the remainder of the analyses, victims were categorized into the following mutually exclusive groups: (1) single incident, (2) repeated only, and (3) multiple/repeated (multiple-only victims were included in this category). Figure 6 shows that only 10 percent were single incidents, 46 percent were experienced by repeated only victims, and 44 percent were experienced by multiple/repeated victims.

Figure 6. Percent of incidents within the current year



## Characterizing Victims with Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated Incidents

A series of multinomial regressions were estimated to investigate differences among Repeated Only vs. Single Incident victims and Multiple/Repeated vs. Single Incident victims. Each of the variables in Table 2 below was included as the predictor variable in each regression. Table 2 shows the direction of significant effects ( $p < .05$ ) and Appendix B provides odds ratios for the models. Summaries of significant findings are discussed below. Appendix A provides the crosstabulations between each of the characteristics and recurring victimization.

**Table 2. Characteristics of Victims Single Incidents versus victim of Repeated Only or Multiple/Repeated Incidents**

	Repeated Only vs. Single	Multiple/Repeated vs. Single
<b>School and Student Characteristics</b>		
Private vs. public school		-
Age	+	-
U.S. citizen vs. not U.S. citizen	-	
Gender identity		
Male vs. female	+	-
Other gender vs. female		
Sexual orientation		
Gay/lesbian vs. heterosexual		+
Other orientation vs. heterosexual		+
Decline to state vs. heterosexual	+	
Had a relationship since enrolled vs. did not have relationship since enrolled	-	+
Have a registered disability vs. no registered disability		+
Graduate/professional vs. undergraduate	+	-
Hispanic vs. not Hispanic		
Race		
Asian only vs. White only	+	
Black only vs. White only		
Other/Multi-race vs. White only	+	+
Participates in campus clubs/organizations vs. does not participate	-	+

**Table 2. Characteristics of Victims with Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated Victimitizations (continued)**

	Repeated Only vs. Single	Multiple/Repeated vs. Single
<b>Campus Climate Measures</b>		
Likely to experience misconduct vs. not likely	-	+
Knowledgeable of definition of misconduct vs. not knowledgeable+		+
Knowledgeable where to get help vs. not knowledgeable		+
Knowledgeable where to make a report vs. not knowledgeable		+
Knowledgeable what happens when reporting vs. not knowledgeable		+
Likely offender will retaliate vs. not likely*	+	+
<b>Likely students would support victim vs. not likely</b>	-	-
Likely campus officials will support victim vs. not likely		-
Likely campus officials will protect the victim vs. not likely	-	-
Likely campus officials will fairly investigate vs. not likely		-
Likely campus officials will take action vs. not likely		-
Likely campus officials will address factors related to misconduct vs. not likely		-

+ Knowledgeable includes those saying “very” or “extremely” knowledgeable. Not knowledgeable includes those saying “somewhat”, “a little” or “not at all” knowledgeable

\*Likely includes those saying “very” or “extremely” likely. Not likely includes those saying “somewhat”, “a little” or “not at all” likely

Repeated Only and Single Incident victims differed significantly from each other on several characteristics. As compared with victims who experienced a single incident, victims with repeated only incidents were significantly older, *more likely* to be male, more likely to be a graduate/professional student, decline to state their sexual orientation, and more likely to be Asian or other/multi-race. Repeated Only victims were significantly *less likely* than Single Incident victims to be a U.S. citizen, to have been in relationship since enrolling at their school, and to participate in campus clubs/organizations.

Repeated Only and Single Incident victims also differed significantly on a few measures of campus climate. Victims with repeated only incidents were significantly *more likely* than those with single incidents to believe an offender would retaliate against someone who filed a sexual victimization report. These victims were significantly *less likely* than Single Incident victims to believe they would experience sexual assault or misconduct on campus, and to believe that other students

would support someone who made a report about sexual assault or misconduct and that campus officials would protect victims who filed a report.

Multiple/Repeated victims differed from Single Incident victims in distinct ways than Repeated Only victims. As compared with Single Incident victims, Multiple/Repeated victims were significantly *more likely* to attend a public school, to be younger, to be female, to identify as gay/lesbian/other sexual orientation, to have been in a relationship since being enrolled, to have a registered disability, to be an undergraduate student, to be of other/mixed race, and to participate in campus clubs/organizations.

Multiple/Repeated victims also different from Single Incident victims on measures of campus climate. Victims with multiple/repeated incidents were significantly *more likely* to believe they would experience sexual assault or misconduct on campus, to be knowledgeable about the campus definition for sexual misconduct, to be knowledgeable about where to get help for sexual assault or misconduct, to be knowledgeable about how to make a report about sexual assault or misconduct, to be knowledgeable about what happens when someone makes a report, and to say an offender would retaliate against someone who made a report. Multiple/Repeated victims were also *less likely* to believe that that other students and campus officials would support someone who made a report about sexual assault or misconduct, campus officials would protect victims who filed a report, that campus officials would investigate a report fairly, that campus officials would take action against an offender, and that campus officials would address factors that led to a reported incident of sexual assault or misconduct.

While all of the above are statistically significant, the magnitude of these relationships differ across characteristics (see Appendices A and B). For example, for public schools, the percent of single only and multiple victims differs by around 3 percentage points (82.25% vs. 85.94%; Table A-1). Comparable differences for female students is approximately 8 percentage points (69.49% vs. 77.68%; Table A-7).



## Discussion

Understanding recurring victimization is a central issue for addressing sexual assault and sexual misconduct among college students. Our findings are based on a survey of 27 college campuses, and provide new insights into patterns of victimization and characteristics of students who may be at risk for recurring victimization experiences. These findings are based on recurring victimization within the current academic year. Prior research has shown that recurring victimization can be an issue across the lifecourse (Black et al., 2011; Humphrey & White, 2000) and therefore our findings should be considered within this larger context. Additional research should be conducted to examine characteristics of students who experience recurring victimizations during different timeframes and at different stages in their life.

### Patterns of Recurring Victimization

Our findings support prior research and confirm that recurring victimization is common (e.g., Daigle, Fisher, & Cullen, 2008; Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2009). Almost 70 percent of students who experienced a victimization within the past year reported more than one incident during this same time period. The impact of recurring victimizations is even greater when examined at the incident level; 90 percent of incidents involved students who experienced recurring victimizations. As pointed out by Hamby and Grych (2013), “isolated incidents are the exception, not the rule.”

Repeated victimization with more than one incident of the same type was the most common pattern—65 percent of victimized students reported experiencing repeated incidents within the current year. Of these, most experienced only repeated incidents of the same type. Twenty-one percent of all victims experienced both repeated and multiple victimizations of different types within the year. The least common pattern of victimization was multiple incidents without repeating the same type—less than 5 percent of victimized students fell into the this category.

Our findings with a large diverse college sample show that repeated victimization is the norm but may be experienced with and without multiple victimization. Multiple victimization, on the other hand, is almost exclusively experienced in conjunction with repeated victimization.

## Differences among Types of Victimizations

Two incidents in particular were most likely to be experienced repeatedly within the current year: stalking and intimate partner violence (IPV). It is not surprising that stalking is the most likely to be repeated given it is defined as at least two incidents occurring<sup>5</sup>. The fact that IPV is among the most likely to be repeated reflects the nature of this type of victimization, which is known to occur on a serial basis by the same perpetrator. These were also two of the most likely types of incidents to be experienced within our sample, which may explain the previously discussed high rate of repeated victimization. However, these stalking and IPV victims were the *least* likely to experience multiple victimization; over half of IPV and stalking victims only experienced that one type of victimization. If IPV victims did experience another type, it was most likely to be stalking. The same pattern was found for stalking, where multiple victimization was most likely to occur with intimate partner violence. Overall, our pattern of findings show that stalking and intimate partner violence victimization share meaningful similarities in their patterns of victimization among college students and are different from other types of victimization in key ways. Although our survey data cannot address this directly, it is possible that in many cases perpetrators of stalking and IPV incidents were the same person. This would fit with prior research that most perpetrators of stalking had been in intimate relationships with their victims (Black et al., 2011; Douglas & Dutton, 2001), often because perpetrators use stalking as a means to control current and former partners (Tjaden, & Thoennes, 2000). Prior research also shows stalking in partnered relationships is related to significantly higher rates of psychological abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and injury (Logan, Shannon & Cole, 2007; Norris, Huss, & Palarea, 2011).

Three other types of victimization also show similar patterns to each other: forced penetration, incapacitated penetration, and incapacitated sexual touching. These types of victimization were the least common among our sample in general and were the least likely to be experienced by students more than once within the year. However, these types of victimization were the *most* likely to be related to multiple victimization. Over half of students who experienced each of these types of victimization also reported at least one other type of incident within the year. Multiple victims were relatively likely to experience a range of different types of incidents. For example, of

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<sup>5</sup> However, some respondents did report single incidents of stalking, likely because they considered multiple unwanted contacts by the same person to be included in the same general incident of stalking.

students who experienced forced penetration, 34 percent also experienced forced sexual touching, 33 percent also experienced stalking, 23 percent also experienced intimate partner violence, 15 percent also experienced sexual touching while incapacitated, and 14 percent also experienced penetration while incapacitated.

## Differences among Types of Victims

Finally, we examined differences among types of victims to determine if those who experienced single incidents differed on key characteristics from those who experienced repeated only incidents and multiple/repeated incidents. Our findings indicate that both Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated victims do differ from Single Incident victims in several ways, and that the patterns of significant findings are mostly distinct from each other.

Victims with repeated only incidents were significantly more likely than those with single incidents to be older, male, graduate/professional students, and Asian/other/multi-race. They were less likely to be a U.S. citizen, have been in a partnered relationship while enrolled at school, and to participate in any campus-specific club/organization. These findings may be partially explained by patterns discussed above: that stalking and intimate partner violence were the most common types of repeated victimization. In our sample, these types of incidents had the highest percentage of male victims (26% and 43% respectively). Prior IPV research has found that violence in these relationships can be bi-directional, and that despite common assumptions males can and do suffer from IPV victimization (Black et al., 2011; Hines & Douglas, 2009; Tjaden, & Thoennes, 2000).

Victims with multiple/repeated incidents were significantly more likely than those with single incidents to be undergraduate, younger, female, have a registered disability, attend a public school, be of other/mixed race, identify as gay/lesbian/other sexual orientation, participate in campus clubs/organizations, and have been in a partnered relationship in the last year. Several of these characteristics were identified as risk factors for victimization in general in the full AAU report by Cantor et al., (2015) (i.e., being undergraduate, female, non-heterosexual, and having a registered disability), and prior research has found that younger females at particular risk for recurring victimization (Daigle & Fisher, 2013). Likely due to their repeated and multiple incident experiences, these victims were the most likely of the three groups to be knowledgeable about the campus

definition for sexual misconduct, where to get help for sexual assault or misconduct, how to make a report about sexual assault or misconduct, and what happens when someone makes a report. These victims were also significantly more negative about the campus climate than Single Incident victims.

Both Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated victims were significantly *more likely* than Single Incident victims to believe an offender would retaliate against someone who made a report, and were significantly *less likely* to believe that other students would support a victim and that campus officials would protect the victim.

## Policy Implications

Although the findings presented in this report represent statistically significant differences among types of victims, it is important to note that the differences varied in magnitude (see Appendix A). The sample size for this analysis was large (around 15,000) and this will tend to produce statistically significant findings, even if the observed differences are relatively small. Additional research should be conducted in this area to confirm and expand on these findings. However, taken together, these findings have important implications for future research and prevention/intervention for victims of sexual assault and misconduct. First, campus service providers and officials should be aware that victims may be at higher risk for experiencing a related or different type of victimization and focus intervention efforts accordingly. Prior research suggests that if another incident is going to occur, it will happen relatively soon (Daigle & Fisher, 2013). Our findings of high rates of recurring victimization within the current year timeframe support this. Therefore, students who experience an instance of victimization should receive support quickly from campus programs and/or other off-campus resources to reduce their likelihood of revictimization. Because many victims do not directly report incidents to campus officials, this support should include information to the general student body about how to receive services, how to make a report about the incident to campus officials, and what to expect when a report is made. When incidents are reported to campus officials, they must offer support to alleged victims by investigating and appropriately addressing reports in a timely manner.

Second, our findings have implications for identifying groups of students who may be more at risk for recurring victimization based on their characteristics and/or experiences at school.

Outreach to graduate students, males, and students who are not U.S. citizens may be warranted to address issues related to stalking and intimate partner violence (repeated victimization). Additional campus and service provider outreach may be warranted for students who are younger, female, lesbian/gay/other sexual orientation, and have a registered disability and who may be at greater risk for multiple/repeated victimization. Additional research should also be conducted to replicate and extend our current findings comparing patterns between victims with single, repeated only, and multiple/repeated incidents, as this study was unique to date in its sample size and scope.

Finally, our findings indicate that victims with multiple/repeated incidents are skeptical about the support someone would receive from other students and from campus officials if they were to make a report about sexual assault or sexual misconduct. Both Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated victims appear to believe an offender would retaliate and that other students would not support and campus officials would not protect victims who reported incidents. Additional research and/or engagement with student groups should be conducted to determine how to address these concerns and improve the campus climate surrounding sexual assault and misconduct.

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**Appendix A**  
**Crosstabulations of Recurring Victimization**  
**by Victim Characteristics**  
**and Climate Questions**



Table A-1. Percent of students by victimization type and school type

Type of School	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Private	1,687	17.75	0.41	2,213	16.74	0.39	1,027	14.06	0.40
Public	4,109	82.25	0.41	5,689	83.26	0.39	3,365	85.94	0.40

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and type of school

Table A-2. Percent of students by victimization type and age

Age	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
18 years old	547	8.62	0.35	640	7.48	0.35	443	9.31	0.51
19 years old	1,154	19.04	0.55	1,400	17.33	0.43	971	21.11	0.56
20 years old	1,070	19.59	0.66	1,313	17.94	0.50	850	20.27	0.56
21 years old	1,068	19.66	0.57	1,265	16.51	0.50	866	20.02	0.56
22 years old	664	12.76	0.54	898	12.77	0.40	534	14.52	0.73
23 years old	286	4.90	0.33	418	5.56	0.42	175	4.20	0.31
24 years old	199	2.96	0.20	341	3.88	0.25	105	2.40	0.26
25 years or older	800	12.48	0.50	1,609	18.53	0.47	432	8.17	0.42

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and age

Table A-3. Percent of students by victimization type and enrollment status

Enrollment Status	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Undergraduate	4,641	83.59	0.59	5,805	78.02	0.46	3,766	88.88	0.45
Graduate or Professional	1,149	16.41	0.59	2,096	21.98	0.46	625	11.12	0.45

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and enrollment status

Table A-4. Percent of students by victimization type and race

Race	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
White only	4,397	73.74	0.67	5,806	70.39	0.63	3,277	70.58	0.61
Black only	222	4.95	0.33	317	4.94	0.28	188	5.45	0.38
Asian only	691	12.23	0.49	1,063	13.95	0.42	479	12.53	0.46
Other/Multi race	486	9.08	0.45	716	10.73	0.40	448	11.44	0.53

Rao-Scott p-value = 0.0003; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and race

Table A-5. Percent of students by victimization type and ethnicity

Ethnicity	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Hispanic or Latino	511	10.29	0.47	688	10.45	0.40	413	11.53	0.68
Not Hispanic or Latino	5,272	89.71	0.47	7,194	89.55	0.40	3,965	88.47	0.68

Rao-Scott p-value = 0.2447; There is not a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and ethnicity

Table A-6. Percent of students by victimization type and sexual orientation

Sexual Orientation	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Heterosexual	4,847	83.88	0.54	6,515	83.13	0.53	3,451	78.02	0.66
Gay/Lesbian	243	4.48	0.33	340	4.53	0.27	187	5.29	0.37
Other	634	10.48	0.42	888	10.45	0.41	687	15.06	0.60
Decline to state	65	1.17	0.16	147	1.90	0.17	67	1.63	0.23

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and sexual orientation

Table A-7. Percent of students by victimization type and gender

Gender	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Female	4,420	69.49	0.79	5,695	63.94	0.57	3,685	77.68	0.66
Male	1,303	29.15	0.72	2,065	34.31	0.57	599	20.00	0.66
Other	73	1.36	0.23	142	1.75	0.13	108	2.32	0.26

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and gender

Table A-8. Percent of students by victimization type and relationship status

Relationship Status	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Has been in a partnered relationship	5,234	90.27	0.36	6963	88.29	0.41	4,168	94.70	0.39
Has not been in a partnered relationship	560	9.73	0.36	932	11.71	0.41	222	5.30	0.39

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and relationship status

Table A-9. Percent of students by victimization type and disability status

Disability Status	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Registered disability	272	4.81	0.29	430	5.67	0.29	356	7.79	0.36
No registered disability	5,519	95.19	0.29	7,467	94.33	0.29	4,030	92.21	0.36

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and disability status

Table A-10. Percent of students by victimization type and campus participation

Campus Participation	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Non-participant in any campus specific club/organization	611	10.57	0.43	1,054	13.16	0.39	416	8.98	0.52
Participant in any campus specific club/organization	5,185	89.43	0.43	6,848	86.84	0.39	3,976	91.02	0.52

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and campus participation

Table A-11. Percent of students by victimization type and knowledge about their school definition of sexual misconduct

Knowledgeable about Definition	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	4,092	71.03	0.60	5,589	71.16	0.58	2,841	66.27	0.71
Very, Extremely	1,696	28.97	0.60	2,308	28.84	0.58	1,549	33.73	0.71

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and knowledge about definition

Table A-12. Percent of students by victimization type and knowledge about where to get help if they or a friend have experienced sexual misconduct

Knowledgeable about Where to Get Help	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	3,655	64.85	0.68	5,071	65.31	0.51	2,569	60.52	0.71
Very, Extremely	2,135	35.15	0.68	2,816	34.69	0.51	1,816	39.48	0.71

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and knowledge about where to get help

**Table A-13. Percent of students by victimization type and knowledge about where to make a report of sexual assault or sexual misconduct**

Knowledgeable about Where to Report	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	42,30	72.52	0.65	5,700	72.10	0.49	3,011	69.40	0.75
Very, Extremely	1,535	27.48	0.65	2,172	27.90	0.49	1,367	30.60	0.75

Rao-Scott p-value = 0.0027; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and knowledge about where to report

**Table A-14. Percent of students by victimization type and knowledge about what happens when a student reports an incident of sexual assault or sexual misconduct**

Knowledgeable about What Happens When a Student Reports	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	5,002	86.88	0.50	6,775	86.24	0.42	3,600	83.37	0.63
Very, Extremely	781	13.13	0.50	1,099	13.76	0.42	780	16.63	0.63

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and knowledgeable about what happens when a student reports

**Table A-15. Percent of students by victimization type and if school had an orientation on sexual misconduct**

School Orientation on Sexual Misconduct	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Yes	1,013	55.90	1.32	1,222	49.82	1.21	684	54.64	1.41
No	162	10.51	0.80	284	12.97	0.76	121	11.09	0.83
I didn't attend orientation	94	5.90	0.52	163	7.75	0.61	67	6.39	0.66
I don't remember	416	27.69	1.17	603	29.46	1.18	294	27.89	1.45

Rao-Scott p-value = 0.0055; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and school orientation on sexual misconduct

**Table A-16. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that other students on campus would support someone who made a report**

Likelihood Students Would Support	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	2,757	52.55	0.79	4,023	54.76	0.59	2,272	63.36	0.84
Very, Extremely	2,499	47.45	0.79	3,305	45.24	0.59	1,372	36.64	0.84

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood students would support

**Table A-17. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that an offender would retaliate against someone who made a report**

Likelihood Offender Would Retaliate	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	3,653	70.56	0.71	4,919	67.97	0.58	2,078	57.10	0.83
Very, Extremely	1,556	29.44	0.71	2,371	32.03	0.58	1,551	42.90	0.83

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood offender would retaliate

**Table A-18. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that campus officials would support someone who made a report**

Likelihood Officials Would Support	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	2,534	47.98	0.89	3,659	47.83	0.75	2,102	57.67	0.98
Very, Extremely	2,658	52.02	0.89	3,595	52.17	0.75	1,521	42.33	0.98

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood officials would support

**Table A-19. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that Campus officials would protect the safety of someone who made a report**

Likelihood Officials Would Protect	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	2,785	52.79	0.71	4,160	55.70	0.69	2,297	63.81	0.77
Very, Extremely	2,397	47.21	0.71	3,068	44.30	0.69	1,311	36.19	0.77

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood officials would protect

**Table A-20. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that campus officials would conduct a fair investigation if someone reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct**

Likelihood of Fair Investigation	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	3,228	61.29	0.88	4,715	63.04	0.67	2,550	69.96	0.67
Very, Extremely	1,930	38.71	0.88	2,489	36.96	0.67	1,047	30.04	0.67

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood of fair investigation

**Table A-21. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that campus officials would take action against the offender if someone reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct**

Likelihood Officials Would Take Action	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	3,616	68.04	0.64	5,124	68.02	0.56	2,791	75.62	0.69
Very, Extremely	1,508	31.96	0.64	2,051	31.98	0.56	804	24.38	0.69

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood officials would take action

**Table A-22. Percent of students by victimization type and likelihood that campus officials would take action to address factors that may have led to a reported sexual assault or sexual misconduct incident**

Likelihood Officials Address Factors	Single Only Incidents			Repeated Only Incidents			Multiple/Repeated Incidents		
	N	%	se	N	%	se	N	%	se
Not at all, A little, Somewhat	3,693	70.65	0.73	5,257	70.62	0.67	2,777	76.53	0.83
Very, Extremely	1,415	29.35	0.73	1,907	29.38	0.67	807	23.47	0.83

Rao-Scott p-value = <.0001; There is a statistically significant relationship between recurring victimization and likelihood officials address factors

**Appendix B**  
**Odds Ratios Comparing Characteristics of Victims of a  
Single Incident with Repeated Only and  
Multiple/Repeated Victims**

**Table B-1. Odds Ratios Comparing Characteristics of Victims of a Single Incident with Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated Victims<sup>x</sup>**

	Repeated Only vs. Single			Multiple/Repeated vs. Single		
	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Limits		Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Limits	
<b>School and Student Characteristics</b>						
Private vs. public school				<b>0.766</b>	0.691	0.85
Age	<b>1.084</b>	1.063	1.105	<b>0.935</b>	0.915	0.957
U.S. citizen vs. not U.S. citizen	<b>0.699</b>	0.589	0.828			
Gender identity						
Male vs. female	<b>1.273</b>	1.142	1.42	<b>0.567</b>	0.502	0.64
Other gender vs. female						
Decline to state vs. straight	<b>1.578</b>	1.084	2.297			
Sexual orientation						
Gay/lesbian vs. heterosexual				<b>1.316</b>	1.041	1.663
Other orientation vs. heterosexual				<b>1.487</b>	1.279	1.729
Had a relationship since enrolled vs. did not have relationship since enrolled	<b>0.809</b>	0.717	0.913	<b>2.217</b>	1.814	2.71
Have a registered disability vs. no registered disability				<b>1.584</b>	1.327	1.892
Graduate/professional vs. undergraduate	<b>1.431</b>	1.29	1.587	<b>0.627</b>	0.539	0.728
Hispanic vs. Not Hispanic						
Race						
Asian only vs. White only	<b>1.277</b>	1.123	1.451			
Black only vs. White only						
Other/Multi-race vs. White only	<b>1.201</b>	1.03	1.4	<b>1.266</b>	1.072	1.496
Participate in campus clubs/organizations vs. does not participate	<b>0.791</b>	0.697	0.897	<b>1.233</b>	1.024	1.483



**Table B-1. Characteristics of Victims with Repeated Only and Multiple/Repeated Victimitizations (continued)**

	Repeated Only vs. Single			Multiple/Repeated vs. Single		
	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Limits		Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Limits	
<b>Campus Climate Measures</b>						
Likely to experience misconduct vs. not likely*	<b>0.885</b>	0.787	0.996	<b>2.42</b>	2.157	2.715
Knowledgeable of definition of misconduct vs. not knowledgeable <sup>+</sup>				<b>1.294</b>	1.175	1.424
Knowledgeable where to get help vs. not knowledgeable				<b>1.267</b>	1.145	1.403
Knowledgeable where to make a report vs. not knowledgeable				<b>1.201</b>	1.092	1.32
Knowledgeable what happens when reporting vs. not likely				<b>1.364</b>	1.206	1.544
Likely offender will retaliate vs. not likely	<b>1.132</b>	1.034	1.24	<b>1.796</b>	1.643	1.964
Likely a student will support vs. not likely	<b>0.910</b>	0.840	0.986	<b>0.635</b>	0.572	0.706
Likely campus officials will support victim vs. not likely				<b>0.672</b>	0.597	0.755
Likely campus officials will protect the victim vs. not likely	<b>0.877</b>	0.798	0.964	<b>0.636</b>	0.582	0.695
Likely campus officials will fairly investigate vs. not likely				<b>0.692</b>	0.627	0.763
Likely campus officials will take action vs. not likely				<b>0.685</b>	0.617	0.761
Likely campus officials will address factors related to misconduct vs. not likely				<b>0.747</b>	0.658	0.848

X Each row represents a bivariate regression predicting either repeated or multiple/repeated victims with the characteristic in that row.

+ Knowledgeable includes those saying "very" or "extremely" knowledgeable. Not knowledgeable includes those saying "somewhat", "a little" or "not at all" knowledgeable

\*Likely includes those saying "very" or "extremely" likely. Not likely includes those saying "somewhat", "a little" or "not at all" likely