



Challenges responding to sexual violence: Differences between college campuses and communities

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ABSTRACT

To increase understanding about the response to sexual assault, five focus group interviews were conducted with community-based sexual assault workers as well as officials affiliated with colleges and universities throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia. Attention was given to the differences in collaboration challenges confronted by those serving college students and those serving the general population. Results suggested that while the needs of the two types of workers are similar, the types of collaboration challenges confronted varied according to the cultural and spatial dynamics of each setting. College campus sexual assault workers confronted one set of obstacles, while community-based workers confronted a different set. Ways to address these challenges are considered. Implications focus on the development of protocol, increased funding, and collaborative training.

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Introduction

A recent study found that 35 out of 1,000 college students are raped each year (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). Fisher et al. wrote that these estimates mean that a campus of 10,000 students could expect approximately 356 sexual assaults each year. These estimates were supported by other estimates as well. These estimates may actually undercount the actual extent of victimization (Bachman, 1998). A recent study found that the barriers for reporting sexual assault had remained consistent over the past three decades. These barriers included embarrassment, confidentiality concerns, and concerns about “not being believed” (Sable, Danis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006, p. 157). Perhaps the safest conclusion to make is that sexual assault occurs with regularity on college campuses. As Danis (2006) recently wrote, “college campuses are not always safe places for women” (p. 29).

In an effort to improve campus safety for women, the federal government passed the Campus Security Act approximately two decades ago. This act came to be known as the Clery Act (1990) to honor Jeanne Clery, a student at Lehigh University who was raped and murdered in 1986. The Clery Act stipulates that colleges and universities must: (1) publish an annual report describing the extent of certain crimes occurring at the college/university over a three-year time frame, (2) publish a crime log available to the public, (3) provide crime data to the U.S. Department of Education, and (4) provide strategies to protect the rights of sexual assault victims (Security on Campus, Inc., 2007). Politically, the act means that colleges and uni-

versities can be held accountable for failing to maintain and report crime statistics accurately. Interestingly, just as police chiefs, mayors, and other local officials have been accused of “controlling” crime data, college and university administrators have been suspected of failing to abide by the Clery Act (Reilly, 2007).

While the sheer number of women directly victimized by sexual assaults is enough reason for concern, the effects of sexual assault extend beyond the direct victims. Those acquainted with victims may experience consequences, and in many ways, sexual assaults can affect an entire community (Campbell & Wasco, 2005). As a community problem, a community-wide effort is required to address sexual assault. The community's response to sexual assault can be characterized as sexual assault response system entailing cooperation between various agencies or subsystems. Sexual assault prevention centers represent one form of subsystem that is part of the sexual assault response system. Two types of sexual assault prevention centers exist—community-based centers and campus-based centers.

It is natural that sexual assault prevention centers be a part of a community's efforts to prevent sexual assault and help victims deal with the consequences of victimization. Furthermore, because sexual assaults are known to occur relatively frequently on college campuses, it is also natural to expect college campuses to have some form of sexual assault prevention programming available. While these two forms of sexual assault prevention/intervention programs exist, the similarities and differences in the way the two subsystems of the sexual assault prevention system interact with other systems in the sexual assault response system is not clear. Past researchers have pointed to the need to assess the “extent [to which] campus-community collaborations [are] dependent on the nature of the intraorganizational relationships that exist on campus” (Danis, 2006, p. 42). Following this line of thought, it is

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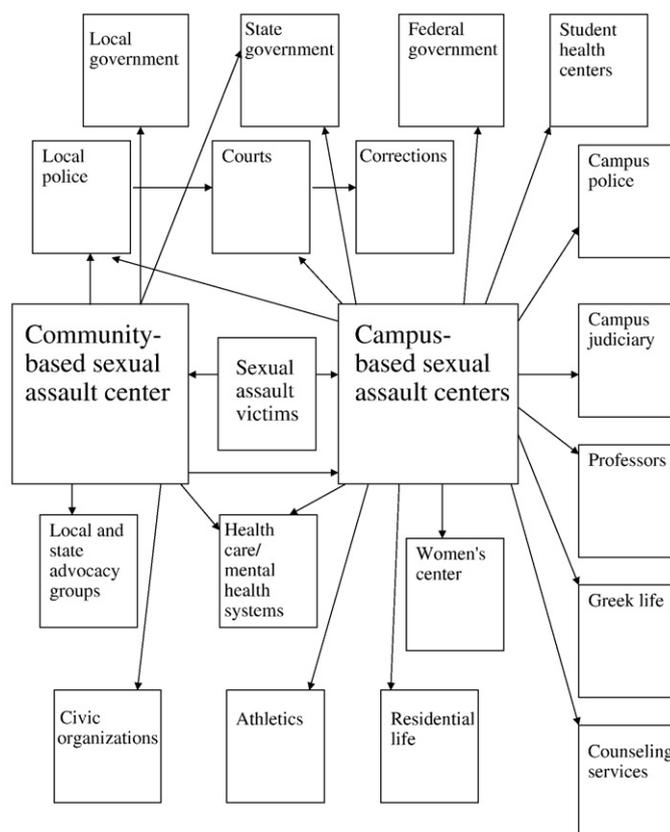


Fig. 1. Sexual assault response system.

important to consider how the inter-organizational connections between different agencies involved in efforts to prevent, and respond to, sexual assault vary according to type of sexual assault center.

In this study, attention was given to collaboration issues between sexual assault prevention centers and other societal systems. Specific attention was given to whether type of sexual assault prevention center (community-based versus campus-based) is related to the kinds of issues that surface when the centers interact with other systems in the sexual assault response system.

Review of literature

Community-based sexual assault centers can be distinguished between whether they are stand-alone rape crisis centers or part of a larger multi-service center that serves several types of victims (O'Sullivan & Carlton, 2001). Community-based sexual assault crisis centers exist to fulfill two functions—prevention and intervention. Community-based sexual assault crisis workers perform their prevention roles in their efforts to develop and implement educational and awareness programs designed to reduce the risk of sexual assault. In terms of prevention, it is important to note that the term prevention now is seen as referring to actions that can be taken to keep a potential offender from harming a specific victim. Some now use the phrase “rape avoidance” to refer to efforts to educate potential victims how to limit their risk of being sexually victimized.

Community-based sexual assault workers fulfill their intervention roles when they help sexual assault victims deal with the consequences of their victimization. Sexual assault victims they will serve include those who have just experienced their assaults as well as those who experienced their victimization earlier in their lives. One study found that 55.6 percent of clients seeking help from sexual assault centers sought the help several years after the assault. Factors in-

fluencing their decision to seek care included experiencing depression, anxiety, or other mental health issues (Monroe, Kinney, & Weist, 2005). It is particularly important to provide these community-based services because of the high risk of suicide in sexual assault victims (Ullman, 2004). Of course, the specific services provided by, and success of, community-based programs vary across localities (Campbell, Dorey, & Naegelli, 2004).

The need for separate crisis centers for colleges and universities is also warranted. Just as community-based centers vary according to where they are organizationally located, campus based sexual assault centers could be placed in any number of campus offices. These offices include the women's center, the counseling center, the student health center, or even the campus police department. Some colleges and universities have stand-alone sexual assault crisis centers. Certainly, where a sexual assault center is located on campus may influence the decisions of other campus entities to collaborate in sexual assault prevention efforts. For example, some groups might be more willing to work with a women's center while others might be more willing to work with the campus police. Regardless of this dynamic, estimates about the extent of sexual assault on campus support the need for such centers.

Estimates suggest that one-fourth of women in college have been victimized by some form of sexual assault (Lee, Caruso, Goins, & Southerland, 2003). Some college students are at risk because they are away from their homes and may engage in high-risk behaviors like heavy drinking and frequent sexual activity (Buddie & Testa, 2005; Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, & Koss, 2004). Indeed, the more risk-taking activities that individuals participate in, the higher the likelihood of victimization (Gover, 2004).

Colleges and universities use an assortment of strategies in their efforts to curb offending by college students (Aguzzi, 2003; DeCerchio, 2002; Lyman, 2003). Experts have suggested that colleges and

universities should develop specific prevention programming for at-risk college students (Yeater, Naugle, & O'Donohue, 2004). As an example, some colleges have created campus-based alcohol prevention programs that are tied to sexual assault prevention programs (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004). Campus-based sexual assault programs can also target students, particularly those groups who may be at risk of offending (White & Smith, 2004). Programs offered by campus-based sexual assault centers have been evaluated and the results of these evaluations suggest that sexual assault prevention programs can change attitudes about rape and reduce the risk of victimization (Forst, Lightfoot, & Burrichter, 1996; Johansson & Geer, 2003; O'Donohue, Yeater, & Fanetti, 2003). Campus-based programs have been criticized for their overall lack of emphasis on self-defense training (Sochting, Fairbrother, & Koch, 2004). Authors have also suggested that campuses "need to devise more creative ways to reach out to certain populations of women" (Kasper, 2004, p. 197).

Together, community- and campus-based sexual assault programs are in prime positions to develop prevention programs targeting young persons at risk of victimization or offending (Abbey, 2005). They are also often part of the broader formal network involved in the response to sexual assault. In many cases, workers in these programs are integrally involved in helping victims navigate this formal network. Certainly, one can argue that successful collaboration between the programs will help improve the system's response to sexual assault (Koss, Bachar, & Hopkins, 2004).

In terms of the need for collaboration, one can look to the family violence literature and community programming available in family violence cases as a model for the need for collaboration, and evidence of the success that results from such collaborations. With regard to the need for collaboration, many recognize that a coordinated approach between the groups involved in responding to family violence is most needed during the "investigative phase of professional intervention" (Trute, Adkins, & MacDonald, 1992, p. 359). With regard to evidence of successful community-based family violence collaborations, several examples of successful multi-agency collaborations could be highlighted. In Colorado Springs, collaborative efforts were found to improve communication between multiple agencies and victims and lower recidivism rates (Kramer & Black, 1998). In Massachusetts, the Criminal Justice Training Council and the Farmington Police Department joined efforts to form the Violence Prevention Program, which is designed to prevent domestic violence by showing young people the risk factors of violence and stressing prevention rather than reaction. Surveys showed that the students found the program beneficial (Baker, 1995). In Cheektowaga, New York, the police department collaborated with a local battered women's shelter and an anti-prejudice group to develop the Transitions Program, a program designed to train police how to better respond to domestic violence. In the months following the training, "victims praised the department's responsiveness to their needs" (Rucinski, 1998, p. 18). So, experiences from the family violence literature demonstrate: (1) that collaboration is needed, and (2) that collaboration can be successful in various ways.

A number of different agencies are potentially involved in the coordinated (or uncoordinated) response to sexual assault. Fig. 1 provides an overview of the kinds of agencies that may potentially be involved in addressing concerns about sexual assault prevention. Note that this figure is not meant to be entirely inclusive in that there may be other agencies involved in the response/prevention system; instead, the intent of the figure is to suggest the complexity of the broader system involved in the sexual assault response system. Community-based sexual assault response/prevention systems, for instance, might interact with a number of different agencies including the criminal justice system (particularly the police and courts), local and state elected officials, local and state advocacy groups, health care agencies, mental health agencies, and other community-based organizations. Campus-based centers might interact with these same agencies as well as other entities such as student health centers, campus police, the campus judiciary,

academic affairs, Greek life, counseling services, residential life, civic organizations, and the athletics department (Vickio, Hoffman, & Yarris, 1999). As one expert wrote, "the need for service coordination stems from the realization that the activities and outcomes of each organization are truly interdependent upon the activities and outcomes of each of the other organizations" (Danis, 2006, p. 32). Moreover, the complexity of this response/prevention system warrants that a coordinated response effort be developed in the interests of the sexual assault victim, depicted in the center of this figure.

Some universities have developed coordinated response systems to coordinate communication and interactions between the different agencies involved in preventing and responding to sexual assault. The advantages of such a coordinated effort include the fact that "the collaboration of different offices allows for the establishment of a coordinated, organized effort with heightened communication among various segments of the community" (Vickio et al., 1999, p. 285). As well, a coordinated effort should help to minimize problems that sexual assault centers confront. Such problems include invisibility, territorialism, unsupportive administrators, and lack of participation (Kasper, 2004). By developing a coordinated approach, roles and expectations can be clearly defined and delineated.

Prior research suggested that type of sexual assault center (e.g., sexual assault specific centers or multi-service centers) plays a role in various factors related to the response to sexual assault (O'Sullivan & Carlton, 2001). In particular, this past research found that specific sexual assault centers (also known as stand alone centers) have more inclusive definitions of sexual assault and these centers are more involved in sexual assault outreach in the community. Also, sexual assault victims are more likely to seek services from stand-alone centers than multi-service centers (O'Sullivan & Carlton, 2001).

If type of sexual assault center influences response mechanisms, then it is reasonable to consider whether collaboration issues are also tied to type of sexual assault center. The current study addressed these potential differences. Broadly speaking, the current study addressed the following question: How do workers affiliated with community-based and campus-based sexual assault crisis centers describe their abilities to collaborate with other agencies? Addressing this question will help determine how sexual assault victims can be best served.

Methods

To better understand the response to sexual assault, five focus group interviews were conducted with forty-nine individuals affiliated with sexual assault crisis centers. One of the focus group interviews was with seventeen officials affiliated with colleges and universities throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia. The colleges and representatives they represented were residential four-year state universities. Participants in this focus group were asked the following questions:

- How does your office fit in with the broader sexual assault crisis center network?
- How are your experiences different from other sexual assault crisis centers?
- What trends have you seen in sexual assault on campuses?
- What practices have you found to be successful in preventing sexual assault?
- Why do you think sexual assault is so prevalent on college campuses?
- Describe your relationship with campus police. What about your relationship with local police and other criminal justice officials?
- Are there certain types of students that are underserved?
- What would you tell legislature?
- What should we have asked you?

The other four focus groups were conducted with individuals working in sexual assault crisis centers across the Commonwealth of Virginia. Participants were asked to respond to a series of open-ended

questions asking about the kinds of issues they confront in their efforts to prevent violence, as well as serve those who have been victims of sexual violence. These questions included:

- How does your role fit in with the criminal justice process?
- Does your role sometimes seem to “bother” other professionals?
- What do you think can be done to improve the criminal justice response to sexual assault?
- Please describe your agency's prevention efforts.
- What kinds of special populations do you serve?
- What is the policy regarding physical exam recovery kit (PERK) exams in your locality?
- What is the policy regarding polygraphs in your locality? Why do you think police do polygraphs?
- Are there any regional issues to serving sexual assault victims that the General Assembly should know about?
- Is there something we haven't covered that we should have?

Incidentally, these questions were developed after a series of face-to-face interviews and surveys of crisis center workers as part of a broader study (see Carmody, 2006).

Each focus group lasted approximately two hours. The locations for the focus groups were distributed across the Commonwealth so that workers from across the state would have the opportunity to participate in the study. The campus focus group and one of the community-based focus groups were conducted with participants who were attending a standing committee meeting for a committee on which they served. Other participants were recruited through phone calls and emails to the sexual assault crisis centers. Focus group studies commonly use opportunity samples in exploratory studies (Kakar, 2006).

The focus groups were transcribed and analyzed for consistent themes. In the following section, the collaboration issues described by the campus-based and community-based advocates are discussed.

Collaboration issues described by campus advocates

Campus representatives talked at length about issues they faced with regard to collaboration. Groups they reported collaborating with included other sexual assault centers, law enforcement officials, the college or university administration, and faculty and staff. For the most part, directors described their collaboration with local centers in positive ways. The campus representatives noted that they work with the police in three different ways in campus sexual assault cases: (1) they train campus police officers about sexual assault, (2) they work with the police to educate students about sexual assault cases, and (3) they communicate with the police on ongoing investigations.

Efforts to train campus police officers about sexual assault are important because, as one campus representative noted, campus police officers are trained in regional academies about police strategies used in an entire locality, and the law enforcement needs of campuses are generally different. Those who cited positive training relationships with the police described protocol that guided the development and implementation of sexual assault trainings. Two separate campus officials offered the following:

- Our every recruit class that comes into the jurisdiction, I've requested to do a two-hour training on sexual assault. I also do command staff trainings on potential issues. For example, we're meeting tomorrow because we know the first weekend students are here, there is going to be a sexual assault and we just need to be on the same page about how we are going to deal with it, whether it's on or off campus.
- I have an open invitation with the police.

A few campus representatives also indicated that they work with campus police officers in attempts to educate students about sexual assault. The end result of these interactions seemed to be a positive

rapport between the sexual assault advocates and the campus police. Indeed, the campus representatives suggested that campus police officers were better equipped to handle campus sexual assaults than the local police.

This relates to the third area in which campus advocates may work with campus police officers (i.e., ongoing sexual assault investigations). Here, campus representatives reported several challenges that campus police officers encounter. Note the consistency in the following comments from three different campus officials:

- They are more aware that what's happening is not a stranger rape, but they're still not too good at investigating.
- They don't know how to investigate women who are intoxicated; I've heard them say “she couldn't even tell me what happened because she's so drunk.” Well isn't that the issue? She's incapacitated, therefore it is rape.
- I think that the hard thing is acquaintance rapes are so hard to investigate because it comes down to he said/she said, they'd both been drinking, and they're very difficult cases to investigate...The police, I believe, because they get burned and/or victims are not always good victims. A victim may come forward then change her mind.

Further complicating the collaborative investigations is the fact the campus police officers and campus sexual abuse advocates have different roles. Campus police officers exist to enforce the law, while campus sexual abuse advocates exist to offer services to the victims. These different roles make it difficult sometimes for the two groups to work together. One campus representative described this conflict in the following statement:

A victim may come forward and she may lie about something that occurred because she thinks she may get in trouble. It's hard to then believe that an assault actually occurred. This is where advocates and police sometimes have trouble. This is where we have tension, because they're investigating cases trying to find out did it happen or not; we're advocates, we basically believe that things occurred. We have to work very hard to recognize we're in different roles; when you are able to do that and acknowledge your different roles, it eases the relationship. If not, you're constantly butting heads.

To be sure, campus advocates work with a number of other groups in their efforts to prevent and respond to sexual assault. Campus faculty and staff have a pivotal role in these cases. The advocates noted that in many cases, faculty are the first to be told about the sexual assault. When this occurs, it is important that faculty understand the guidelines about whom they should tell about the assault under the Clery guidelines. One representative described Clery in the following way:

The Clery Act requires certain prevention programming on campus, it also requires universities to keep track of records of reported incidents, and not only to the police department but to the person who is designated on your campus as the significant reporting authority. It doesn't have to be by name, and that is where people get so confused. Like a student who comes to the RA and doesn't want their name out there, their name never has to go out there. We just need the numbers.

Two problems that that seem to arise with Clery are that faculty and staff are not necessarily aware of it, and different interpretations of the act exist across colleges and universities. Consider the following exchange that occurred between the campus representatives:

- The Clery Act also talks about the area and everything adjacent to it, and usually that's where your students live. They're living four

blocks away from the campus, that's part of your off-campus reporting statistics that you are required to contact your local agency.

- But adjacent is defined differently by different people.
- And what the law is that if a student comes to you, as an instructor, tells you about an assault but wants you to keep it to yourself, that person needs to understand that they can't do that. It's against the law. They are bound by law to report it.
- They have to report the number, and that's where there seems to be misunderstanding.

Lack of understanding about the law and its meaning potentially hinders understanding about sexual assault. Sometimes, collaboration has to be encouraged. Said one official, "I just wanted to mention collaboration being important because at [our university] we had several offices involved in this issue, judicial affairs, college police, psychological services center, and everyone was doing good work but they were doing good on their own. Until somebody said hey let's talk to each other and let's make it a team effort."

Collaboration issues described by community advocates

In discussing collaboration issues, community advocates described challenges they faced with criminal justice agencies, community agencies, and colleges/universities. The challenges they confronted with regard to criminal justice agencies included territorialism and lack of referrals. Territorialism was cited as an issue in that workers described situations in which criminal justice agencies seemed to work against the sexual assault crisis workers. Here a few comments suggesting the territorialism theme:

- Everybody gets territorial because the funding is so tight right now and everybody wants their chunk.
- I think some of that is territorial issues. It seems like they refer clients that are unmanageable. They will call us to help with court advocacy when they feel like they can't manage the client on their own, or they feel the mental health issues or something they think we can handle better.
- We had a major issue with a victim-witness program from another surrounding county getting cut. There were some real territorial issues for a while, then it kind of died down when she found out her grant wasn't getting cut.

In terms of lack of referrals, community-based workers suggested that criminal justice agencies might sometimes systematically exclude crisis workers from helping victims. Said one worker, "Our victim-witness and law enforcement both have a tendency to decide for themselves whether it happened and then they're worthy of our services." Describing incidents in which she was excluded, another community-based worker offered the following comments:

In my area, sometimes I have had it expressed to me by a Commonwealth's attorney that they don't want us there because they think that the judge or jury would consider that a weakness on the part of the victim. Meaning that she is going to counseling, that she needs to have someone there with her, and so therefore she must be mentally unstable.

Lack of referrals, according to the community-based crisis workers, stemmed from preconceived notions about the crisis workers and an apparent distrust of sexual assault victims. The preconceived notions were described by one worker who said, "We've been referred to by our primary prosecutor as 'bleeding hearts.'"

Distrust of sexual assault victims on the part of criminal justice workers was described at each of the focus groups. Said one community-based worker, "The presumption is that it's not true and the victim has to prove it." Another worker made similar comments stating, "With law enforcement, for the most part, if we don't get a

referral that means that the law enforcement has decided that they're not telling the truth and they're lying. That happens often." Other workers described this distrust in more detail:

- We do trainings at the police academy, and one of the things we always bring up is that if they were to respond to a car accident, they wouldn't expect the victim of the car accident to tell them exactly what happened, if they had blank spots, that's completely acceptable. But if you've been sexually assaulted you should know your story up and back and you shouldn't shake and you should cry and you shouldn't be angry and all of these things. They have a role for this victim. [One] detective has said, "I don't know, she doesn't act like a rape victim."
- Our biggest challenge is getting referrals period. Usually we hear about rape or sexual assault cases through the court system only because we get the docket. We have no contact with the hospitals. I have been on three SANE (Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner) exams in a year and a half. So not only are we not getting referrals, but they are not giving information about our agency so that they can at least come and get support after the fact.

Community-based workers also cited collaboration issues they confronted with community agencies. These collaboration issues tended to center around a perception of inadequate community support. Workers described challenges working with schools, local services departments, and local hospitals. Here are a few comments from workers suggesting this perception of a lack of community support:

- In the five counties of the northern neck at the local hospital there is only one nurse trained in sexual assault nurse examination for adults. She isn't really enthusiastic about doing those.
- We have a problem with the attitude of the people who have the power, the school system. We have tried to get into the school system...The last comment by a female teacher in the family life program was that "this only happens to girls from broken homes."
- Schools are closed to dealing with issues, because dealing with issues then advertises that the school has had those issues. In our community, again, the denial thing is just so huge.
- I went in front of the school board and they did not want me doing anything with sexual assault or domestic violence in the schools.
- We have cooperative agreements with the Department of Social Services but we have never gotten a referral from them.

Some of the community-based workers also described challenges working with colleges and universities in their communities. In the words of one worker, "We serve three universities, one with their own police force, which is sometimes an issue." Another worker offered the following detailed account of the problems she faced working in a college community:

One of the challenges though is serving the college. What we find with the college community is that we go for periods of time where there is no communication, no outreach going on there, and then there will be a rape that makes the headlines. All of a sudden, it seems like it's a knee jerk reaction. They want [our] help in setting up programs whenever there is a case that makes the papers. Now that doesn't mean that there aren't any other cases, but it's when they get the publicity that all of a sudden they want us to be responding.

Discussion

This research showed interesting similarities and differences in the collaboration issues confronted by the two types of sexual assault center. Community workers faced collaboration issues with various criminal justice and community agencies, while campus workers confronted issues with campus police, college professors and

administrators, and students. The two groups also described a type of competition between campus workers and community workers. Based on these findings, several implications arose.

First, and perhaps most obvious, was the need for continued and even improved training in the area of sexual assault for all workers who might encounter such cases. This training should focus on increasing understanding about sexual assault as well as understanding about appropriate remedies. As well, because of concerns about campus violence, faculty and administrators should be included in groups receiving information about sexual assault.

Second, and on a related point, efforts should be developed to provide cross training for different groups involved in the response to sexual assault. Others have also recommended multidisciplinary or integrated training (Payne & Gaaney, 2006). For the purposes of this study, it was significant to call for cross training as a strategy not only to increase awareness about various aspects of sexual assault, but also as a strategy to address the territorialism that seems to exist. Getting members of different groups together through cross training should help to build partnerships and relationships between different agencies responding to sexual assault.

Third, the need for common protocol describing the appropriate response to sexual assault should be addressed. Such a protocol should describe the roles of various agencies as well as specific policies and regulations that guide the response effort. For example, for the campus protocol, the Ctery Act should be specified so that those responding to campus violence do so in accordance with federal guidelines. Also, the protocol should specify how PERKS (physical exam recovery kits) can be used, who pays for the exams, and who has access to the data. Incidentally, one of the campus advocates was particularly vocal about the need to clarify how PERKS can be used. In particular, this campus worker described an encounter with a female campus police officer who had told a sexual assault victim that a PERK could not be performed because the victim was not a virgin.

Fourth, in terms of competition between campus- and community-based sexual assault centers, policymakers must do what they can to make sure that such competition does not result in a disservice to victims. One strategy that has helped to minimize competition has been the provision of federal funding mechanisms for campus-based sexual assault centers. For the past fifteen years or so, the federal government has provided funding through the Office of Violence Against Women to encourage colleges and universities to develop coordinated responses to sexual assault (Danis, 2006). Among the colleges and universities receiving the funds, there is reason to believe that the funding has helped alleviate potential problems between campus- and community-based sexual assault centers.

Fifth, efforts must be taken, both on campuses and in the community, to encourage reporting of sexual assaults to the centers. This is not to suggest that reports to law enforcement necessarily increase, as those decisions must be made by victims through decisions that empower victims. Still, the negative effects of victimization are such that reporting the victimization to trained advocates should, at least theoretically, help to minimize the negative effects (Campbell & Wasco, 2005).

Sixth, the competition between campus- and community-based sexual assault centers should be addressed. Ideally, these agencies should work with one another, rather than against each other. The participants in the campus-based agencies pointed to the availability of federal funds through Violence Against Women Office, but they regarded these funds as supplemental, rather than primary funds that could support all of their efforts. Strategies must be undertaken to ensure that campus- and community-based agencies are able to work together and towards the same ideals. Doing so will improve the likelihood that all are working towards the same ideals, which ultimately increases the likelihood that the centers' goals are achieved (Munro, 1978).

Finally, efforts must be directed towards making sure that the response to, and prevention of, sexual assault is victim-centered. Typically, criminal justice policies and activities focus on male offenders. The result has been that the needs of females have been systematically ignored (Danner, 1998). In doing so, social problems that tend to target women have escalated. In the end, female victims, whether on a college campus or in the community, run the risk of being re-victimized, not just by criminal justice officials with whom they interact, but also by policymakers who ignore the needs of female victims.

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