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Kristen M. Schuch

Eastern Illinois University

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The Relationship between Sex Role Steriotypes, Domestic Violence Training, History of Law Enforcement Involvement, and Law Enforcement Officer's Perceptions of a Domestic Violence Incident

BY

Kristen M. Schuch

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

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Date

Running head: POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The Relationship between Sex Role Stereotypes, Domestic Violence Training,

History of Law Enforcement Involvement, and

Law Enforcement Officer's Perceptions of a Domestic Violence Incident.

Kristen M. Schuch

Eastern Illinois University

Abstract

This study examined how police officers perceptions of a domestic violence situation are influenced by sex role stereotypes, domestic violence training and history of police intervention. Participants were police officers employed in sheriff's departments or city police departments. Officers received several surveys and a vignette describing a domestic violence scene. Officers were given one of two vignettes, one describing a situation in which there have been previous calls to the address and one in which this is the first call and were then asked several questions to assess their perceptions. Sex role stereotypes were assessed using the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale. Results indicated a positive correlation between perceptions of the incident and scores on the sex role questionnaire. There was a significant difference between officers who received the first time call vignette and officers who received the repeated calls vignette on their scores on the marital roles subscale of the sex role questionnaire. Future research is needed to expand these results.

Acknowledgements

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I would also like to thank the law enforcement agencies who were considerate in meeting with me and participating in this study. Without their effort and contributions the completion of this study would not have been possible.

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Introduction

Domestic violence is a problem that affects families worldwide. This problem crosses all socioeconomic, race, and cultural boundaries. Previously, police responses have reportedly been ineffective in response to domestic violence calls and it is only in the past twenty years that domestic violence has been taken more seriously by law enforcement (Hague & Wilson, 2000). With the implementation of domestic violence and stalking laws, women have been offered more protection than ever before. Collectively however, society still believes certain myths and misconceptions about marital violence. Many still perceive the problem as a family issue instead of a criminal problem and many individuals still blame battered women for remaining in their abusive relationships (Avakame & Fyfe, 2001; Stewart & Maddren, 1997; Websdale, 1995). There are many reasons why women continue in abusive relationships, among them are self-blame for the abuse, children they share with the abuser, financial dependence on the abuser, and a strong religious belief about marriage is forever (Avakame & Fyfe, 2001; Wiehe, 1998).

Even with the implementation of laws against domestic violence, occasionally women find little help through the police (Websdale, 1995). Women in rural areas are at increased risk because of higher tolerance of family violence, physical isolation from neighbors and police, and stronger sex role stereotypes (Websdale, 1995). In rural areas, as well, the physical isolation from the police is a hindrance in some possible arrests of abusers. Usually in these situations by the time the police can get there, the overt violence episode has abated and it is more possible for the abuser to convince the police that nothing happened (Websdale, 1995).

When a woman turns to police for intervention in domestic violence it is not uncommon that she has already experienced previous abuse from her partner (Shoham, 2000). Women at this point turn to the police when they feel the violence has escalated to a serious level or when they see that their children are in danger (Kuehnle, Byers, & Alfonso, 1999). Unfortunately, the police do not always agree with the victim. This phenomenon is one that is important to explore. Women often call the police expecting intervention and help from the police; they are hoping for understanding from the police and often are disappointed (Shoham, 2000). Women who have described their interactions with police have said that the most distressing reaction they received was the implication that her situation was not serious or that she was overstating the level of violence (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers, & Alfonso, 1999; Stephens & Sinden, 2000). The victim will often feel helpless and powerless in this situation and when abused women feel distrusted by the police they are less likely to call upon them again and likely will experience more violence (Shoham, 2000). Police officers have often described a feeling of helplessness in the situation, particularly in situations where the police have had repeated contact with a family. Officers often report feeling ineffective since the victim often returns to the abuser (Bachman & Coker, 1995). In fact, most abused women leave their partners multiple times before successfully separating themselves from the relationship (Gilliand & James, 1997).

The cycle of abuse describes the repetitive phases that often characterize such relationships. The tension-building phase is the first phase and is characterized by the victim(s) and abuser sensing the building of stress and anger. The battering phase is the second stage, this is where the violence occurs and subsequent incidents often become

more violent and can result in death. The final phase is the honeymoon phase; this phase often confuses the victim and may tend to reinforce a reason for remaining in relationship. During this phase the abuser apologizes and promises to change. The abuser often gives gifts and is very affectionate. This usually persuades the victim and the cycle repeats itself (Gilliand & James, 1997).

Alcohol also plays and important role in domestic violence. More than half of all domestic violence incidents involve alcohol or other drugs, with the victim, abuser or both being intoxicated. It is important for people involved in helping victims and abusers to be aware that alcohol and drug use does not cause violence. The violence pattern usually is already in place when the abuser or victim used alcohol or drugs. Alcohol or drug use may facilitate the already existing violence patterns but they are not the cause (Gilliand & James, 1997). Since they often attribute the violence to the alcohol use, officers may be more likely to dismiss the abusive nature of the situation (Stewart & Maddren, 1997). However, some research suggests that officers are more likely to arrest the abuser if he is under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Avakame & Fyfe, 2001). Training in the dynamics of domestic violence would help law enforcement officials to understand the nature of repetitive abuse patterns with or without alcohol abuse. Regardless of circumstances officers make arrests in only 20-50% of all domestic violence cases, even when there is an order of protection in place (Kane, 2000).

This study examined the relationship between police officers perceptions of seriousness of a domestic violence incident, their sex role stereotypes, training on domestic violence, and previous police involvement in the situation. One area of scrutiny was police officers sex role stereotypes. Officers who hold traditional sex role stereotypes

may consider a domestic violence incident as less serious and police officers may be less likely to perceive a domestic violence situation as serious if there has been repeated police involvement with the abuser and victim. Another area of investigation of this study was to determine if police officers with no domestic violence training would perceive the vignettes as less serious than an officer with training on domestic violence.

Method

Participants

This study included 52 participants; twenty-seven (52%) received the repeated calls vignette, while twenty-five (48%) received the first call vignette. The participants involved in this study were male patrol officers and deputies from city police and county sheriff's departments, respectively. No female officers chose to participate in this study. The participants consisted of 59.6% ($\underline{n} = 31$) from Sheriff's departments and 40.4% ($\underline{n} = 21$) from police departments. The breakdown of participants from each department is listed in Table 1. The mean age of the participants was between 26 and 45 years old and 65% ($\underline{n} = 34$) had worked for their agency for less than ten years. The most common rank of the participants was patrol officer or deputy ($\underline{n} = 39$), which is the lowest rank in all stations. Nearly all the officers had received domestic violence training ($\underline{n} = 51$), only one did not and the most common (46.2%) was seminar training while 27% had received all three types of training, video, written and seminar.

Materials

The <u>Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale</u> (SRES), developed by King and King in 1993 measures an individual's attitudes toward the equality of women and men. The survey is made up of 95 statements that are scored on a 5-point likert scale and takes about 25

minutes to complete. This questionnaire is particularly useful when looking at sex role attitudes of particular groups, such as male police officers (King & King, 1993).

A demographic questionnaire was constructed to assess variables such as the town the officer works in, their gender, length of time they have been with the agency and most importantly, if they have received domestic violence training (see Appendix B). This questionnaire will assess domestic violence training to include information on what type of domestic violence training they have received and how many hours have they received.

Two vignettes were constructed to assess the police officer perceptions of domestic violence situations. Vignette one described a situation in which there is a history of police intervention. In the vignette history was described, as "there have been previous calls to this address". Vignette two described a situation in which there has been no history of police intervention. No history was described in the vignette as "this is the first call to this address" (see Appendix C). Reactions to the vignette were measured by a post vignette questionnaire intended to assess the officer's perceptions of the seriousness of the situation. An example of such a question is: The officers did the right thing by arresting the husband (see Appendix D). Responses will be scored on a five point Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The post vignette questionnaire will also ask the officer: What factors led to your decisions about this case? The officers will mark the factors in spaces provided.

The materials for this study included: the two vignettes, the Sex role

Egalitarianism Scale (SRES) and a demographics information questionnaire. The packets
that were handed out to officers also included an informed consent and a debriefing

statement, which provided the participant with information about the study and who to contact if they should have any questions.

Procedure

To carry out this study meetings were scheduled with police chiefs and sheriffs or other representatives of sheriff's departments and their agency's participation in this study was requested. I allowed them to view the materials and discussed with them my purpose for exploring this topic. Agencies that agreed to participate received the packets containing the questionnaires for all patrol officers or deputies. In the packet there was a cover letter thanking the officers for participation and introducing them to the study (Appendix F), one informed consent for the participant to read and sign (Appendix A), one demographics questionnaire, one Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), one of the two vignettes and post vignette questions, and one debriefing statement (Appendix E). The debriefing statement informed the participant when I will be back to the station to pick the completed packets up should any officer wish to speak to me in person. This also gave me an opportunity to thank the police chief or sheriff once again for the station's cooperation.

Completed packets were handed into a designated box, which was sealed in a common area of the station. The box was not opened until I left the station, ensuring the officer's confidentiality. I traveled from station to station and picked up the completed packets approximately two weeks after I dropped them off. The completed packets all contained one signed informed consent, and the questionnaires; the officers kept the debriefing statement.

Once the data was collected the number of vignettes received was assessed. At least twenty-five officers should have answered each of the vignettes; giving the total number of participants as fifty. The first round of data collection did not produce enough completed questionnaires. I used the same process described above to gain two other agencies participation. After this second round of data collection there was enough information to proceed with statistical analysis.

The vignettes are very similar in details and form. The vignettes were randomly selected for each agency and according to how many officers were employed. To control for a practice effect, each officer will only read one vignette; this will hopefully ensure greater attention to the vignette by the officers. Also, only patrol officers will be asked to participate.

Results

The means, standard deviations and ranges for the SRES total scores and five subscales are listed in Table 2. The post vignette questionnaire total scores was significantly correlated (p < .05, 2-tailed) with all the SRES scores (total and 5 subscales, see Table 3); that is, individuals whose scores indicated that they perceived the situation as more serious also had scores on the SRES which indicated a greater belief of equality between men and women.

A series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted examining the relationship between possible influencing factors on the post vignette scores and the total post vignette scores; none reached significance (all p's > .05). Another series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted examining the relationship between SRES scores and the vignette received. On the SRES marital roles subscale those that received the first time

call vignette ($\underline{M} = 77.32$) scored significantly higher that those that received the repeated calls vignette ($\underline{M} = 74.00$), $\underline{F}(1,51) = 2.876$, $\underline{p} = .048$, 1-tailed.

A series of Chi Square analyses were conducted on the possible influencing factors on the post vignette scores. Those who received the repeated calls vignette were significantly more influenced by history of violence between the couple than those who received the first time call vignette, Chi Sq (1) = 9.437, p = .002 (see Table 4).

Discussion

This study examined the relationship between sex role stereotypes, domestic violence training, history of police intervention and police officers perceptions of a domestic violence incident. The results indicated significant correlations between the officers' scores on the SRES questionnaire and the post vignette scores. This may indicate that officers who hold traditional sex role stereotypes perceive domestic violence differently than officers who believe that men and women should have equal opportunities in parenting, marital, educational, employment, and social roles. Specifically officers who hold traditional sex role stereotypes may perceive domestic violence as less serious. The implication of this finding is that officers' treatment of domestic violence may be hindered by more traditional sex role beliefs. They may believe that women are more qualified to take care of children and work in the home while men are more qualified to bring the money into the family and discipline the children. If true, these stereotypes could lead to unrealistic beliefs about marital and relationship roles. Traditional sex roles typically dictate that a husband is the leader of the family unit and the wife's primary job is to nurture her husband and children. These

stereotypic beliefs could lead to a more lax attitude about domestic violence since the husband is simply fulfilling a leadership role.

There was no relationship between the post vignette scores and any of the six possible influencing factors (history of violence between the couple, presence or absence of drug or alcohol use, presence or absence of physical injuries, emotional state of the individuals, domestic violence training, and personal experience in dealing with domestic violence). This finding suggests that officers contained their perceptions to the facts of the situation and apparently did not consider these critical variables when making their decisions. While this may not seem problematic the arrest policies of the departments require the officers to look for physical injury and one would hope that their training on domestic violence would influence an officer's perception.

Results indicated that officers who read the first time call vignette scored significantly higher on the SRES marital subscale than officers who read the repeated history vignette. Officers who read the first call vignette believed that men and women are equal in marital roles more than officers who read the repeated calls vignette. The reason for this finding remains unclear. However, the order in which the officers filled out the questionnaires may have influenced this finding. On the other hand it may be that officers who received the first time call vignette simply hold more egalitarian sex role views than officers who received the repeated calls vignette.

The results also revealed that officers who read the repeated calls vignette reported to be influenced in their decision making by the history of violence more than officers who read the first time call vignette. This indicates that officers were aware of the history and took the history of violence into account when assessing the situation. It

has been shown that in domestic violent relationships the victim often experiences a history of abuse before the police are called the first time. So even in first time calls there is likely a history of violence. It is also known that violent relationships increase in severity over repeated assaults. Whether it is advantageous or not for officers to take history of violence into consideration in their decision making is unclear. However, whenever there has been domestic battery the abuser should be arrested. In this study although the officers who read the repeated calls vignette indicated that they were influenced by history of violence more than officers who read the first time call vignette, the statistics did not show a significant difference in the two groups perceptions of the incident. Therefore, while these officers thought about the couple's history of violence it did not significantly enter into their decision making.

In summary, the findings of this study suggest that sex role stereotypes are related to how police officers perceive domestic violence. It would seem important based on this finding that law enforcement agencies include training on sex role prejudices since these seem to influence officers' decisions. Officers may benefit from training on how to keep their prejudices from influencing their decisions in enforcing the law. There has been much discussion over the past few years about police training and requirements.

Generally it is accepted that officers possess a two or four-year college degree in criminal justice or a related field and some stations do have this requirement. Small towns, however, cannot always afford to hire officers with college degrees and often would not be able to recruit enough officers. One model for training is described by Greenberg (1998), who proposes a process in which students at local colleges work as interns in police departments while they work toward their degree completion. During this time the

trainee would have a mentor to answer questions and receive training in family violence through going to court and observing family intervention services. These trainees would also receive training on ethics and have close supervision while going through the program (Greenberg, 1998). Other training programs include a strong alliance between law enforcement agencies and the local domestic violence organizations. Such an alliance would allow both officers and advocates to understand each other and domestic violence in a brighter light (Rucinski, 1998).

Limitations

It is important to consider some limitations in this study and how future research could expound on this study's findings. The sample size in this study was somewhat limited. Many agencies that participated were rural and smaller and others represented a fewer number of participants. Further study would benefit from a larger number of participants. Also, the methods used to assess the officer's perceptions of the domestic violence incident might benefit from some refining. More questions could be added to the post vignette questionnaire and the influencing factors could be more clearly defined for the participants.

Implications

Domestic violence remains a compelling reality that deserves increased attention by social service organizations, law enforcement, and the judicial system; in addition, a higher level of social awareness is in order. There are many misconceptions about the dynamics of domestic violence such as that it only happens in poverty stricken homes. The reality of the situation is that there is no typical family where violence exists; it crosses all race, socioeconomic, and cultural borders.

Large discrepancies have been found to exist in the perceptions of the seriousness between victims and police officers called in to help (Coulter, Kuehnle, Byers, & Alfonso, 1999; Stephens & Sinden, 2000; Shoham, 2000). This difference could come from many areas including, sex role stereotypes, alcohol involvement, and previous police contact. The more the officers' deal with a family the more likely they are to feel like they are not helping the situation. While this is understandable there needs to be a greater level of awareness of the problem with police officers. It would seem obvious that training on the dynamics of family violence would help. If officers were exposed to the reasons women stay in abusive relationships, the way abuse diminishes one's power in a relationship and how helpless the victim feels, perhaps the officer could be more empathic in assisting victims of domestic violence. In addition to increased awareness about the victim's point of view, officers might benefit from training on the cycle of abuse and on how alcohol and other drugs interact with domestic violence. Alcohol and other drug abuse, while connected with many domestic violence situations, does not in itself cause the violence. Domestic violence is about power and control. The abuser uses manipulation and intimidation to control their partner.

Police intervention in these situations is critical for breaking some of the cycles of violence. Abusers who are arrested and convicted are often forced into treatment for their violent tendencies. In addition to this officers are the first line in preventing more harm to the victim, they are in the position of offering the victim references to services in the area and protecting the victim, at least for a while, from being further abused. It is important to understand the dynamics of this situation and to understand the police officers point of view. Hopefully, this study contributes to knowledge of officers' perceptions of domestic

violence and leads to enhanced training by law enforcement agencies. Perhaps all of the issues addressed in this study are best summarized by a law enforcement professional's statements while participating in this study when he said, "I used to believe that this was a family problem, that the victim chose to remain in the situation. It took many hours of training for me to realize the way this works and to see that domestic violence is (also) our responsibility."

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Table 1

Participants by Agency

Agency	n	%
Charleston PD	7	13.5
Paxton PD	4	7.7
Ford Co. Sheriff	6	11.5
Gibson City PD	5	9.6
Mattoon PD	5	9.6
Douglas Co. Sheriff	8	15.4
Coles Co. Sheriff	17	32.7

Table 2

SRES Scores

Scale	Mean	SD	Range
SRES Total	373.56	35.75	288-465
Marital Roles	75.60	7.18	59-89
Parental Roles	75.75	8.24	54-92
Employment Roles	74.23	7.72	56-95
Social Roles	72.04	7.66	55-95
Educational Roles	75.94	7.56	58-95

Table 3

Correlation of SRES scores with scores on Post Vignette Questionnaire*

SRES Scale	r	_
SRES Total	.42	
Marital Roles	.42	
Parental roles	.37	
Employment Roles	.41	
Social Roles	.31	
Educational Roles	.46	

^{*} all p's < .05

Table 4

Post Score Influenced by Vignette

Influenced

n	No	Yes	
Repeated Calls	5	22	
First time Call	15	10	_

Vignette

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

Your participation in this study is voluntary. All responses will be kept completely confidential; please do not write your name on any of the questionnaires. Please answer all surveys completely. If you wish to discontinue your participation in this study at any time you may do so without penalty. Following the completion of the surveys a statement explaining the research will be provided. Also, phone numbers of individuals you may contact if you have any further questions.

I have read the statement above and agree to participate in this study.			
Signature of Participant	Date Signed		

Appendix B **Demographics Questionnaire**

I. Gender: Male Female
2. Age: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 over 55
3. I work for: Sheriff's Dept Police Dept
4. My rank is: (Sheriff's Dept) Sheriff Chief Deputy Lieutenant Sergeant Corporal Deputy Other
(City Police) Chief Deputy Chief Lieutenant Sergeant Senior Patrolman Other
5. The population my agency serves is:
less than 4999 5000- 9999 10,000- 19,999 20,000- 29,999 more than 30,000
6. I have worked for this agency for:
0-4 years 5-9 years 10-14 years 15-19 years more than 20 years
7. Have you received training on Domestic Violence?
Yes (answer questions 7-11) No (go to question 11)
8. If Yes, what type of training was it?
Video In Person Seminar Written
9. How many hours of training did you receive?
1-4 5-10 11-15 16-20 more than 20
10. How often have you attended training sessions regarding domestic violence?
Once Twice 3 times 4 times more than 4 times
11. In your opinion, does your agency have a good working relationship with the domestic violence organization in your area?
Yes No Not applicable

Appendix C

Vignette One

Two police officers are called to a house where a domestic violence incident has been reported. This is the first time a domestic violence call has been received from this address. When they arrive a man opens the door and says his wife is in their bedroom. Inside the officers notice that there is a broken picture on the floor and some papers thrown around. The officers interview the couple separately. The wife alleges that she and her husband started arguing and that during the argument he grabbed her by the shoulders, slapped her and threw her to the floor. She says she became fearful, ran into the bedroom and called the police. The officers note red marks on both of the woman's upper arms. The husband's report is the same except he reported that he did he not slap her or throw her tot he floor. She has no visible injuries. The officer's arrest the husband for domestic battery.

Vignette Two

Two police officers are called to a house where a domestic violence incident has occurred. There have been previous domestic violence calls from this address. When they get there a man opens the door and says his wife is in their bedroom. Inside the officers notice that there is a broken picture on the floor and some papers thrown around. The officers interview the couple separately. The wife alleges that she and her husband started arguing and that during the argument he grabbed her by the shoulders, slapped her and threw her to the floor. She says she became fearful, ran into the bedroom and called the police. The officers note red marks on both of the woman's upper arms. The husband's

report is the same except he reported that he did he not slap her or throw her to the floor.

She has no visible injuries. The officer's arrest the husband for domestic battery.

Appendix D

Post Vignette Questions

1)	The officers did the best thing by arresting the husband.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
	5	4	3	2	1	
2)) In this situation, the wife was most likely in physical danger.					
	5	4	3	2	1	
3)	The wife made a	good de	cision by calli	ng the police fo	or assistance.	
	5	4	3	2	1	
4)	Based on the infe	ormation	I have learned	d about domest	ic violence and my per	sonal
	experiences, this	couple l	nas probably h	ad violence in t	their relationship befor	e this
	5	4	3	2	1.	
5)	The police office	ers proba	bly made no d	ifference in thi	s couple's behavior to	ward
	each other.					
	5	4	3	2	1	
What factors influenced how you viewed this domestic violence situation?						
Hi	History of violence between the couple					
The presence or absence of drug or alcohol use						
The presence or absence of physical injuries						
The emotional state of the individuals						
Domestic Violence training						
My personal experiences in dealing with domestic violence						

Appendix E

Debriefing Statement

Dear Law Enforcement Professional:

Thank you very much for your participation in this research thesis project, the intent of which is to investigate the possible relationship between perceptions of gender roles, previous police involvement, alcohol intoxication, and domestic violence training in officer's assessment of domestic violence situations. As you already know police intervention in domestic violence has been a critical component in saving lives and helping battered spouses to find hope and help. By the same token it is well known that police intervention in domestic violence situations is considered among the most dangerous and also the most challenging. By investigating the amount of training, attitudes toward gender stereotypes, previous police involvement in a family and the perception of the use of alcohol during domestic violence interventions, it is hoped that the subtle interactions between victims and police can be further understood. Your confidential responses to the questionnaires will be statistically analyzed in the near future and the results will be made available to you through the administration office of your agency. The primary researcher, a graduate student in clinical psychology, will be collecting the completed surveys on and will be happy to discuss the project and answer any questions you may have at that time. If you would like to discuss any aspects of the questionnaires or responses that you've had to the surveys you may call Kristen Schuch at 217-893-8313 or Dr. Bill Kirk at Eastern Illinois University, 217-581-6415. Again, thank you very much for your participation.

Appendix F

Dear Law Enforcement Professional,

Thank you for considering participation in this study. In this packet you will find five items:

- An Informed Consent form. This is for you to read and sign. It is designed to give you information about the study and your consent to participate. Please leave the informed consent in the packet when you are done.
- A Demographics Questionnaire. This questionnaire is all about you. Please answer the questions and return it to the packet.
- 3) A Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale. This questionnaire deals with how you think men and women should behave. Please answer all the items and return the questionnaire to the packet.
- 4) A vignette and post vignette questions. The vignette is for you to read and then the post vignette questions will ask you about the vignette. Please return the items to the packet when you've completed them.
- 5) A debriefing statement. This statement is for you to keep. This statement will let you know who to talk to if you have questions about the study or the procedures. It also explains the study further. Please keep this statement.

Please answer all questionnaires honestly. All of your answers will remain **confidential** and each participant will be identified only by number. I appreciate the work you do and the time you have taken to participate. When you have completed all the materials please place them back in the envelope, **seal** it, and place it in the designated box. The box will not be opened until it leaves the station.

Your participation is valued.

Sincerely,

Kristen Schuch Graduate Student in Clinical Psychology Eastern Illinois University