

DISSERTATION

ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN COLLEGE CAMPUS VICTIM ADVOCACY

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN COLLEGE CAMPUS VICTIM ADVOCACY

This dissertation examines ethical dilemmas in college campus victim advocacy. Dilemmas were identified by experts in the field of college campus victim advocacy. A Grounded Theory approach was used to identify categories of dilemmas, and interviews were conducted with experts in the field. Ultimately, dilemmas were identified that led to participants experiencing significant institutional trauma. These dilemmas related, not to working with individual survivors, but rather to working within broken systems and navigating complicated relationships with other professionals. Participants' own and survivors' identities were also explored, and ultimately also related back to systems and the "bad" professionals working within them. Based on these findings, implications for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

On June 2, 2016, Brock Turner, a former Stanford University student, was sentenced to six months of jail time in the county jail after being convicted of three felonies for raping an unconscious woman behind a dumpster (Murdock, 2016, section 21). It is really remarkable that we even know his name. Two men passing by encountered the assault and chased and pinned down Turner until the police arrived. Turner confessed to the police and in open court that he raped the woman, who according to the bystanders was unconscious, despite Turner's assertion that she consented to sex. The victim's name has not been disclosed in the media per accepted practice. The six-month sentence, which the judge handed down while commenting that "a longer sentence would have a 'severe impact' on Turner" will only amount to three months jail time (Baker, 2016, paragraph 1). Turner said he committed this heinous act because of "college drinking culture" and "peer pressure" (Baker, 2016, accompanying video). Turner's father said it is unfair to severely punish his son for "20 minutes of action" (Hunt, 2016, paragraph 1). However, the victim said this in her victim impact statement in open court and which she also provided to the media:

You don't know me, but you've been inside me, and that's why we're here today...I tried to push it out of my mind, but it was so heavy I didn't talk, I didn't eat, I didn't sleep, I didn't interact with anyone...For over a week after the incident, I didn't get any calls or updates [from the police] about that night or what happened to me...One day, I was at work, scrolling through the news on my phone, and came across an article...This was how I learned what happened to me, sitting at my desk reading the news at work. (Baker, 2016, paragraph 5 & 8.)

Many systems failed this woman. Although her rapist bears the only responsibility for the crime, she has indicated that she herself was the one demeaned by the systems, not her attacker. Her

trauma was exacerbated by the way systems responded to her rape. Some systems (e.g., undergoing a forensic medical examination) were awful, even though they worked well:

My clothes were confiscated and I stood naked while the nurses held a ruler to various abrasions on my body and photographed them. I had multiple swabs inserted in my vagina and anus, needles for shots, pills, had a Nikon [camera] pointed right into my spread legs. I had long, pointed beaks inside me and had my vagina smeared with cold, blue paint to check for abrasions. (Baker, 2016, paragraph 8.)

Other systems simply failed. The police failed to explain what had happened to her and to provide any updates, so the survivor was forced to learn the details of her assault from the news. After experiencing the added trauma of the trial, she had a short time to feel vindicated since the jury found the perpetrator guilty of all charges. The system then failed her once again. At sentencing, the judge made it clear that he did not want to ruin the life of a White, upper class, Olympic-swimming hopeful by imposing the six-year sentence being requested by the prosecution, so he handed down a sentence that is about the length of a summer vacation from Stanford (McLaughlin, 2016).

There has been an international outcry about the leniency of the sentence. Vice President Joe Biden has written an open letter to the survivor saying that the words in her victim impact statement would be “forever seared on my soul” (S. Levine, 2016, paragraph 1). A petition to recall the judge has gathered over one million signatures in one week (McLaughlin, 2016). People cannot believe that such an act of judicial betrayal has occurred. The unanswered question is: how can a rapist convicted of three felonies receive such a lenient sentence? And yet, the harsh reality is this: Brock Turner will spend much more time in jail than most other rapists reported to the criminal legal system ever will (Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). And the other reality is this: college campus victim advocates understand and know this truth well (see Chapter Four),

and it creates an ethical dilemma in their work with survivors: how can I support this survivor's choice to report to police while knowing the justice system is racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, and fundamentally flawed?

In the United States today sexual assault has reached epidemic rates on college campuses, where both survivors and advocates face a complicated system response. For the first time in U.S. history, a President has initiated a White House task force to protect college students from sexual assault (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). However, college campus advocates and survivors alike still face a complicated and problematic legal environment. As a result most college campus advocates experience professional ethical dilemmas that are different from those of their non-campus advocate colleagues when dealing with sexual assault in the university milieu. In this study, I examined ethical dilemmas commonly experienced by victim advocates on college campuses.

Background/Overview

Victim advocates on college campuses face different dilemmas than their counterparts in systems-based advocacy (e.g., within police departments or district attorneys' offices) and community-based advocacy (e.g., community non-profit rape crisis centers or domestic violence shelters). One of the main reasons for this difference is the environment created by federal laws and mandates specifically focused on college campuses, which I will explore throughout this dissertation. In addition to laws and mandates, this dissertation will explore intersectionality and how it impacts campus victim advocacy on individual and structural levels.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the term used to discuss interlocking, intersecting identities and multilayered systems of subordination that exist within a framework of a system of oppression

(Hill-Collins, 1998). “Intersectionality has been considered a theory, a paradigm, a framework, a method, a perspective, or a lens, depending on the context and/or scholar who is using it”

(Mehrotra, 2010, p. 420). Intersectionality is a concept, the roots of which are attributed to Black feminists and queer women of color, that exists in the individual, structural and political realms (Andersen, 2005). Intersectionality is the overarching framework for this study and is the lens through which I view my research.

Context for Sexual Assault on College Campuses: Federal Laws and Mandates

College campuses operate in a unique legal and policy environment with regard to sexual assault (as well as domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking). Recent federal laws and policies have created a sometimes complicated environment for victim advocates working on college campuses. The most relevant laws and policies that create this unique environment are:

- **Title IX and the Dear Colleague Letter.** Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX), is the law that prohibits sexual harassment in educational settings. In April 2011, the Office of Civil Rights, the arm of the U.S. Department of Education charged with the enforcement of Title IX, published a “Dear Colleague Letter” (DCL) that provided direction to educational institutions on how they should be proceeding regarding Title IX’s mandates (Office of Civil Rights, 2011). They also published “FAQ’s” about the DCL in 2014 (Office of Civil Rights, 2014).
- **The Clery Act.** The Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 has had a large impact on the ways that college campuses handle crime response and reporting (Greenstein, 2003; Lowery, Sokolow, & Tuttle, 2002). Of its many mandates are that each school report their crime statistics annually to the federal government and to the

public, and that employees labeled “campus security authorities” (CSA’s) must report certain crimes, including sexual assault, when they learn of the crimes.

- **2013 Violence Against Women Act reauthorization and Campus SaVE.** When the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA; originally passed in 1994) was reauthorized in 2013, it included several provisions directed at college campuses (G. M. Smith & Gomez, 2013; Student Success, 2014). The section of the VAWA reauthorization that is commonly called Campus SaVE amended the Clery Act to make changes in crime reporting requirements (G. M. Smith & Gomez, 2013). This requires that dating violence, domestic violence and stalking be reported and investigated in the same manner as sexual assault (Student Success, 2014).
- **White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault.** In January 2014, President Obama formed the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault. The Task Force had two main goals: “To strengthen federal enforcement efforts and provide schools with additional tools to help combat sexual assault on their campuses” (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014, p. 6). This has resulted in heightened awareness of campus sexual assault in the political arena and in the U.S. national consciousness.

Each of these federal laws, policies, and mandates impact the campus environment in which a survivor and advocate must navigate accessing support, reporting, safety, and healing.

Overview of Theory

Symbolic Interactionism. Symbolic Interactionism (SI) is a theory primarily developed through the work of George Herbert Mead in the early 1900’s (Charon, 2004). The primary concept of SI is that people are products of a social system, and yet are individuals with

creativity and purpose (Charon, 2004). Identity is negotiated through communication, and these interactions with others shape our identity, which is a social process (Suter, Daas, & Bergen, 2008).

Critical Theory. Critical Theory, when examined through a research lens, says that the universal behaviors and experiences most often studied are those of dominant groups, and that traditional research perspectives often ignore the experiences of marginalized groups (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Critical Theory also examines power relationships, including both dominant-subordinated groups and the power the researcher holds in the research process (Hesse-Biber, 2010). For this dissertation I will use Feminist Critical Theory, which centers gender within a larger system of oppression (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Rhode, 1989).

Crisis Theory. Crisis Theory, viewed through the lens of Ecosystem Theory, focuses on crisis resolution in the context of the total ecological system that surrounds an individual person (Gilliland & James, 1997). Crises impact not only the individual level of the system, but the larger systems focusing on relationships, institutions, and systems (Gilliland & James, 1997).

Symbolic Interactionism, Critical Theory and Crisis Theory. When considering the intersections between the theories, SI acts as an umbrella theory over critical theory and crisis theory. Critical theory discusses how people's identities are central to their perspective, and SI focuses on understanding another's view in order to perceive meaning and develop identities. In Critical Theory, the "majority" opinions are the result of an inherently oppressive system; these coded and unspoken undercurrents are involved in every communication. SI understands this and focuses on trying to see situations from the other's point of view (mutual role-taking). Crisis theory then highlights the lens of the individual as well as the system.

Need and Significance

Sexual assault is a significant problem on U.S. college campuses. Statistics are stark: 20% of women and 6 percent of men will experience sexual assault in their college years (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007; Office of Civil Rights, 2011; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). And while college-specific sexual assault statistics are difficult to determine for individuals who identify as trans*, statistics from the general population indicate that 50% of trans* individuals experience sexual assault in their lifetimes (Stotzer, 2009).

Because of the alarmingly high rates of sexual assault, and in order to meet the increasing federal requirements for campuses in responding to cases of sexual assault, many campuses have instituted advocacy programs to support victims and educate them about options available to them (e.g., reporting to police, reporting to the university; Carmody, Ekhomu, & Payne, 2009). Ideally, advocates are there solely to support the victim, and not to advance the university's agenda regarding sexual assault response. These advocacy programs are most effective when the advocates are able to maintain confidentiality; however, confidentiality is determined by state law (each state can choose whether or not to grant victim advocates privilege) and campus policy (each university can decide whether to grant confidentiality under Title IX and Clery; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). In attempting to manage all of these competing demands, campus victim advocates may face multiple ethical dilemmas.

Statement of the Research Problem

I investigated ethical dilemmas faced by college campus victim advocates from an intersectional perspective. In the context created by the existing federal laws and regulations that specifically target colleges and universities as discussed above, campus victim advocates

continually walk a balance between their role as a victim advocate, solely and completely focused on the victim and what the victim wants and needs, and their role as a university employee, concerned with the safety and health of the overall campus. My research aims to identify the core ethical dilemmas experienced by campus victim advocates, as identified by experts in the field.

While there is ample research available on ethical dilemmas in social work practice, there is very little available about dilemmas in campus victim advocacy, especially when considering post-2011 challenges (post-DCL). Therefore, when framing the issue, I will focus on ethical dilemmas in social work practice. Not all victim advocates are social workers, and not all social workers are victim advocates, but the National Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics provides a common framework in examining ethical dilemmas which can then relate to victim advocacy.

Research Questions

This study uses an exploratory transformative design to explore the following research questions:

1. What ethical dilemmas are identified by experts in the field of college campus victim advocacy?
2. How are these dilemmas impacted by the current federal and state policy context for college campuses?
3. How are ethical dilemmas different in states where victim advocates have legal privilege and states where they do not have legal privilege?

Definition of Terms

This section will provide a definition of key terms for this study.

- Ethical dilemma: A victim advocate experiences an ethical dilemma when they are faced with “two equally unwelcomed alternatives which may involve a conflict of moral principles and it is not clear which choice will be the right one” (Banks, 2001, p. 11).
- Victim advocate: An individual who provides support, empowerment, resource education, and resource accompaniment to victims of (for the purposes of this study) sexual assault.
- Expert: For this study, I will define an expert as an individual who is working or has worked in the field of college campus victim advocacy for three years, with at least two years being post-April 2011 Dear Colleague Letter.
- Intersectionality: The term used to discuss interlocking, intersecting identities that exist within a framework of a system of oppression (Hill-Collins, 1998).
- Multilayered systems of subordination: A component of intersectionality, this term looks at a systemic and political view of the intersections of identity while looking at “structural institutions that maintain societal power imbalances” (Angelique & Mulvey, 2012, p. 4).

Study Limitations and Delimitations

A main delimitation of this study is in the definition of “expert.” In addition to the definition of expert provided above, participants need to be able to read, speak and understand English, and will need to have access to a computer with an internet connection. In order to ensure diverse representation and to combat the recent challenge of the professionalization of the advocacy field, I will not include an education requirement for participants. I will also not place

geographical boundaries on the study other than stating that the participants' victim advocacy experience must have taken place on a campus in the United States. The reason for limiting the study to the U.S. is that the federal laws that govern so much of how campus advocates work are specific to the United States. Comparison between countries is outside the scope of this study, but may be a future research interest.

This study has several limitations. They are as follows:

- The diversity of the sample.
- The issue of self-identification when recruiting experts.
- The possibility of leaving out minority views.
- Attrition.

These limitations will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

Researcher's Perspective

All human beings are products of their experiences. Additionally, the perspective of qualitative research is that the researcher brings all of these experiences to the research (Hesse-Biber, 2014). I come to this research with 17 years of experience in the field of victim advocacy and crisis intervention, 10 of which have been on college campuses in two states. I also bring an additional three years of volunteer work on college or community rape crisis helplines. In addition, I bring my social identities, as a white middle class, educated, cisgender, lesbian woman with a disability, and these identities impact how I conceptualize and operationalize the research.

A Word about Language

I believe it is important to acknowledge that even the common language we have developed to talk about identity comes from a system of oppression. Racial categories are not

fixed nor are they organic – they were created by the system, by the government in order to make it easier to classify people (Anzaldúa, 1987/2007). “‘Hispanic’ is derived from *Hispanis*...and is a term designated by the U.S. government to make us easier to handle on paper” (Anzaldúa, 1987/2007, p. 119). The category “white” first was used by 17th century colonizers to the “New World” to distinguish themselves from slaves and Indigenous peoples (Murphy, Hunt, Zajicek, Norris, & Hamilton, 2009). Some women from the West Indies, who are called Black in the United States, are called White on the islands of their home (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1983). Additionally, the category of “American Indian” was first assigned to indigenous peoples of America by settlers seeking a new route to India. So while I may use this language, because it is the common ground that exists in order to allow us to talk about identity, I do so with the acknowledgment of its oppressive roots.

Using language that is gender inclusive, including trans* inclusive, is a grammatical challenge. My choice to use trans* inclusive language is not to ignore the gendered nature of violence against women, but rather to acknowledge trans* survivors, who are victimized at such high rates and are traditionally not considered in an analysis of gender based violence (Stotzer, 2009). Therefore, I have chosen to use plural pronouns – they/their/theirs – to refer to individual survivors and perpetrators, despite the fact that this is grammatically incorrect. This choice of pronoun use has been discussed in the literature (Beemyn, 2003; Sausa, 2005). My hope is that this will provide an inclusive space where the experiences of survivors of all gender identities can be considered.

Conclusion

Chapter Two of my dissertation will provide an overview of the literature including an examination of specific studies and discussion of theory more in-depth. Chapter Three will then

provide an overview of research methodology and my plan for the proposed study. Chapter Four will provide results of the research, and Chapter Five will provide a discussion of these findings. Finally, Chapter Six will be a conclusion to the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual Assault on College Campuses

Sexual assault is a rampant problem on U.S. college campuses. One in five women will experience sexual assault during her college years. Six percent of men experience attempted or completed sexual assault while in college (Krebs et al., 2007; Office of Civil Rights, 2011; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). Furthermore, while college-specific sexual assault statistics are difficult to determine for individuals who identify as trans*, statistics from the general population indicate that 50% of trans* individuals experience sexual assault in their lifetimes (Stotzer, 2009).

In addition to gender and gender identity, there are differences in sexual assault rates when considering race/ethnicity. The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) was conducted in 2010 (Black, 2011). This extensive survey looked at, among other factors, rates of rape and other sexual violence across racial/ethnic identities. The NISVS separates “rape” from “other sexual violence.” Rape looks specifically at completed forced penetration, attempted forced penetration, and completed alcohol/drug facilitated penetration. Other sexual violence includes being made to penetrate someone else, sexual coercion, unwanted sexual contact and non-contact unwanted sexual experiences (Black, 2011, p. 19). The following table details the lifetime prevalence for men and women broken down by race/ethnicity as reported in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 of the NISVS Summary Report (Black, 2011, p. 20 & 21):

Table 2.1

NISVS 2010 Lifetime Prevalence of Sexual Violence for U.S. Men & Women

Race/Ethnicity	Women		Men	
	Rape	Other Sexual Violence	Rape	Other Sexual Violence
Hispanic	14.6	36.1	*	26.2
Black	22.0	41.0	*	22.6
White	18.8	47.6	1.7	21.5
Asian or Pacific Islander	*	29.5	*	15.7
American Indian or Alaska Native	26.9	49.0	*	20.1
Multiracial	33.5	58.0	*	31.6

Note: All numbers reported are percentages. Percentages are weighted percentages.

* “Estimate is not reported; relative standard error >30% or cell size <20.” (Black, 2011, p. 20).

Of particular note are the high rates of both rape and other sexual violence for Native and multiracial women. In addition, while most sexual assaults take place by perpetrators of the same race/ethnicity as their victims, two-thirds of perpetrators of Native women are non-Native (Ronet Bachman, Zaykowski, Kallmyer, Poteyeva, & Lanier, 2008).

When considering identities such as age and disability, interesting patterns emerge as well. The statistics about disability are particularly disturbing: Nearly 80% of people with disabilities are sexually assaulted multiple times in their lifetime (Sobsey & Doe, 1991). Also, men are more likely to experience sexual assault before age 10 (28% compared to 12.3% of women), while women are most likely to experience sexual assault between ages 11-24 (67%; Black, 2011).

While these statistics discuss individual incidents, it is important to situate sexual assault against college students in the broader rape supportive culture that pervades college campuses and the U.S. society.

Rape Supportive Culture

In a Google Images search for the term “first day of college,” the first page of images includes pictures of signs with (white) men gathered on house lawns, holding red plastic cups and displaying signs saying “thank you for your daughters” and “honk if you dropped off your daughter” (Google Images, 2014). These examples are indications of a larger social structure that explicitly and implicitly supports rapists in committing rape. While the only person to blame for a sexual assault is the person who chooses to commit it, college campuses in particular include many norms and environments that allow pervasive sexual assault to happen (Armstrong et al., 2006). Some of those factors include the normalization of men’s disrespectful and sexualized treatment of women, acceptance of rape myths such as the idea that victims “ask for it” and that “no really means yes,” and the double standard regarding men’s and women’s sexual behavior (Armstrong et al., 2006). One study showed that men and women are not able to distinguish between statements made in men’s magazines and statements made by convicted rapists, a disturbing distinction that says as much about the magazines as it does about the study participants (Horvath, Hegarty, Tyler, & Mansfield, 2012). Both the content of the magazines and the participants’ inability to separate the quotes are arguably indicators of rape supportive culture.

The myths perpetuated by rape supportive culture further cloud an accurate picture of college sexual assault. In contrast to the “stranger in the bushes” myth, in reality, between 75 and 80 percent of victims know their perpetrator, and a large number are assaulted while incapacitated, including by alcohol, drugs, sleep, or other means. (Carr, 2007; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). As stated by Hill:

“Be clear. Alcohol contributes to, but does not cause, violence against women. Witnessing violence in childhood contributes to, but does not cause violence. Everybody feels stressed, depressed, or angry at some time; not everybody chooses to act violently.” (Hill, 2008).

There is an idea that many people make false sexual assault reports to the police; in fact, research shows that only between two and eight percent of reports are false (Lonsway, Archambault, & Lisak, 2009). And while the myth that men cannot be raped still persists, six percent of men experience attempted or completed sexual assault while in college (Krebs et al., 2007; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014).

Context for Sexual Assault on College Campuses: Federal Laws and Mandates

In order to look at how campuses respond to this pervasive problem of sexual assault, it is first important to understand the federal context in which campuses operate. College campuses operate in a unique legal and policy environment with regard to sexual assault (as well as domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking). The following sections explore some of the laws and policies that create this unique environment.

Title IX and the Dear Colleague Letter. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX), known to most people as the law that mandates sports equity, is also the law that prohibits sexual harassment in educational settings. In April 2011, the Office of Civil Rights, the arm of the U.S. Department of Education charged with the enforcement of Title IX, published a “Dear Colleague Letter” (DCL) that provided direction to educational institutions on how they should be proceeding regarding Title IX’s sexual harassment mandates (Office of Civil Rights, 2011). There were several directives in the DCL that created waves of concern within campus communities, not the least of which was the clarification of sexual violence as a type of sexual harassment, and therefore governed under Title IX. The DCL also provided mandates for investigation and adjudication of sexual harassment/violence cases, including the directive that

schools should be using the “preponderance of evidence” standard in resolving sexual assault cases, as opposed to the more burdensome “clear and convincing” standard in use by many schools (Office of Civil Rights, 2011). The publication of the DCL caused many schools to re-examine their practices and policies, and established new best practices.

The Clery Act. The Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 (called the Clery Act for Jeanne Clery, a Lehigh University student who was raped and murdered) has had a large impact on the ways that college campuses handle crime response and reporting (Greenstein, 2003; Lowery et al., 2002). Of its many mandates are that each school report their crime statistics annually to the federal government and to the public, and that employees labeled “campus security authorities” (CSAs) must report certain crimes, including sexual assault, when they learn of the crimes. Thus, the university is required to respond as soon as campus security authorities, not just campus police, are aware of a sexual assault. A campus security authority is any “official of the institution” (including student employees like resident assistants and peer mentors) who has “significant responsibility for student and campus activities, with the exception of those who have privilege” (Lowery et al., 2002, p. 34). The practical implication of this provision is that if a student discloses a sexual assault to a resident assistant, for example, the school must determine what type of response is necessary from the time the first CSA receives the report, thus requiring clear avenues for reporting up and the availability of university officials who can take action 24 hours per day (Carr, 2007; Lowery et al., 2002; McMahon, 2008).

2013 Violence Against Women Act reauthorization and Campus SaVE. When the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA; originally passed in 1994) was reauthorized in 2013, it included several provisions directed at college campuses (G. M. Smith & Gomez, 2013; Student Success, 2014). One of the main goals of the VAWA reauthorization was to strengthen the equal

rights of both victim and perpetrator through the investigation and adjudication of sexual assault reports. An additional goal was to put in place additional protections for victims, both in the interim while the investigation is ongoing and after a finding of responsibility. Additionally, the VAWA reauthorization directed campuses to identify how victims' confidentiality will be maintained (Student Success, 2014).

The section of the VAWA reauthorization that is commonly called Campus SaVE amended the Clery Act to make changes in crime reporting requirements (G. M. Smith & Gomez, 2013). The main change was to add the crimes of "domestic violence, dating violence and stalking" to the crime reporting requirements, and to add "national origin" and "gender identity" to the hate crime reporting requirements (Student Success, 2014, p. 3). While these changes are not directly related to sexual assault, they do show a greater federal commitment to addressing all forms of gender-based violence.

White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault. In January 2014, President Obama formed the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault. The Task Force had two main goals: "To strengthen federal enforcement efforts and provide schools with additional tools to help combat sexual assault on their campuses" (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014, p. 6). The first report, published in April 2014, focused on:

1. Identify[ing] the scope of the problem on college campuses;
2. Help[ing to] prevent campus sexual assault;
3. Help[ing] schools [to] respond effectively when a student is assaulted; and
4. Improv[ing], and mak[ing] more transparent, the federal government's enforcement efforts.

(The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014, p. 6).

Increased national focus on the issue of sexual assault may result in additional efforts to keep victims safe and stop perpetrators from committing sexual assault.

The federal laws, policies, and mandates all impact the campus environment in which a survivor must navigate accessing support, reporting, safety, and healing. The following section discusses the dynamics of sexual assault disclosure and reporting.

Sexual Assault Disclosure & Reporting

There are many myths that surround sexual assault disclosure and reporting. There are competing myths that sexual assault survivors report to the police immediately and that sexual assault survivors tell no one. In fact, studies have shown that both of these myths are untrue. Most survivors do not report to the police; in fact, only between two and five percent of survivors report to the police at all (McMahon, 2008; Thompson, Sitterle, Clay, & Kingree, 2007). However, survivors rarely remain completely silent; The National College Women Victimization Survey found that of the 75% of survivors who did disclose to someone, 87.9% of disclosures were to friends (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). A small number (between one and 16%) disclose to confidential resources on campus such as counselors and victim advocates. Other survivors tell professors, RAs, peer mentors, or other trusted individuals (Branch, Hayes-Smith, & Richards, 2011; Fisher et al., 2003; Krebs et al., 2007). Student survivors turn first to those they trust and who they think will believe them. This first disclosure is crucial; a validating response from the first disclosure source has a positive impact on survivors' later willingness to seek formal services and to make a formal report (C.E Ahrens, Cabral, & Abeling, 2009; C.E. Ahrens, Campbell, Ternier-Thames, Wasco, & Sefl, 2007).

There are many reasons that survivors do not report their sexual assault. They may not think their assault meets the definition of a crime, or may feel like their assault was not serious enough for police intervention (Fisher et al., 2003; Krebs et al., 2007). Additional factors that may reduce the likelihood of a report are the survivor knowing the perpetrator, a close

relationship between the survivor and the perpetrator and/or intertwining social networks between the survivor and the perpetrator (Fisher et al., 2003; Thompson et al., 2007). Rape supportive culture has an influence here as well, because survivors may have a well-founded fear that their friends will believe they are overreacting to a fairly common sexual scenario in college life and that mutual friends will support the perpetrator instead of the survivor (Fisher et al., 2003).

There are also identity based factors that influence reporting decisions. As discussed above, it is important to consider intersectionality from a systemic level, and not just based on people's individual identities. For example, students who do not identify as heterosexual may not want to report for fear of being outed (Carr, 2007). At times reporting officials (e.g., police, university) may believe that a lesbian's sexual orientation is actually a fact that strengthens a case (e.g., she is a lesbian, so she would not have consented to sex with a man). However, the survivor may not want her sexual orientation to be used in the case. When gay men report, they generally also confront systemic homophobia and sometimes dismissal and/or ridicule (Carr, 2007).

When considering race/ethnicity, there are several notable trends. Survivors assaulted by a perpetrator of a different race/ethnicity are more likely to report than those assaulted by a perpetrator of their own race/ethnicity (Armstrong et al., 2006; Fisher et al., 2003). Survivors of color are also less likely to report to formal sources, such as the police, when compared to white survivors. This may be due to the differential treatment of survivors of color by police in addition to the well-founded distrust of formal systems that survivors of color may experience (Fisher et al., 2003; Washington, 2001). An additional factor may be a survivor's concern of mistreatment of a perpetrator of color by the police. This factor is also present in particular for

trans* communities. Even though the perpetrator assaulted the survivor, the survivor may feel hesitant to subject a member of their community to harsh and unequal treatment by the criminal legal system, including the possibility of incarceration based on their birth sex rather than preferred gender (Stotzer, 2009; Washington, 2001).

Mandatory reporting on college campuses. Due to TIX and the Clery Act, many survivors on college campuses learn that a staff member to whom they disclose is required to initiate a mandatory report (Office of Civil Rights, 2011). This is a situation unique to college campuses (unless the survivor is under 18, in which case professionals in all states and fields are required to report the assault). While some university staff members have been required to report for many years as “campus security authorities” under the Clery Act, the DCL in 2011 broadened the scope of the Clery Act, causing many more staff and faculty members to fall under the mandatory reporting umbrella (Lowery et al., 2002; Office of Civil Rights, 2011). It is important to acknowledge that mandatory reporting is not always bad; in fact, some survivors come to staff members (such as RAs) because they know they are mandatory reporters and want help in initiating the reporting process. However, for survivors who do not want to report and are not aware of the staff/faculty member’s mandatory reporting requirements before disclosing, this can be an extremely disempowering and sometimes damaging process for the survivor (Carr, 2007).

As stated by Carr:

Any policy or procedure that compromises, or worse, eliminates the student’s ability to make her/his own informed choices about proceeding through the reporting and adjudication process – such as mandatory reporting requirements that do not include an anonymous reporting option or require the victim to participate in the adjudication process if the report is filed – not only reduces reporting rates but may be counter-productive to the victim’s healing process. (2007, p. 307).

More recent federal guidance has strengthened the provisions for victim confidentiality and non-requirement of participation in the process, but the fact remains, given that most survivors first

disclose to those they trust, many of those people on college campuses are required to report their disclosure to the Title IX investigator (Office of Civil Rights, 2014; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014).

The Role of the Confidential Victim Advocate on College Campuses

Confidentiality. There is considerable debate among college campuses about whether victim advocates should have confidentiality with the survivors they serve. On some campuses, administrators and behavioral intervention teams believe that information shared with victim advocates should be included in the mandatory reporting process (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). However, the trend is moving toward allowing victim advocates to have confidentiality. More than 50% of states in the U.S. have statutes that afford legal privilege to communications between survivors and victim advocates (Cole, 2011). In addition, the White House report was clear: “Schools should identify trained, confidential victim advocates who can provide emergency and ongoing support” (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014, p. 11). With so many staff and faculty identified as mandatory reporters, it is critical for students to have a confidential place where they can learn about reporting to the police and to the university, ask questions, and then make the decision that feels right for them at that time in their healing (Starzynski, Ullman, Townsend, Long, & Long, 2007; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014; U.S. Department of Justice, 1995; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). While universities and governments have an interest in compelling victim advocates to report incidents in order to protect the overall campus/public, this requirement can remove agency from survivors. Confidential advocates can partly mitigate this issue (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009; Starzynski et al., 2007).

Crisis intervention and emotional support. Survivors have contact with victim advocates at many stages in their healing journey. Often, it is a crisis that precipitates that contact. When survivors contact advocates in the days and early weeks following their assault, they are usually still in an immediate crisis reaction and are focused on getting through each day. Advocates can help by providing emotional support, communicating that they believe the survivor, and helping process through the survivor's immediate needs such as food, medical care, and sleep (Kanel, 2007). When survivors talk about what was most helpful about accessing advocacy services, crucial components of the support include "I felt heard and understood when I really needed help," and "my feelings and experiences were validated and I was comforted and reassured" (Fry, 2007, p. 28).

Survivors often experience disturbances in sleeping, eating, and concentrating. They may also struggle with physical pain from the assault, overwhelming emotions, and difficulty with academics. In providing emotional support, an advocate's role is to validate and normalize the survivor's experience as common for sexual assault survivors (Kanel, 2007). This is also a time to connect with resources to help address these basic needs.

Survivors may also connect with advocates further down their healing path when they encounter a strong trigger that brings back memories, flashbacks, and/or nightmares. In these situations, the advocate's role is to validate, normalize, and teach coping skills. The advocate can also explore the survivor's support system and make referrals to resources such as counseling as needed (Kanel, 2007).

One critical decision point for many survivors is deciding whom to tell in their support systems. Students may struggle with telling parents, friends, roommates, and/or intimate partners. Advocates can help survivors think through the benefits and drawbacks of sharing and

can help support them during and after disclosure (Campbell, Ahrens, Sefl, Wasco, & Barnes, 2001).

One primary place where survivors often need advocacy, both soon after the assault and later when they experience triggers, is with academics, because so many trauma symptoms impact the survivor's ability to go to class, stay in class, and complete work outside of class. Guerette and Caron emphasize that survivors who have experienced prior sexual trauma can find these symptoms to be exacerbated (2007). The advocate can work with professors directly or can access support from case managers or academic advisors (Carmody et al., 2009). However, it is important to note that case managers and academic advisors are usually not confidential resources; they are mandatory reporters. The White House report underlines the importance of education so that survivors know what to expect: "...at a minimum...schools should make it clear, up front, who on campus will (or will not) share what information with whom" (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014, p. 12). Advocates can educate survivors on non-confidential resources and help them weigh the benefits they may receive from a particular service with the service's mandatory reporting requirements.

Resource education and accompaniment. Another core role of campus victim advocates is to explain the process of accessing different reporting avenues and other resources, and then when possible to accompany survivors when accessing these resources. When survivors have information about how processes will work, they can make decisions about what avenues to take from a place of agency (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). Possible avenues include obtaining a forensic medical exam, reporting to the university (if the perpetrator was a student or employee), reporting to law enforcement, and

obtaining a civil protection order. Each process is complicated and largely foreign to most survivors. Having an advocate to help navigate these systems can be critical (Fry, 2007).

Advocates can also intervene on the systemic level. This could be within individual interactions when advocating for a survivor (e.g., taking a police officer aside and challenging victim blaming statements), on an institutional level (e.g., offering training for the campus police department as a whole on responding more effectively to sexual assault survivors), or on a systemic level (e.g., becoming involved in policy efforts to strengthen victim's rights laws at the state level). In addition, advocating at the institutional and systemic levels can be factors that reduce burnout among victim advocates (Carmody et al., 2009).

Participation on the university's Sexual Assault Response Team. University Sexual Assault Response Teams (SART) often resemble their community counterparts (though on many campuses the teams are not called SARTs). The concept of SARTs is to bring all relevant multidisciplinary players to the table in order to improve responses to sexual assault victims (Cole & Logan, 2008). In the SART model, applied to campuses, individuals and departments such as the TIX coordinator, conduct office, Dean of Students, victim advocates, women's center, counseling center, university police, general counsel, and case management meet both regularly and on an emergency basis when needed to respond to reports of sexual assault (Greeson & Campbell, 2013). The victim advocate has a unique role on this team. In states where victim advocates have privilege, and possibly on all campuses in the future given the White House report's assertion that all survivors deserve confidential victim advocates, victim advocates may only speak about individual cases with the survivor's permission (Cole, 2011). There are times it may be appropriate to seek that permission, such as a time when the victim advocate can communicate a survivor's wishes to the team at large (e.g., that they do not want

the university to pursue the report). However, the victim advocate can still be an active and vital team participant without speaking to a specific survivor's wishes, or on cases where the victim advocate is not (yet) involved (Cole, 2011). Victim advocates can bring to the team an understanding of common victim behavior (e.g., normalizing delayed reporting), can make sure the team is considering the survivor in their deliberations rather than focusing just on the perpetrator, can counter victim-blaming statements and myths, can bring an intersectionality lens to the conversation, and can assure that a referral to confidential resources has been made (Cole, 2011). The victim advocate's role is vital on SARTs, and it is important that the team is educated on and understands the confidentiality obligations of certain members (e.g., victim advocates, counselors) so as to avoid professional friction or misunderstandings around the confidential resource's inability to speak about details of a particular case (Cole & Logan, 2008).

Intersectionality, Sexual Assault, and Victim Advocacy

“Some researchers and counselors believe that the way to equality is to claim to be color-blind or culture-blind. Some may fear or assume that if they acknowledge a person's culture they will be guilty of discrimination, when actually the opposite is true... When counselors meet ethnic minority clients and then say they didn't notice the person's race, this is not a compliment, it is erasure.” (Bryant-Davis, 2005, p. 7.)

While there are some common themes about what survivors of sexual assault say they want and need following sexual assault, it is a survivor's social identities and whether they are validated that will have a large and lasting impact on how they experience their assault and its aftermath (Bryant-Davis, 2005; Bryant-Davis, Chung, & Tillman, 2009; Deer, Clairmont, Martell, & Eagle, 2008). Work with a survivor must include an examination of their identities on both an individual level and a systemic one.

Bryant-Davis discusses disclosing victimization as an example (2005). She identifies that while factors such as “shame, guilt, isolation, repression of memories, [and] feelings of

powerlessness” are general barriers to disclosing (Bryant-Davis, 2005, p. 46), cultural barriers to disclosing victimization may also include the following factors:

- “Lack of trust in societal institutions (police and/or legal system)
- Belief that social stigma [is] already attached to people of one’s ethnicity, national origin, religion, or sexual orientation
- Concept of reporting as selling out the race or betraying the race
- Desensitization from repeated exposure to community violence
- Fear of being labeled gay in cases of male-perpetrated abuse on a male child or adult
- Family business among ethnic minorities more important to keep private – concrete consequences of disclosure
- Linguistic issues – immigration issues.” (Bryant-Davis, 2005, p. 46.)

It is vital to consider ways that historical and community trauma may impact an individual survivor’s experience.

Structural Intersectionality and Violence Against Women

The good victim/bad victim dichotomy. The good victim/bad victim dichotomy is a form of rape myth acceptance. This refers to the fact that society has determined that there are stereotypic characteristics of sexual assault incidents and of victim behavior that are “right,” “good” or “worthy” (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). These characteristics and judgments are reinforced by media coverage and held by individuals in the criminal legal system as well as individuals in the public at large (Hayes, Lorenz, & Bell, 2013; Mallicoat, 2012; O’Hara, 2012; Stromwall, Alfredsson, & Landstrom, 2013).

The stereotypic rape scenario. The stereotypic rape scenario is one in which a male stranger (of color) jumps out of the bushes and drags an unsuspecting (white) woman into a dark alley. In reality, between 75 and 80 percent of perpetrators are known to victims, and in college settings a large number of rapes occur in party settings (Armstrong et al., 2006; Carr, 2007; The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). The media also perpetuates the myth of men of color as perpetrators. For example:

In a search of major newspaper coverage of sexual assaults in Native communities from 1998 to 2004, I found coverage almost entirely limited to cases where a Native man (or white man who purports to be Native) was the suspected perpetrator and the victim was a white woman; there was virtually no coverage of Native women as victims of sexual assault. This absence is even more startling when one considers that Native women are more likely than other groups of women in the U.S. to be sexual assault victims. (A. Smith, 2005, p. 26.)

Young women are socialized to be afraid of the stereotypic rape scenario, causing them to be frightened of walking alone in the dark, and taking multiple steps to avoid becoming a victim of this scenario (living on a rape schedule; Hayes et al., 2013; Stromwall et al., 2013).

Several societal forces promote people's belief in this stereotypic scenario. First, the media primarily covers stranger sexual assaults, and usually only covers acquaintance assaults when there is a high profile element involved (e.g., perpetrator is an athlete, or victim experiences severe injury; O'Hara, 2012). Second, some prevention methods promote fear of stranger assaults. Prevention programs targeted at potential victims to reduce their risk of assault are referred to as risk reduction prevention (K. A. Lonsway et al., 2009). These prevention tactics include handing out rape whistles, campaigns for more lighting on campus, programs such as safe walk (where a person – presumably a woman – can ask for someone to escort her from one location to another), and blue lights (emergency call boxes designated by blue lights). There are also risk reduction techniques aimed at party rapes, such as going to parties with friends and always watching drinks to be sure no one introduces a rape-facilitating drug, but even these techniques cause fear of the “unknown other” at a party and not of a classmate, friend, or date who may *be* the “safe” person accompanying a potential victim (Fisher et al., 2003; K. A. Lonsway et al., 2009).

A third college campus-specific way that the idea of the stereotypic rape scenario is enforced is through timely warnings sent out under the Clery Act (usually done through a

campus-wide text message). Under the Clery Act, campuses are required to notify the community when a crime occurs that may put the public at risk (Greenstein, 2003; Lowery et al., 2002; Nobles, Fox, Khey, & Lizotte, 2013). Those tasked with making timely warning decisions (usually administrators in conjunction with public safety personnel) generally only send out a timely warning for sexual assault cases when a stranger assault occurs, sending the message that only stranger rapists and not acquaintance rapists are a true danger to the community (Greenstein, 2003).

Additionally, victims' own beliefs about the stereotypic rape scenario impact their experience of their victimization. Victims who experience acquaintance violations meeting the definition of rape or sexual assault may be less likely to label their experiences as such, and may be more apt to blame themselves if their scenario does not fit the stereotypic scenario. This can impact victims' decisions about disclosure and their emotional healing journeys (C.E. Ahrens et al., 2007; S.M. Guerette & S.L. Caron, 2007).

Expected victim behavior. There are also stereotypes about how victims of rape ought to behave. Some of these expectations include immediate reporting to law enforcement and to the university, complete, linear recall of the event, no prior sexual relationship with the perpetrator, sexual behavior that is not promiscuous, no alcohol, marijuana or illegal drug use, and complete cooperation with all investigations (Westera, Kebell, & Milne, 2011). However, many of these expectations do not accurately reflect the way that human minds respond to trauma. Fragmented recall that continues to evolve over time is the norm, not the exception, even when intoxicating substances were not used (either voluntarily or intentionally supplied by the perpetrator; P. A. Levine, 1997). Because of the high number of assaults that are perpetrated by dating partners, having a prior sexual relationship is a distinct possibility (51%; Black, 2011). Additionally,

delayed reporting is the norm for those who report at all; immediate reporting is comparatively rare (C.E. Ahrens et al., 2007). It is also common for victims to initially omit behavior from their statements that they fear would result in negative consequences for themselves or others (e.g., underage alcohol use; Westera et al., 2011).

Just world belief. Just world belief is a sociological theory that describes people's desire to believe that the world operates in a just way. "Occasions in which good people suffer bad fates threaten the conception of a just world, and people may respond by altering their perception of the victim so that the victim becomes more deserving of her/his fate" (Stromwall et al., 2013, p. 254). Individuals who hold more firmly to a just world belief are more likely to blame the victim in sexual assault cases (Hayes et al., 2013; Stromwall et al., 2013).

Impact on rape cases. This rape myth acceptance influences rape cases in several important ways. First, individuals who work in the criminal legal system see the same media coverage as the general public. Police officers who respond initially to sexual assault calls, prosecutors who make decisions about whether or not to charge a perpetrator and who make decisions about plea bargains and trials, and juries who hear sexual assault cases all are exposed to the same media coverage and maintain many of the same beliefs discussed above (Schuller, McKimmie, Masser, & Klippenstine, 2010; Westera et al., 2011). When a police officer expects full and immediate recall, and the victim is unable to provide that, the officer may be less likely to believe the victim. When a prosecutor has to make a decision about a plea bargain, the prosecutor may offer a plea bargain or apply lesser charges for an acquaintance rape than for a stranger rape. And when a jury member holds myths about expected victim behavior, and the victim's behavior does not match those expectations, they may be more likely to acquit the perpetrator (Schuller et al., 2010; Westera et al., 2011).

The absent referent. Common language that has developed around victimization erases the perpetrator from the act of violence. By using the language of “rape” metaphorically the rapist is removed from the picture. Adams has termed this “the absent referent” (1990/2015). For example, the term “battered woman” removes the batterer from the conversation; “the batterer is rendered invisible” (A. Smith, 2005, p. 22). The term “rape victim” similarly removes the rapist. The removal of the perpetrator from language about violence against women further reinforces victim blaming stereotypes and adds to the good victim/bad victim dichotomy by leaving only the victim’s behavior to analyze.

Law enforcement bias and violence in oppressed communities. There is a long history of differential treatment, racial profiling, and intimidation and violence by police in relation to oppressed communities (Ross, 1998, 2005). This violence is both historical and contemporary, and these communities are much less likely to see police as allies or to call for help (Ritchie, 2006). Law enforcement violence has historically been perpetuated against perpetrators and victims alike, and often against those who placed the call for help. Violence by law enforcement does not have to be physical. For example, arresting the victim in cases of domestic violence can then lead to intrusion and violation by corrections agencies (Chesney-Lind, 2002; I. M. Johnson, 2007). In addition, in communities of color and trans* communities, victims may fear harsh treatment of the perpetrator by the police, and may feel that living with the violence perpetrated against them is better than subjecting the perpetrator to this treatment. Victims may also want to avoid fueling the fire of the stereotype of violent men of color, particularly Black men, as being the ones who commit rapes (Bryant-Davis, 2005; Ritchie, 2006). Because of this societal bias and fear against Black men, while most White children are taught that the police are there for

help and they can always call if they are in trouble, children of color are often not taught the same message because of the structural inequities discussed above (Ritchie, 2006).

Institutional Betrayal. A further structural consideration is the concept of institutional betrayal. Institutional betrayal occurs when systems that are supposed to support victims or provide “just” outcomes fail victims (Freyd & Birrell, 2013; C. P. Smith & Freyd, 2013, 2014). “Institutional involvement in [sexual assault] is often indirect and occurs around individually perpetrated violence” (C. P. Smith & Freyd, 2013, p. 119). Research has found that when institutions betray survivors, this trauma compounds on the original trauma and results in an exacerbation of sexual trauma. In a study of college women, “those women who reported institutional betrayal surrounding their unwanted sexual experience reported increased levels of anxiety, trauma-specific sexual symptoms, dissociation, and problematic sexual functioning. These results suggest that institutions have the power to cause additional harm to assault survivors” (C. P. Smith & Freyd, 2013, p. 119). The hallmark of institutional betrayal is that institutions first create a sense of trust within the individual, and then later betray the victims by the response to their assault. It is this betrayal of trust that exacerbates the trauma (C. P. Smith & Freyd, 2014).

Government as Perpetrator. The literature on the government or institution as perpetrator is not specifically focused on campus sexual assault, but there are many parallels. The literature focuses mainly on child victims of sexual abuse testifying in court (see, for example, Parker, 1981-1982; Quas & Goodman, 2012); military sexual trauma victims testifying in court (see, for example, Schenck, 2014); state-perpetrated homicide, genocide and torture (including the United States; see, for example, Gomez-Suarez, 2007; O'Connor, 2014-2015); and forced Native American assimilation through government schools and foster care sites (see, for

example, C. Richardson & Nelson, 2007; A. Smith, 2005). These examples of situations when the government becomes a direct or indirect perpetrator of the trauma indicate that it is possible for governments and formal systems to turn against the victims. Sometimes the system hurts even when it operates effectively, but more often, the system hurts because it has become a systemic and structural perpetrator of violence (Quas & Goodman, 2012).

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the term used to discuss interlocking, intersecting identities that exist within a framework of a system of oppression or multilayered systems of subordination (Hill-Collins, 1998). Intersectionality is a concept, the roots of which are attributed to Black feminists and queer women of color, which exists in the individual, structural and political realms (Andersen, 2005; Crenshaw, 1994/2005). The following sections will explore these realms.

Historical Context

While the term “intersectionality” did not emerge until the latter years of the 20th century, its roots took hold in the late 19th and early 20th centuries through the work of African American scholars (Murphy et al., 2009). Anna Julia Cooper wrote of the idea of a “double consciousness” for Black women, who carried the “obligations” of both race/ethnicity and gender (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 17). Mary Church Terrell also asserted this position in 1940. “Although these earlier contributions were dispersed across many genres, such as letters, poems, speeches, autobiographies, newspapers, pamphlets, and essays, their overarching premise was consistent – to rouse the country’s consciousness of society’s invisible populations” (Murphy et al., 2009, pp. 17-18). Anna Julia Cooper in particular focused on marginalized groups telling their stories, a thread that would be carried through the work of other intersectional scholars (Murphy et al., 2009). However, despite the importance of these seminal works, mainstream movements ignored

them and thus marginalized intersectional voices. These early works, which primarily focused on gender and race/ethnicity, were ostracized not only for their ideological content, but because of the intersecting identities of their authors; that is, that they were Black women (Hill-Collins, 1998; Murphy et al., 2009).

In the mid-20th century, there were multiple “women’s” movements simultaneously occurring; however, the one that is most often taught is the White, middle-class movement focusing on, among other goals, the right to work outside of the home. Of course, this movement neglected the fact that poor women and women of color were already working outside the home, often in the very homes of the women involved in the only women’s movement given historical credence. “Work for the poor and working-class women was not deemed personally fulfilling or liberating but rather exploitative and dehumanizing” (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 23). Parallel to this movement were the feminist movements of women of color, where the momentum around the concept of intersectionality was growing. In Black feminism, activists and scholars focused on the intersections of race/ethnicity, class and gender:

Because the advancement of black men occurred under the guise of male privilege, although they were black, and the advancement of white women occurred under the guise of white privilege although they were female in the U.S., black women, however, being both black and female had no guise or point of privilege by which they could have advanced. (Branch, as cited in Murphy et al., 2009, p. 21.)

In the 1980s and early 1990s, several seminal works were produced that further developed the thinking around intersectionality. Moraga and Anzaldúa published a seminal work, *This Bridge Called My Back*, a book including essays, poems, and discussions with women of color (1983). One of their contributions to the field was to discuss the ways in which intersectionality looks different depending on a person’s identities and lens. They expanded beyond race/ethnicity and gender and discussed class privilege, education privilege, and

sexuality, and explored how these identities intertwine with race/ethnicity and gender to create unique views of the world (Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983). They also challenged white feminism for its exclusivity and unacknowledged privilege (Anzaldua, 1987/2007). In 1987, Anzaldua published *Borderlands: La Frontera – The New Mestiza* (1987/2007), a seminal Chicana feminist anthology including poetry and essays exploring the culture around the Mexican/U.S. border. Through this anthology, Anzaldua explores the intersections of cultures and identities that occur particularly in communities that seem to exist in a space between and within the borders of the two countries. Both of these works, though not written using traditional “academic” style, represent the underpinnings of intersectional theory.

Another seminal work was the Black Feminist Statement published by the Combahee River Collective in 1977, and subsequently re-printed in *This Bridge Called My Back* (Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983). The focus of the statement was to underline the different ways Black women and white women experience oppression, and, to illustrate that different ways of organizing were needed. The Collective also addressed the intersections of class, sexuality, and education. “We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously” (Combahee River Collective, as cited in Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983, p. 213).

Theorists such as Kimberle Crenshaw, bell hooks, and Patricia Hill Collins began to emerge as leaders in the field of intersectionality. Patricia Hill Collins talked about a “new paradigm of race, class, and gender [which] sees all three simultaneously and as overlapping and intersecting – that is, as a matrix of domination” (Andersen, 2005, p. 444). Gender, race/ethnicity, and class cannot be examined separately without artificially casting aside aspects of women’s lives. They can only be explored as intersecting.

More recently, a debate has arisen within the field of intersectionality about the conceptualization of sexuality as an identity and the ways in which it does or does not contribute to systemic oppression in the same way that race/ethnicity, class, and gender do. Some theorists argue that sexuality/sexual orientation is not “oppression per se” (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 24), but that the fact that society assigns negative attributes to non-heteronormative sexuality does contribute to the idea that oppression based on sexuality may exist. However, other theorists, such as Audre Lorde, argued that the “dichotomization of sexuality as heterosexuality/homosexuality does not take into account the intermingling of race and class and age” (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 24). As intersectionality theory developed, the works of Black lesbians were often ignored by heterosexual Black women, and their ostracization caused many of them to be invisible or to go actively into hiding. Nonetheless, scholars such as Margaret Andersen examined sexuality along with race/ethnicity, class, and gender as focusing on identity and not on the structural political economy as did race/ethnicity, class, and gender (Andersen, 2005; Murphy et al., 2009).

Central Tenets of Intersectionality

Kimberle Crenshaw, who is credited with coining the term “intersectionality” (Crenshaw, 1994/2005) sought to understand the “diversity and multiplicity of the experiences of women of color” (Mehrotra, 2010, p. 420). To that end, Crenshaw identified central concepts of intersectionality as identity, social location, and structural barriers (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Mehrotra also added simultaneity (2010). The following section will explore each of these concepts.

Identity. Identity is universal. Everyone holds multiple, intersecting social identities. These identities are largely socially constructed – either institutionally, such as in the designation

of “Hispanic” by the U.S. government, or systemically, through years or even centuries of systemic oppression and domination (Mehrotra, 2010). These identities are situated within the system of oppression as dominant or subordinated, and they impact a person’s internal experience of their own identities as well as external behaviors from others based on perceptions of identity. However, Crenshaw rejects an additive model, where each subordinated identity piles on top of the others to create more oppression (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Rather, based on their social identities, each person has a completely unique experience of the larger system of oppression. Identities are located within a larger structure, which will be discussed more below (Mehrotra, 2010).

Simultaneity. Simultaneity focuses on the fact that individuals experience their multiple social identities simultaneously, rather than separately (Mehrotra, 2010). For example, it is impossible to separate being Asian from being a woman; she will experience her world as an Asian woman, along with all of her other identities. This concept also looks at the fact that people may experience privilege and oppression simultaneously (Mehrotra, 2010). For example, the hypothetical Asian woman above may experience privilege because she has a PhD, yet experience oppression because of her Asian racial identity. Thus, she is experiencing both privilege and oppression simultaneously, because it is impossible to completely separate those identities. Simultaneity also discusses salience, that is, the idea that some identities may become more pertinent for individuals at certain points in time (Mehrotra, 2010; Tajfel, 1981). For example, traveling outside of the United States may make a U.S. citizen’s nationality more salient. One factor in salience is that identities often become more salient when we are surrounded with others who do not share that identity (Tajfel, 1981). A White person in a room full of people of color may experience that their Whiteness is suddenly more salient. The reverse

may be true as well, that a Black person's Blackness becomes more salient in a room full of White people. However, because of systems of oppression, the White person and Black person experience this salience differently. Black people are generally accustomed to being in a room full of White people; White people are usually not used to the reverse. Their experience of salience is different depending on their overall social location, which will be discussed below (Mehrotra, 2010; Tajfel, 1981).

Social location. This concept focuses on how people are seen based on their social identities. People are seen as occupying a particular place in the larger social structure, and social location highlights that not all identities are seen equally (Murphy et al., 2009). In this way, people are seen not just as belonging to groups, but rather are seen as situated within a system of domination and oppression (Anthias, 2013). Because resources are distributed unequally across groups depending on their location within the larger social structure, social location has a very tangible impact on an individual's circumstances, despite the fact that the identities are socially constructed. "An individual's social location usually sets the stage for the rest of his or her life" (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 13). Patricia Hill Collins, another theorist in the Black feminist movement, when describing the experience of Black domestic workers in White homes, discusses the experience of intersectionality in this way: "The result was being placed within a curious *outsider-within* [emphasis in original] social location..." (Hill-Collins, 2000, p. 11). The concept of an outsider-within perspective looks at both belonging and being ostracized simultaneously (Thurlow, 2001; Watts, 2006).

Structural barriers. Structural barriers are the way the system of oppression works within and around identities. This is the "realm where power and resources are allocated along race, class, and gender lines" (Andersen, 2005, p. 446). Analyzing power from a systemic level

is essential at this stage. Patel and Crenshaw also discuss structural discrimination: “This occurs where policies intersect with underlying structures of inequality to create a compounded burden for particularly vulnerable women” (Patel, 2001, p. 5). An example of a structural barrier is the mandatory arrest laws for domestic violence. These laws were enacted largely in the early 1990s as a result of pressure on policy makers from the violence against women movement. The problem at the time was that police officers were not taking domestic violence calls seriously. Domestic violence was seen as a family problem in which the police had no right to interfere (Crenshaw, 1994/2005; Mallicoat, 2012). Therefore, the new mandatory arrest laws required that if the police officer had probable cause to believe a domestic violence crime had occurred, they were required to arrest the primary aggressor. However, there have been significant unintended consequences of these laws which are harmful to women, especially along identity lines. One of these unintended consequences was the problem either of dual arrest or misidentification of the primary aggressor resulting in the victim’s arrest (Mallicoat, 2012). The victim was more likely to be arrested if (most often) she showed extreme emotion or did not show visible signs of physical injury, or if the perpetrator showed injury, resulting in the criminalization of self-defense behaviors (Rajah, Frye, & Haviland, 2006). Structurally, this created numerous problems for victims, including their exclusion from domestic violence services because of the arrest and resulting label as a perpetrator, and problems finding housing and employment because of the requirement to disclose the arrest (I. M. Johnson, 2007). There already exists a bias against women, because of their socialized likelihood of showing emotion more than men, and then this bias further disproportionately affects women of color, who are already less likely to engage police assistance because of hostility, inequitable and violent treatment, assumption of aggressiveness and higher likelihood of arrest (of either party; Crenshaw, 1994/2005).

Political barriers. Political barriers are created by public policy and political exploitation of multiple intersectional identities. Competing resources is one way in which individuals find their multiple identities in conflict because of the pursuit of different political agendas. For example, women of color often find themselves being pulled in two or more directions, that of the political priorities of White feminist women, and that of the political priorities of men of color (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). While both groups claim to include women of color in their agendas (while, in fact sometimes exploiting women of color in their agenda without consulting them), neither group is considering the intersecting and interlocking ways in which multiple subordinated identities impact the lives and political location of these women of color (Murphy et al., 2009). One example of this may be White women's organizing around rape on a college campus. As White women focus on priorities such as more lighting on campus and using the buddy system to walk safely at night, the focus of their fear is on the stereotypical rapist, the agendas for women of color might include wanting to work to end rape as women, but also wanting to raise awareness about over-policing and racial profiling of Black and brown men (Hill-Collins, 2010).

Intersectionality and Social Work

Though not all advocates are social workers, there is not a consistent theoretical foundation for campus victim advocates working in sexual assault. However, since many advocates are social workers, I will discuss social work here to illustrate a possible framework for advocacy. According to Murphy and colleagues (2009), intersectionality has applications for social work in the areas of education, practice, research, and policy. Intersectionality is valuable as a theory, as a perspective for practice, and as a tool to enable social workers doing their work. The following sections will discuss each of these areas.

Education. The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) has made it clear that understanding diversity and oppression is crucial to a social worker's practice, and that it must be included in multiple ways in the curricula of every accredited social work program (Mehrotra, 2010). According to CSWE's Education Policy and Accreditation Standards, "The dimensions of diversity are understood as the intersectionality of multiple factors including age, class, color, culture, disability, ethnicity, gender, gender identity and expression, immigration status, political ideology, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, and tribal sovereign status" (Council on Social Work Education, 2015, p. 7). Given that intersectionality is now a core competency in social work curricula, it is important that social workers understand how to apply it to every aspect of their social work role. Murphy and colleagues discuss the implementation of collaborative research teams as a way to infuse intersectionality into the social work education process (2009). There are two intersectionality related components to these research teams – ensuring diverse membership, and having an intersectional lens in their work. The graduate curriculum offers the most opportunity to create these teams and have them work together throughout their MSW education (Murphy et al., 2009).

Practice. Hulko (2009) reminds social workers that as they move into their practice, it is important to understand the self and what they bring to practice. "The use of 'my self' – our greatest tool in social work – will make clear the 'everyday dialectics of oppression and power'" (Hulko, 2009, p. 45). A core task for social workers is bringing one's self consciously into the practice environment while at the same time retaining ethical boundaries. An intersectional perspective says that if social workers understand and bring their own identities into practice, they are using best practices. The alternative is to ignore the influence of their own identities in their work with clients and then possibly do harm.

Intersectionality is also valuable in social work practice because social workers seek not only change for individual clients, but change in the larger systems and environments in which their clients live. “Social workers are unique from other professionals in that they seek not only to understand injustice but also to gain the skills necessary to defeat the systems in which inequality thrives” (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 44). Social workers can work on both micro and macro levels to address injustice that happens at the intersection of identities and systems.

Research. McCall’s research typologies, discussed above, can provide a foundation for social workers engaging in intersectional research (2005). Intersectionality can be infused into multiple points in the research process, including sampling and data analysis (Murphy et al., 2009). For sampling, Murphy and colleagues suggest that the researchers employ purposive sampling and that they over-sample non-“normative,” or marginalized groups (2009, p. 54). In addition, they suggest creating cross-tabulations of identities in order to be sure that individuals in all social locations are studied.

When considering quantitative data analysis, it is important not just to study the statistically significant results, but to also examine outliers. Qualitative methods, on the other hand, tend to include narratives from populations whose stories are often masked or made invisible in larger quantitative studies. In qualitative research, a significant question is whether “respondents must explicitly define how the axes of intersectionality shape or influence their lives and experiences or whether the researchers can add intersectional analyses” (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 55). Murphy and colleagues believe that researchers can bring an intersectional lens, while being sure to include participants’ experience of intersecting identities.

Policy. Populations that social workers serve also benefit from an intersectional lens particularly when related to public policy. When analyzing social policy, a structural and

political framework considers the groups that policies are serving, unintended consequences, and identities that are not being served or are further being marginalized through the policy (Murphy et al., 2009). For example, the 2013 reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act, while providing some legal authority for Tribal Nations to prosecute non-Natives for sexual assault crimes that occur in domestic violence within intimate partner relationships on tribal land, still leaves a gap related to sexual assault by non-Natives occurring outside of intimate partner domestic violence (National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, 2013). And, whether the legal authority should be reasserted by Tribal Nations in the first place was a subject of significant debate among Congressional politicians. This is a structural barrier that has a long history of racism embedded in legal policy that in the past has failed to address violence against Native women on tribal lands (Deer, 2015; Deer et al., 2008). It is important to bring an intersectional lens to policy analysis from the problem definition all the way through policy adoption, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Murphy et al., 2009).

Intersectionality and Violence Against Women

Colonization. Rape and domestic violence have been used as tools of colonization and slavery, and the United States has been built upon the foundation of the oppression and violation of women of color (Hill, 2008; McNinch, 2009; A. Smith, 2005). When colonizers took steps to subjugate Native peoples, they first had to impose hierarchy upon women (A. Smith, 2005). “Patriarchal gender violence is the process by which colonizers inscribe hierarchy and domination on the bodies of the colonized” (A. Smith, 2005, p. 23). Rape has been the tool of the sexual colonization of Native peoples, and domestic and sexual violence have been results of the institution of patriarchy (Crenshaw, 1994/2005; Deer, 2015; A. Smith, 2005). As a result, Deer and colleagues state that “advocacy, safety and accountability are framed as civil and human rights issues” (Deer et al., 2008; Hill, 2008, p. 195).

Media. Media response to the rape and battering of women of color has been severely lacking. There has been almost no media coverage of the rapes of Native women, despite the fact that Native women experience sexual assault at the highest rates of any group of women in the U.S. (most often at the hands of a white man). However, the rapes of White women by Native men are covered extensively. Through this media coverage, Native women and the sexual violence against them become invisible (McNinch, 2009; A. Smith, 2005). This media response is a pattern with other communities of color as well. One example Crenshaw (2005) provides is the well-publicized case of the Central Park jogger who was raped in New York City. In that same week, “twenty-eight other cases of first-degree rape or attempted rape were reported in New York...many of these rapes were as horrific as the rape in Central Park...[and] most of the forgotten victims that week [were] women of color” (Crenshaw, 1994/2005, p. 294). McNinch describes the media response to the rapes of white women by men of color as “racialized fear” (2009, p. 170).

Systems response. When looking at violence against women through the structural lens of intersectionality, it is possible to problematize many of the systems that respond to sexual assault and domestic violence.

Police. There is a widely held public perception by White people in the United States that if there is trouble, the police can come to help. However, many communities of color do not perceive the police as allies. In particular, these communities are often over-policed and men of color are incarcerated at astounding rates (Crenshaw, 1994/2005; Mallicoat, 2012; Patel, 2001). This culture of oppressive policing results in decreased access to police assistance for women of color. Women are hesitant to expose their community to further policing by asking for assistance (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). However, at the same time, domestic and sexual violence in

communities of color are under-policed. Differences in culture and religion are often exaggerated or stereotyped and used as reasons to fail to intervene in communities of color (Patel, 2001).

A further structural concern with policing is ineffective and harmful mandatory arrest laws (also discussed above). These laws have been rife with unintended consequences at the expense of victims, who are many times women of color. One of the main consequences has been the criminalization of victims' self-defense actions, resulting in a "mandatory" arrest and refusal of victim services because the victim is now labeled a "perpetrator" (Mallicoat, 2012).

Smith discusses the problems with engaging police, a branch of the criminal legal system: "The antiviolence movement has relied on a racist and colonial criminal legal system to stop domestic and sexual violence with insufficient attention to how this system oppresses communities of color" (2005, p. 5). The problem is not just the response of individual police officers. The problem is also the system in which they work (Ross, 1998).

Advocacy. Advocacy services, intended to be support for victims of violence against women, can also be problematic when viewed through an intersectionality lens. One structural barrier with advocacy is the way funding is allocated. For example, advocates working in minority and/or impoverished communities often need to spend a disproportionate amount of time seeking housing, clothing, food, and other basic needs. However, funders often label this as "information and referral," which is valued (and reimbursed) less than activities such as court accompaniment, even though women of color are less likely to have their cases go to court (Crenshaw, 1994/2005).

Advocacy services are also problematic when survivors, whose first language is not English, seek out services. Many programs do not have policies and practices that enable them to effectively serve these survivors, and sometimes do not have the ability to serve non-English

speaking women at all. Crenshaw (2005) describes a situation where a domestic violence shelter placed a concern that a non-English speaking woman could not participate in a support group over the immediate safety needs of her and her son. They also refused to allow the son to translate for his mother temporarily, even though a bilingual hotline was willing to work to obtain translation services the next day. This shelter's policy of not allowing friends or family to translate, seemingly coming from a place of honoring confidentiality, in actuality increased the safety risk for this family (Crenshaw, 1994/2005).

Johnson (2007) also expresses concern with language used by advocacy programs. The term "battered woman" effectively makes the batterer invisible and puts all the focus on the woman. Effectively addressing domestic violence in marginalized communities requires that the focus be placed on the batterer, rather than on the woman. Deer and colleagues suggest an alternative framework:

"Advocates are **biased** [emphasis in original] supporters of women who have been battered. There is no other job or position that allows for this stance. Advocates are 100 percent of the time about the sovereignty of women. We are accountable to the women with whom we work, and there should be no conflict of interest." (Hill, 2008, p. 196).

Immigration. Structural factors can be overwhelming for immigrant women. Crenshaw (2005) uses an example of the Immigration Act of 1990, in which there is a provision to allow immigrant women experiencing domestic violence to apply for a waiver of the requirement of remaining with a spouse for two years after immigration before obtaining legal status. However, the waiver was increasingly difficult for immigrant women to obtain, because it required documentation from services such as police, mental health professionals, or medical personnel. Many immigrant women have very limited access to or concerns about using these resources (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Many of the concerns about the Immigration Act of 1990 have been addressed by the Violence Against Women Act (first passed in 1994, most recently reauthorized

in 2013). Immigrant women experiencing domestic violence, sexual assault, stalking or human trafficking now have access to VAWA self-petitions (the ability to apply on their own for legal status without spousal sponsorship) and U-Visas (a visa for victims of crime who are cooperating with police and prosecution). However, VAWA self-petitions still require that the petitioner be of “good moral character” and U-visas require cooperation with law enforcement (National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, 2013). So, barriers still exist for immigrant women. The structural barriers are even greater for undocumented women with undocumented perpetrators, who have a very real fear of deportation if they engage any help or assistance at all from the system. As Smith states, “most of the strategies developed by the mainstream antiviolence movement depend on the state as the *solution* for ending violence” (2005, p. 5). This is not a successful strategy for many women in marginalized communities, especially when solutions and services are largely based on Western approaches.

Ethics: Justice and Care

Ethics is the study of right and wrong. Ethical theories, which fall under the umbrella of normative ethics, provide guidelines and norms for behavior (Deigh, 2010; McShane, 2016). While there are many ways of categorizing ethical theories, my project will focus on ethics of justice and ethics of care.

Ethics of Justice

Care ethicists say that traditional ethics can be primarily described as ethics of justice (Lindemann, 2006). Ethics of justice includes multiple concepts, including universal values, impartiality of rules, individual rights, autonomy, and independence (Held, 1995a; Larrabee, 1993; Li, 2008; Nunner-Winkler, 1993). Justice focuses on an independent self who can make decisions based on rules (Nunner-Winkler, 1993). In practice, justice ethics focuses on

“...respect for equal rights to formal goods such as having contracts kept, due process, equal opportunity including opportunity to participate in political activities leading to policy and law-making, to basic liberties of free speech, free association and assembly, [and] religious worship...” (Held, 1995a, p. 51). In contrast, care ethics focuses on interdependence, connectedness and healthy relationships. Care ethicists see people as interconnected rather than independent.

Even critics of justice ethics will acknowledge some of the good and important values of justice ethics, such as rights and autonomy. Critics, primarily care ethicists, do not want to get rid of all justice concepts. Rather, they simply believe that there is more to ethics than justice. “Let me say quite clearly...that there is little disagreement that justice is *a* [emphasis in original] social value of very great importance, and injustice is an evil” (Held, 1995a, p. 47).

Ethics of Care

Care ethicists offer an alternate conceptualization of ethics. In her seminal work, *In a Different Voice*, Gilligan is the first to describe what care is, and to draw a contrast between justice and care (1982/1993). Gilligan describes caring and compassion as being at the core of some kinds of moral reasoning. “Understanding the needs, interests, and welfare of another person, and understanding the relationship between oneself and that other, requires a stance toward that person informed by care, love, empathy, compassion, and emotional sensitivity” (Blum, 1993, p. 51). Gilligan sees individuals as existing embedded in a web of relationships, and suggests that these relationships are necessarily central to ethical thinking and reasoning in the care perspective. While the justice perspective sees selves as ideally independent, the care perspective sees them as ideally enmeshed and constituted through their relations with others (McShane, 2016). Care ethics tell us to be sensitive, responsive, empathetic, and relational.

According to care ethics, our main job is to nurture relationships, rather than focusing on a black and white conceptualization of good and bad. This is the main point of care ethics. (Burnier, 2003; Gray, 2010). However, Gilligan is not diametrically opposed to justice ethics, as is sometimes suggested by the binary thinking of justice *or* care. In fact:

“Gilligan does not suggest that care and responsibility are to be seen either as *replacing* impartiality as a basis of morality or as encompassing *all* of morality [emphasis in original], as if all moral concerns could be translated into ones of care and responsibility. Rather, Gilligan holds that there is an appropriate place for impartiality, universal principle, and the like within morality, and that a final mature morality involves a complex interaction and dialogue between the concerns of impartiality and those of personal relationship and care. (Blum, 1993, p. 50.)

Intersectional ethicists who adopt care and justice positions criticize ethics by claiming there is an inherent sexist, patriarchal bias in moral reasoning. At the top of the patriarchal pyramid, justice for the most privileged is considered to be justice for everyone. Care is associated with social roles that are most often occupied by women. Caring for children, for the sick and for the elderly are values of care (Ruddick, 1995). Those in male-gendered social roles may have interest in protecting the status quo so that those with a care perspective, often women, will maintain these roles, leaving them free to pursue their “less altruistic” means and ends (Held, 1995a, p. 52). The justice perspective places social roles based on the values of the elite as highest in society. This allows those in power to maintain systems of oppression and further devalue the social roles associated with care (Gilligan, 1982/1993).

One additional claim of care ethics is that women’s voices have been traditionally silenced. One of Gilligan’s central concerns is voice:

Voice is natural and also cultural. It is composed of breath and sounds, words, rhythm, and language. And voice is a powerful psychological instrument and channel, connecting inner and outer worlds. Speaking and listening are a form of psychic breathing... For these reasons, voice is a new key for understanding the psychological, social, and cultural order – a litmus test of relationships and a measure of psychological health.” (Gilligan, 1982/1993, p. xvi.)

In discussing voice, Gilligan also discusses internalized oppression and women allowing their voices to be silenced by a society built on and dominated by male voice. However, if women are occupied in the tasks of caring that men are quite content to leave to them, it may be difficult for them to find the time and energy to ensure that their voices are heard (Held, 1995a). So it is not simply a matter of women speaking louder; society needs to fundamentally shift so that people of all genders share in both care and justice concerns (Held, 1995b, 2007). Care ethicists claim that the justice perspective privileges values that are more close to the social locations men traditionally occupy, such as independence. Care values of interdependence and connectedness are valued less. And from the social position that men typically occupy, justice values make sense. There is a patriarchal bias to the justice perspective (Held, 2007).

Justice and Care: Ethical Dilemmas in the Context of Victim Advocacy

Victim advocacy often involves the engagement of multiple “formal” systems – police reporting, prosecution, and university reporting. Justice ethics focuses on fair, impartial systems (Held, 1995b). For example, care ethicists suggest that impartiality is a cold, neutral way of approaching such a deeply personal traumatic experience as sexual assault. Yet, justice ethicists maintain that fair and impartial systems are crucial when victims report (Held, 2007; Lindemann, 2006). In fact, universal principles are not appropriate for everyone; care ethics provides a structure for thinking about problems in ways that are relational, that are intentionally not impartial (Gilligan, 1982/1993) When considering justice in situations of sexual assault, a central question is: Justice for whom? Justice in the eyes of the victim may be different than justice in the eyes of the court. Police may see an arrest as justice, while a survivor may just want the police to tell their perpetrator to leave them alone. Justice and care are often juxtaposed in the type of dilemmas encountered in campus victim advocacy (Held, 2007).

An example of this juxtaposition is the practice of mandatory reporting as required by Title IX and the Clery Act (Nobles et al., 2013; Office of Civil Rights, 2011). Justice ethics would focus on following the policy in a uniform manner, for every case, regardless of individual circumstances. However, care ethics would say that a blanket, one-size-fits all application of this policy does not consider as its main aim the complex emotions and relationships that play into such a decision (Held, 1995a). Perhaps the perpetrator and survivor live on the same residence hall floor, and the survivor does not want to disrupt the community by making a report. Justice ethics would say that this complex issue has been addressed: The White House report encouraged campuses to educate students about which faculty and staff are mandatory reporters (The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault, 2014). Nonetheless, care ethicists would respond, there are complicated, interwoven identities and relationships that must be considered (Held, 1995a). Instead of only considering a formula of crime equals punishment, care ethicists say that there are different considerations. Sexual assault happens to a human being. It is impossible to apply a rigid formula.

Applying Intersectionality Considerations to the Examination of Ethics

“I withhold concern from you when I ignore the social, political, and economic processes that produce your misery. And I withhold goodwill and care from you when I burn a cross on your lawn, when I yell insults at you, or when I drag you from your home, hang you or put you in an internment camp, or burn down or take over the business that you owned.” (Taylor, 2013, p. 33.)

Ethics of care. In a system of oppression, considering dominant and subordinated groups, ethics of care is relevant to understanding the ways in which caring for others is both politicized and underfunded in the United States. Care is undervalued in a capitalist society; a justice perspective might be that people are undeserving of care. These realities are borne out, not only in the lack of support by government in caring for marginalized citizens (e.g., cutting

food stamps in the farm bill, conservative governors being unwilling to accept federal dollars for Medicaid expansion, and no federal policy on, or funding for, paid parental leave), but also in terms of how U.S. society supports Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) that provide social services. Not-for-profit services that care for others' mental health must dedicate so much time to grant-writing and securing funding that services to clients often suffer (Bryant-Davis, 2005). Victim advocacy organizations may have to sacrifice victim confidentiality and ally with criminal legal organizations in order to survive at all (Deer et al., 2008). Women (and men) who work in these fields performing the tasks of caring are often so underpaid that they struggle to feed their families (Gilligan, 1982/1993).

However, intersectionality can also bring a criticism of care ethics. Care can be seen as too individualistic and not taking into account structural considerations (Held, 2007). Care ethics places primary value on activities that allow men to retain power and keeps women in subordinated positions. Intersectionality also brings other identities to the discussion of gender. Race, class, sexuality, and disability are also relevant when considering who does the caring and who is cared for (Held, 2007).

Ethics of Justice. Ethics of justice can be valuable when re-conceptualized through an intersectional lens because it can mean a different version of the notion of justice as seen institutionally in the U.S. Ethics of justice traditionally focus on impartiality and a universal principle (Lindemann, 2006). Thoughts of impartial justice often turn to formalized sources like police reports, prosecution, sentencing, and incarceration. However, when seen through the lens of a system of oppression and domination, these systems are anything but impartial and just. The criminal “justice” system is inherently racist, sexist, classist, homophobic, and transphobic. People of color are incarcerated at astoundingly high rates and for extraordinarily long sentences

when compared with white people (Mallicoat, 2012). Thus, a re-conceptualized ethic of justice considers communities, creative solutions, and healing together.

Beyond Justice and Care. An intersectional view also goes beyond justice and care. “Desires, preferences, and expectations are the appropriate objects of ethical criticism, but sometimes we have to push past the individual bearers of those mental states and look at the social conditions that routinely produce them” (Taylor, 2013, p. 169). Taylor, in his work *Race: A Philosophical Introduction*, argues that ethics very much involves institutional and systemic conditions, not only individual choices (2013). “And when we do move beyond individuals, we start in pretty quickly with talk about states, about how political society can constrain individuals and help them pursue their goals” (Taylor, 2013, p. 169). Ethics of justice would say that all people need to be treated equally, without regard for race/ethnicity or other identities. Ethics of care would say that it is important to do what each individual needs, based on their individual circumstances, and may even go as far as to say that there are individual effects of racism on this person that need to be ameliorated. However, neither of these positions address systemic and institutional racism, the legacies and current conditions which result in the need for a systemic or institutional solution. Individual solutions are not enough (Taylor, 2013).

Power. Power is a central concept if there are going to be fundamental shifts in justice and care. In the field of ethics, power imbalances exist because of the two centuries of history of scholarship by white men. When considering violence against women, the field of victim advocacy, discussed extensively below, needs to exist because of men’s violence against women; violence which exists in a larger system of oppression where men dominate women, and with the concerns of power dynamics that exist based on multiple subordinated identities (Lindemann, 2006).

Ethical Dilemmas in Campus Victim Advocacy

Professional Codes of Ethics

Social work. The National Association of Social Workers has a long-standing Code of Ethics that all social workers, licensed or not, are charged with following (National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008). There is a socialization process for social workers in the practice of ethics. Ethics and the NASW Code are taught in undergraduate and graduate programs, are addressed in supervision with interns and new social workers in the field, and are discussed among seasoned social workers who often consult with each other on ethical dilemmas. “The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty” (National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008, p. 2). The Code of Ethics is grounded in six core values, which are meant to guide social workers in all professional activities. The core values are service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity, and competence (National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008, p. 2).

Victim advocacy. Certification as a victim advocate is optional, as is following a code of ethics (as opposed to social workers, who are required to receive a degree in social work from an accredited educational program and whose ethical behavior is regulated by the state through licensure and registration). For advocates certified by the National Organization for Victim Assistance (NOVA), which is not required for campus advocates, there is a Code of Professional Ethics for Victim Assistance Providers (National Organization for Victim Assistance, 1995). The Code provides guidelines for individual survivor autonomy and empowerment, respect for identities and consideration of intersectionality, and maintenance of professionalism while

protecting client confidentiality when working with allied professionals. It is a comprehensive and victim-centered code of ethics (National Organization for Victim Assistance, 1995).

However, because NOVA certification is not required, some states have adopted their own code of ethics. An example of a state code of ethics for victim advocates is in Colorado (Colorado Organization for Victim Assistance, 2006). However, the Code of Professional Ethics for Victim Assistance Providers provides guidelines and standards for victim advocates to follow in order to act with ethical integrity. “Victims of crime and the criminal legal system expect every Victim Assistance Provider, paid or volunteer, to act with integrity, to treat all victims and survivors of crime – their clients – with dignity and compassion, and to uphold principles of justice for accused and accuser alike” (Colorado Organization for Victim Assistance, 2006, p. 1).

There are some difficulties with this Code from an intersectionality perspective. First, the Code uses the word “accuser” to refer to victims. This is language generally considered victim-blaming in the victim advocacy field (Carr, 2007; Fry, 2007). Additionally, it situates all victim advocates as being under the purview of the criminal “justice” system. There are victim advocates who work within the system, for example, those who work for the police and district attorneys, that have different expectations and legal requirements than campus- and community-based advocates. In fact, non-system-based advocates often do not work in harmony with the criminal legal system, and are often not concerned with upholding principles of justice for the “accused” (Hill, 2008; A. Smith, 2005). In addition, other states have no code of ethics for victim advocates at all.

Practical Ethics: Issues in Victim Advocacy

Obtaining informed consent. Informed consent is the practice of providing information to clients/survivors about the interventions they are going to receive and obtaining their consent

(verbal or written) to participate in the interventions (Kanel, 2007; National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008). This is part of creating an active partnership between the social worker/victim advocate and client/survivor. Obtaining informed consent can be particularly tricky in a crisis situation, though, where it may seem that the crisis needs to take precedence (Kanel, 2007). However, part of providing effective services is at minimum for the advocate to introduce themselves and explain what their role is in helping to resolve the crisis. In situations of sexual assault where empowerment is of utmost importance, taking the time to obtain informed consent can also be an empowering experience for the survivor (Kanel, 2007). In fact, in some ways, victim advocates are particularly skilled at gaining informed consent because so much of their role is explaining how systems and processes work, then discussing with the survivor the benefits and drawbacks of different courses of action, and then either supporting them while they act or receiving permission before acting on a survivor's behalf (Bryant-Davis, 2005; Fry, 2007).

Limits to confidentiality. While confidentiality is a sacred principle in social work and victim advocacy, there are times when it must be broken (Kanel, 2007; National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008). When the survivor is a danger to themselves to a point where suicide might occur without further intervention, victim advocates must obtain appropriate services to ensure a client's safety. This can present a dilemma for a victim advocate who is concerned with damaging their relationship with a survivor by obtaining additional intervention (Kanel, 2007). In these cases, it can be helpful to engage the survivor in explaining the advocate's concern and asking for the survivor's partnership in involving additional services. When considering danger to self, some victim advocates may experience an ethical dilemma. The adherence to self-determination and empowerment can seem in conflict with obtaining

additional intervention without the survivor's participation. Does a survivor have the right to commit suicide if that is their chosen path? That is a question worth additional inquiry, however, it cannot be resolved here. But it may arise as a dilemma for some victim advocates.

The second situation in which victim advocates need to break confidentiality is in the case of danger to others (Fulero, 1988; Kanel, 2007). If a victim advocate learns of a clear plan to seriously harm or kill another human, they must notify police and the potential victim (Kanel, 2007; National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008). While both social workers and victim advocates will want to ask for additional help in situations of danger to others, the requirement to inform law enforcement and the potential victim is specific to mental health professionals, including social workers (Kanel, 2007).

The third reason for breaking confidentiality is in the case of suspected child abuse (and elder/vulnerable adult abuse, but since this is rarely applicable to college campuses, it will not be addressed here; Kanel, 2007; National Association of Social Workers, 1996/2008). On the surface, this may seem like a straightforward requirement – the victim advocate must notify child protective services if they suspect abuse to someone who is currently under 18 (in Colorado, this also applies if a child abuse perpetrator is still in a position of power over children, even if the survivor disclosing the abuse is currently over 18; Colorado Department of Human Services, 2014). In some cases, this is very clear – if a survivor shares that their perpetrator of childhood sexual abuse is also abusing their sister who is currently under 18, the advocate must report. However, this issue too can enter the area of ethical dilemmas. What about reporting a parent who spansks their child? Or, as can happen on college campuses, what if a 17-year-old is sexually assaulted in the residence halls? That survivor lives on campus, away from their family, as an

adult; but under the law they are still a child. These decisions may be legally clear but ethically difficult to navigate.

Theory

Intersectionality as Theory and Methodology

Theory. As discussed above, intersectionality is built upon a foundation of Black feminist epistemology (Murphy et al., 2009). One of the central tenets of this foundation is that an additive model is not sufficient for understanding how intersectionality operates in people's lives. "One should not assume the combining of identities as additively increasing one's burden but instead as producing substantively distinct experiences" (AWID, as cited in Murphy et al., 2009, p. 9). Rather, intersectionality theory looks at the "interlocking" nature of identities, and how these identities affect individuals' access to power, privilege, and social resources (Murphy et al., 2009, p. 7). Intersectionality theory considers how each person's social location is unique and can only be understood by the interaction of their identities. Intersectionality provides a theoretical lens for considering the complexity of individuals' experiences and brings in concepts of power, privilege and difference (Murphy et al., 2009).

Mehrotra pulls together threads from earlier authors (e.g., Crenshaw) and provides a theoretical framework for considering intersectionality:

- (a) Placing the lived lives and experiences of people of color and other marginalized groups at the center of the development of theory,
- (b) Exploring the complexities of individual identities and group identities while making visible the ways in which diversity within groups is often ignored and essentialized,
- (c) Demonstrating the ways in which social inequality and oppression in the interconnected domains of the power structure are manifest, and
- (d) Promoting social justice and social change through research and practice. (2010, p. 419.)

These theoretical tenets guide intersectional scholars in applying principles of intersectionality to other fields of study.

Methodology: McCall's typology of intersectional approaches. McCall has focused on grouping research on intersectionality into three groups of methodologies. She defines methodology as “a coherent set of ideas about the philosophy, methods, and data that underlie the research process and the production of knowledge” (McCall, 2005, p. 1774). Methodology, then, is not synonymous with methods – it focuses on the philosophy behind methods. McCall has identified three categories of methodologies into which research on intersectionality can be separated (2005).

Anticategorical approaches. These methodologies reject categories of social identities. Arguing that intersectionality is too complex to be reduced to categories, and that categories are simply the products of people's desire to create order and hierarchy, anticategorical approaches problematize the notion of social categories (McCall, 2005; Mehrotra, 2010). McCall argues that social categories are socially constructed, rather than being fixed and discrete, and therefore simply perpetuate a created reality (2005). Some scholars embrace anticategorical approaches as “having the greatest promise for holding the vast complexity of social locations” (Mehrotra, 2010, p. 423). Anticategorical approaches are most often interdisciplinary and draw largely on interpretivism (Mehrotra, 2010). Examples of appropriate methodologies for anticategorical approaches would be genealogy and critical ethnography. These methodologies explore patterns in communities while falling short of actually engaging socially constructed identities (Mehrotra, 2010).

Intercategorical Approaches. On the far end of McCall's methodological continuum, intercategory approaches are the least known or used. With this approach, scholars adopt societally-created categories as a means of illuminating inequality among social groups (McCall, 2005). This approach acknowledges that individual identity is shaped by social forces and

inequity, and that the best way to interrogate social identities created by the larger system is to adopt them as a starting point (Mehrotra, 2010). Intercategorical approaches work to quantify differences among identities. Mehrotra offers the examples of researching “health or income disparities” among different groups of women (2010, p. 423); for example, researching income patterns between Asian and white women or reporting on breast cancer rates between lesbian and heterosexual women. These approaches use previously existing social categories to explore differences, usually from a post-positivist paradigm.

Intracategorical Approaches. Intracategorical approaches are most often associated with early conceptualizations of intersectionality. These approaches are mid-way on the continuum between anticategorical and intercategorical approaches. Intracategorical approaches both reject and acknowledge the need for social categories (McCall, 2005; Mehrotra, 2010).

“Intracategorical approaches have taken a ‘middle ground’...by interrogating essentialized social categories and acknowledging the political necessity of such identity-based groupings” (Mehrotra, 2010, p. 423). Intracategorical approaches often use narrative or case-study approaches to illuminate differences between social categories, such as discussing the needs of Asian immigrants or poor families. The categories are seen as necessary, yet limiting (Mehrotra, 2010).

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic Interactionism is a theory primarily developed through the work of George Herbert Mead in the early 1900s (Charon, 2004). The primary concept of Symbolic Interactionism is that people are products of a social system, and yet are individuals with creativity and purpose (Charon, 2004).

There are three basic premises of Symbolic Interactionism:

1. People act towards things based on the meanings of those things to them.
2. Meaning (of objects) is derived from social interaction.
3. Meaning is the result of an interpretive process used by people to deal with the stimuli that they encounter. (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010, p. 301)

Identity is negotiated through communication, and these interactions with others shape our identity, which is a social process (Suter et al., 2008). According to Symbolic Interactionism, identity cannot be developed without interaction and meaning-making with others. Because identity formation is a social process, individuals do not necessarily adopt their intended identities and communication is the primary mode through which identities are formed (Suter et al., 2008).

Symbolic Interactionism occurs when one person interprets another's actions or gestures, including verbal and nonverbal communication. It also occurs when individuals engage in mutual role-taking; each person trying to see the world from the other person's point of view. In other words, each individual must understand each other's world in order for communication to take place. This is more complicated than it sounds; truly understanding the world from another's point of view involves understanding their social identities and personal viewpoints. In fact, it is probably impossible to completely understand the world from another's point of view. But it might be possible to understand a point in communication from another's view, and this is the goal of Symbolic Interactionism.

Critical Theory

Critical Theory, when examined through a research lens, claims that the universal behaviors and experiences most often studied are those of dominant groups, and that traditional

research perspectives often ignore the experiences of marginalized groups (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Critical Theory also examines power relations, including both dominant-subordinated groups and the power the researcher holds in the research process (Hesse-Biber, 2010). According to Kincheloe and McLaren, one of the main foci of Critical Theory is the concept of critical humility; in fact, there are many critical theories and they are always evolving (2002). For this dissertation, I will focus on Feminist Critical Theory (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002; Kushner & Morrow, 2003; Lazar, 2005; Rhode, 1989).

Feminist Critical Theory. Kincheloe and McLaren provide a re-conceptualization of Feminist Critical Theory that focuses on critical emancipation (2002). The idea of critical emancipation is that “those who seek emancipation attempt to gain the power to control their own lives in solidarity with a [social] justice-oriented community” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002, p. 80). In this way, individuals seek to expose influences that keep them from autonomy in decisions and actions. Feminist Critical Theory also examines the concept of hegemony and the ways in which power impacts individual and social forces. Kincheloe and McLaren also discuss the importance of critical emancipation and influences of hegemony in research (2002). Other researchers focus on the importance of using Feminist Critical Theory in research and especially in transformative research (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Kushner & Morrow, 2003). In addition, Feminist Critical Theory focuses on the “relationship among culture, power and domination” with gender as a central concern (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002, p. 83). However, gender cannot be conceptualized alone without the intersecting multilayers of subordination of other identities (Lazar, 2005). In addition, these concepts relate to victim-blaming messages in mass media.

“The development of mass media has changed the way culture operates...new structures of cultural space and time generated by bombarding electronic images from local, national, and international spaces shake our personal sense of place. This proliferation of signs and images functions as a mechanism of control in contemporary Western societies.” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002, p. 84.)

When people do not feel safe, they are more likely to blame the victim of rape because it helps them believe such an event cannot happen to them (S. L. Maier, 2012), and with that, power is again abdicated to hegemonic forces (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002).

Sexual assault as societal and institutional trauma. When considering the issue of sexual assault through a critical lens, sexual assault is both societal and individual trauma (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009). “Societal traumas are viewed as interpersonal and systemic emotional, verbal, and physical assaults by those with power and privilege against members of marginalized groups” (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009, p. 331). In contemporary U.S. society, examples of marginalized groups are racial and ethnic minorities, women, lower and working class people, people with disabilities, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, Two-Spirit and transgender (LGBT) individuals (M. Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997). Since the majority of sexual assaults are committed by men against women, the majority of sexual assaults that occur in the U.S. can be considered societal traumas (Bryant-Davis et al., 2009; Rozee & Koss, 2001). There are other systemic considerations about sexual assault, such as the limitation of women’s participation in society and the cost of providing services to crime victims. For example, “fear of rape acts as a barrier to women’s full participation in society by limiting their access to night classes, jobs requiring night work, or travel to strange cities and so on” (Rozee & Koss, 2001, p. 295). In addition, “[the] estimate[d] cost of providing psychological and mental health treatment to crime victims [is] US\$9 billion” (Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009, p. 1332).

Historical trauma. Survivors of sexual assault can experience significant health and mental health effects, but it is also important to consider the “sociopolitical context of survivors’ lives” (Bryant-Davis, et al., 2009, p. 331). Historical trauma in the survivor’s community and in their personal support network can impact an individual survivor’s healing process. Historical trauma is a function of resource acquisition through the methods of colonialism and slavery. For example, sexual assault has often been used systemically as a tool of oppression against ethnic minority women. In particular, rape was used against African American women during slavery and against Native American women during colonization (R. Bachman, Zaykowski, Lanier, Poteyeva, & Kallmyer, 2010; Bryant-Davis et al., 2009; Deer, 2015; A. Smith, 2005). This historical trauma has an impact on the individual survivor as they navigate their healing process.

Crisis Theory

The origins of crisis theory lie in the work of Lindemann and Caplan. In the 1940s, Lindemann first provided a non-pathologizing view of crisis when working with people who had lost a loved one. He acknowledged that the loss of a loved one is a crisis for most people, and that the resulting grief is “normal, temporary, and amenable to alleviation through short-term intervention techniques” (Gilliland & James, 1997, p. 16). Caplan further expanded on Lindemann’s ideas by introducing the concept that people experience a crisis when their existing coping mechanisms are overwhelmed and insufficient to navigate their current life circumstance. From their work came the development of Basic Crisis Theory, which was largely based in psychoanalytic theory (Gilliland & James, 1997). They did not explore culture or identity nor the ways in which grief may be expressed across cultures.

As the field of crisis intervention developed further, scholars began to acknowledge that psychoanalytic theory was insufficient to explain all of the processes happening within a crisis

event. Expanded Crisis Theory then took into account not only psychoanalytic theory, but also systems theory, adaptational theory, and interpersonal theory. “As crisis theory and intervention have grown it has become apparent that given the right combination of developmental, sociological, psychological, environmental, and situational determinants, anyone can fall victim to transient pathological symptoms” (Gilliland & James, 1997, p. 17). In one way Expanded Crisis Theory took a step back from the original work of Lindemann and Caplan because it re-pathologized symptoms experienced after a crisis. However, its interventions were more progressive, focusing on teaching coping skills, returning to an internal locus of control, and empowerment (Gilliland & James, 1997; Loughran, 2011).

The next phase of the development of crisis theory was Applied Crisis Theory. This theory focused on the fact that each person and precipitating event is unique (Gilliland & James, 1997; Kanel, 2007). Additionally, Applied Crisis Theory identifies different types of crises: developmental crises, situational crises, and existential crises. Developmental crises occur in the normal life course: experiencing puberty, the birth or adoption of a child, the breakup of a long-term intimate partnership. While these crises are considered common, each person navigates them differently and may need differing levels of support to return to their previous or a higher level of functioning (Gilliland & James, 1997). Situational crises are those events that are uncommon and unexpected. They may include natural disasters, sexual assault, domestic violence, sudden illness, or unexpected loss of a job. “The key to differentiating a situational crisis from other crises is that a situational crisis is random, sudden, shocking, intense and catastrophic” (Gilliland & James, 1997, p. 19). The third type of crisis, existential crisis, “refers to inner conflicts and anxieties that accompany important human issues of purpose,

responsibility, independence, freedom, and commitment” (Gilliland & James, 1997, p. 19).

Existential crises have to do with internal struggles rather than external events.

A more recent iteration of crisis theory is through Ecosystem Theory. Not only a theory of crisis resolution, Ecosystem Theory focuses on the total ecological system that surrounds an individual person (Gilliland & James, 1997). Crises have ripple effects; a crisis event can impact a person’s family, social circle, and, due to the advent of modern media dissemination, people that are completely unrelated to the person experiencing directly experiencing the crisis. For example, as discussed above, on college campuses, federal law requires that a warning go to the campus community if a crime occurs that puts the community at risk (Greenstein, 2003; Lowery et al., 2002; Nobles et al., 2013). With the advent of modern technology, this goal is often accomplished by sending a text message to the campus. If the entire campus community receives a text message that a stranger sexual assault has occurred on campus, it impacts not only the victim and their immediate circle of friends, but it impacts every person who receives the text message. Not all of those people will experience a crisis, but each individual’s identities and life circumstances will determine whether or not they experience a crisis. For example, people more likely to experience a crisis might be those living in the same residence hall where the assault took place, or those who have a prior history of sexual assault or childhood sexual abuse (Kanel, 2007; Lowery et al., 2002).

An additional lens on crisis theory comes from critical theory. Richardson considers how a critical theory perspective can be helpful to the conceptualization of crises, because the common expectation for a crisis reaction is usually “defined from a white, middle-class orientation” (Congress, as cited in V. E. Richardson, 1995, p. 178). Richardson discusses

differences in socialization and values across cultures by using an Africentric worldview as an example:

“People reared in the dominant white culture are taught to value objectivity, rational and linear thinking, cause-effect relationships, future-orientations, individualism, achievement, promptness and materialism...An Africentric worldview emphasizes: a nonmaterial (or spiritual) reality; commonality among people and nature; interpersonal relationships transcend the self; empathy, cooperation and shared participation...and multiple and diverse realities rather than one reality.” (V. E. Richardson, 1995, p. 179.)

Richardson argues that traditional crisis theories do not bring an intersectional perspective, and that a critical theory lens on crisis would involve interpreting the crisis through the client’s worldview, acknowledging that not all clients and cultures feel equally comfortable with self-disclosure, avoiding hierarchical relationships between the client and the advocate, and engaging in “emancipatory enterprise,” which explores societal, economic and cultural factors that may be at work within the crisis (V. E. Richardson, 1995, p. 185).

Conclusion & Research Questions

“We can’t heal until the wounding stops” (A. G. Johnson, 2006, p. 66).

Individually, institutionally, and structurally, historically, and systemically, wounding in its many forms is pervasive in U.S. society. This chapter has examined just some forms of wounding.

Based upon the literature and theory presented in this chapter, I will proceed with the following research questions:

1. What ethical dilemmas are identified by experts in the field of college campus victim advocacy?
2. How are these dilemmas impacted by the current federal and state policy context for college campuses?

3. How are ethical dilemmas different in states where victim advocates have legal privilege and states where they do not have legal privilege?

Building on the theoretical framework discussed here, I will conduct a Grounded Theory study to determine answers to these questions.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The goal of the following Chapter is to provide a methodological overview for the study. This study will focus on using transformative research design. Transformative design is a research approach that acknowledges the role that power and privilege play in the research process and seeks to include the perspectives of marginalized groups (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). Transformative design seeks to make some change for marginalized groups through the research, and has a goal to involve participants at every level of the research process (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011).

This study will use transformative design as an indirect approach. Transformative design is focused on improving risk factors for underrepresented groups and conducting research that will benefit the community. This study will focus on interviewing victim advocates with the ultimate goal of helping survivors of sexual assault, relationship violence, and stalking. While victim advocates are not considered a marginalized group, the survivors they help *are* considered to be marginalized. The expectation is that, by assisting the advocates, survivors will also be assisted. Other studies have used this indirect approach to transformative research. Maier (2011) conducted research using a transformative design to improve school climate for children by studying factors related to facilities and equity in schools. Additionally, Abad-Corpa and colleagues (2010) used a sequential transformative design to study medical professionals with the goal of improving services for patients.

Problem Statement and Purpose of Study

Problem Statement

I investigated ethical dilemmas faced by college campus victim advocates from an intersectional perspective. Existing federal laws and regulations that specifically target colleges and universities create unique dilemmas for victim advocates working on college campuses. While most advocates experience dilemmas in their daily work, there has been no study exploring comprehensive understanding of the actual dilemmas faced. Additionally, campus victim advocates continually walk a balance between their role as a victim advocate, solely and completely focused on the victim and what the victim wants and needs, and their role as a university employee, in which they are concerned with the safety and health of the overall campus. The goal of my research is to identify the core ethical dilemmas experienced by campus victim advocates, as reported by experts in the field.

Witnessing

As a researcher, I come to this study as a witness, rather than as a neutral observer. Fernandes introduces the concept of researcher as witness (2003). In being a witness to the stories, pain and joy of those we “study,” Fernandes posits that it is the researcher/witness who is changed by the act of witnessing (2003). How, then, can we move forward as ethical witnesses and not be exploitative of the communities we witness? Fernandes provides some thoughts: “First, the witness becomes implicated in the situation or form of oppression being observed; that is, the presence of the witness changes the dynamics of the situation at hand and is not simply an external observer. Second, the act of witnessing represents a learning process for the witness. The subjects being witnessed, in effect, represent the teachers in this situation; knowledge is being given to the witness” (2003, p. 84). As a researcher/witness, I do not enter the community I

serve assuming that I have knowledge to give to them; rather, that they have knowledge to give to me. Simply the act of being humble is not enough to avoid being exploitative. In fact, maybe part of the lesson is that there is no way to completely avoid being exploitative. "...The act of describing or analyzing experiences of oppression for a wider audience is not in itself necessarily transformative for the group or individuals who experience this oppression...The simple truth is that it is the witness describing the oppression of less-privileged groups who is most likely to undergo a transformation" (Fernandes, 2003, p. 85). How is that different if the researcher is witnessing within their own community, as I will be doing in this study? This may somewhat lessen the power differential, but when viewed from an intersectionality lens, I will always hold some identities in which I have more power. So while I may be entering into my own community to witness the oppression from an insider's perspective, I will always hold a power differential derived not only from my identity as a researcher, but as a White, cisgender woman as well.

Research Questions

The study uses an exploratory transformative design to explore the following research questions:

1. What ethical dilemmas are identified by experts in the field of college campus victim advocacy?
2. How are these dilemmas impacted by the current federal and state policy context for college campuses?
3. How are ethical dilemmas different in states where victim advocates have legal privilege and states where they do not have legal privilege?

Research Design and Rationale

Ontological and epistemological assumptions

When conducting research, it is essential to have a paradigmatic perspective to guide the research problem, research questions and structure of the study. For this study, I used a critical paradigm. With the choice in paradigm comes various assumptions about ontology (“what is the nature of ‘reality?’”) and epistemology (“what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and the known?”; Guba, 1990, p. 18). The critical paradigm is primarily focused on systems of oppression and socio-historical perspectives on research topics. The paradigm looks at broad patterns and experiences across groups (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Historical context is also essential to a critical paradigm. In a critical paradigm, epistemology and ontology cannot be completely separated. “Ontology and epistemology are undifferentiated in the practical world of science. What is to be known and the means of knowing are intertwined and influence each other” (Popkewitz, as cited in Guba, 1990, p. 55).

The ontological and epistemological assumptions for this research are derived from the fact that there is not one objective reality, and that reality is created by social structures, power, hierarchies, and history. “Reality” does not exist outside of this context. In addition, as the “knower,” I bring my own identities, privilege, power, and history to the research process. To attempt to separate them, leaving an unbiased researcher in the wake, is neither possible nor desirable. I come as a witness, embracing my own identities and holding as sacred the narratives and stories shared with me as I conduct research (Fernandes, 2003).

Grounded Theory

I am aware that in order to study ethical dilemmas in college campus victim advocacy, it is important to first identify those dilemmas. While it is possible to identify some dilemmas from

my own experience and from the limited literature, it seems important to also identify dilemmas as defined by experts in the field. This study uses an intracategorical approach to studying ethical dilemmas, because it focuses on the categories of identity as necessary to explain participants' experiences (McCall, 2005).

Grounded Theory is a form of research that seeks to develop a theory about a phenomenon. "Stated simply, grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 2). Theories are developed by specific ways of coding qualitative data. First, line-by-line (or initial) codes allow the researcher to delve deep within the data, identifying at first glance possible categories or ways of thinking about the data. "Coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data. Through coding, you *define* [emphasis in original] what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 46). Following initial codes are focused codes. In this step the researcher starts to develop a theory by placing initial codes into categories. Focused codes start to bring meaning to the data. "Focused coding means using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amount of data. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 57). Ultimately, the researcher develops theoretical codes, which look at relationships between categories and begin to suggest meaning within the data. In addition, Grounded Theory is congruent with Symbolic Interactionism, as in Grounded Theory, "coding should inspire us to examine hidden assumptions in our own use of language as well as that of our participants" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 47).

Participants, Sample and Setting

Process and criteria

For this study, I had a goal of recruiting 10-18 experts. This study used a purposive sampling technique, as generalizability was not the goal of the study. For this study, I defined an expert as an individual who is working or has worked in the field of college campus victim advocacy for three years, with at least two years being post-April 2011 Dear Colleague Letter (Office of Civil Rights, 2011). Additionally, the participants needed to be able to read, speak and understand English, and needed to have access to a computer with an internet connection. In order to ensure diverse representation and to combat the recent challenge of the professionalization of the advocacy field, I did not include an education requirement for participants.

Participants and sites

This study used a purposive, snowball sampling technique. Initially, a solicitation was sent to the sexual assault program coordinators list-serv (SAPC), a list-serv for individuals working in victim advocacy on college campuses of which I am a member (see appendix B for solicitation). Individuals on the list were invited to nominate themselves or others who met the criteria as experts for this study. Additionally, I reached out via email to supervisors of advocacy programs at institutions with high numbers of marginalized students and/or staff in order to ensure that an intersectional lens remains at the forefront of the project.

Once individuals identified that they were interested in the study, I invited them to complete a brief pre-survey to register as a participant. This pre-survey, delivered electronically, involved screening for study requirements, informed consent, and demographic questions. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to provide their email address as a way of allowing me

to contact them for an interview. The participants were not asked to provide their state or institution name, but were asked to answer some questions about their institutions (number of students, region of the country, whether they are a land grant institution, and whether as advocates they have been afforded confidentiality through state law or university policy). After individuals completed the e-survey, I contacted them via email to schedule the interview. At that time, I reviewed the informed consent and explained the time commitment. If they were agreeable to the conditions, they were included in the sample. Sampling was ongoing and had the goal of including the identification of experts who may have held marginalized identities or who may work at institutions with high numbers of students who have marginalized communities. Feminist research practices support reaching out to individuals in marginalized communities to ensure diverse representation in the sample (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012). Additionally, I asked each member of the sample to nominate others to participate at the end of the interview

Data Collection

This study involved an in-depth qualitative interview with each expert. The interviews were conducted using a web-based interface that allowed for face-to-face virtual communication and digital recording. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview protocol that evolved throughout the study (see Appendix A for initial interview questions). Participants were asked to identify potential ethical dilemmas in the field of college campus victim advocacy, and then were asked for dilemmas they have encountered in assisting victims in navigating the criminal legal and campus reporting processes. Finally, questions focused on participants' own social identities and the identities of the survivors with whom they work. This iterative process allowed rich data to emerge based on the expert opinions and experiences of the participants.

After each interview, I transcribed the recording and provided the transcript to the participant for member-checking. Member-checking is a best practice when conducting qualitative interviews (Charmaz, 2014). The participants were invited to clarify anything in their interview transcript and to provide any additional thoughts. Member-checking was done via email. Coding was an ongoing process throughout data collection, as Grounded Theory uses information from each interview to inform subsequent interviews.

Confidentiality

As identified during my dissertation pilot study in Fall 2013, confidentiality is a key concern of participants in this type of study. Participants wanted to feel free to discuss issues and concerns at their institutions without risk of identification to themselves or their institutions. As all participants in the study either worked or are working in the field of victim advocacy, my assumption was that they will understand and value confidentiality. This proved to be an accurate assumption. Nonetheless, discussing confidentiality was a crucial part of the informed consent process. I wanted to ensure participants that their confidentiality would be respected.

Measures

In qualitative research, the concept of measurement and identification of key variables is not considered pertinent (Keeney, Hasson, & McKenna, 2011). “The terms ‘validity and reliability’ within the positivist quantitative approach, have been argued in the literature as not being pertinent to qualitative inquiry” (Keeney et al., 2011, p. 96). Part of the reason for this is that key concepts (or variables) are identified through the grounded theory coding process, rather than before the research. Themes emerged from the interaction of the researcher engaging data and evolved throughout the study (Hesse-Biber, 2014; Saldana, 2013). The questions used evolved from interview-to-interview, and generalizability of the results (which is one of the goals

of reliability) was not a primary goal (Keeney et al., 2011). The goal of this study focused more on transferable knowledge that will be useful for the field of college campus victim advocacy.

Data Analysis

Individual interviews were analyzed using accepted methods in qualitative data analysis. Specifically, for this study, I used constant comparative analysis to analyze interview transcripts. Constant comparative analysis is a grounded theory technique that involves first coding line-by-line or main idea by main idea, and then collapsing those codes into focused codes (Charmaz, 2014). The focused codes are then further refined into theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2014). Additionally, another level of triangulation is to work with another researcher on coding and data analysis.

Coding for interviews occurred continually throughout the study, rather than waiting until all interviews were complete. This is best practice for analyzing Grounded Theory data (Charmaz, 2014). The data gathered from each interview informed subsequent interviews providing data collection guided by theoretical sampling to determine what data to collect next in order to develop theory.

After each interview was transcribed, I engaged in member-checking by emailing the transcript to the participant, asking them to confirm its accuracy and inviting any additional thoughts they may have had. Member-checking is considered a best practice for internal validity in grounded theory qualitative research and important in feminist research approaches (Hesse-Biber, 2014).

Additionally, analyzing data involved analysis of demographics (collected during the pre-survey). Participants were asked for their social identities because it was impossible and inappropriate for me to try to guess at identities, and yet identities were critical to this

intracategorical research due to the focus on intersectionality. I asked for information relating to race/ethnicity, biological sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, primary language spoken, and disability. The initial pre-survey, where the demographic questions were posed, allowed me to have a profile of the panel and to attempt to recruit additional participants in order to address demographic gaps in the sample.

Demographics of Sample

This study was composed of 14 participants who electronically signed consent forms and met the minimum criteria for inclusion in the sample. While 24 individuals completed the pre-survey, only 14 responded to the invitation for an interview (three invitations were sent to all who completed the pre-survey one week apart). This attrition is regrettable, as the remaining 10 individuals held some racial and ethnic diversity, with three women identifying as women of color. None of the individuals who completed the pre-survey identified as men.

All of the participants who completed the interviews identified as cisgender White women, and all but two identified as heterosexual. None of the participants indicated having a disability. Most participants indicated they were 31-45 years old, with two in the 18-30 range and two in the 46-65 range. In addition, most participants identified as middle class, with two identifying as working class.

There was significant diversity in the type of institutions at which participants worked. About half of the participants indicated that their schools were land-grant institutions. Most participants worked at large schools, with over 30,000 students. Three participants worked at schools with 15,000-30,000 students and three worked at schools with 5,000-15,000 students. Finally, one worked at a school with less than 5,000 students. Participants' geographic region

was split evenly between Northeast, South, West, and Midwest (regions determined by U.S. Census Bureau regions).

Limitations

This study has several limitations. The first is the diversity of the sample. The intention was to over-sample experts from under-represented communities in order to ensure those voices are represented in the study. However, it was difficult to identify experts from those communities, because identities are not readily discernible by talking or emailing with a participant. I was careful not to assume identities and used the pre-survey as a way to ask identity-based questions in a respectful and inviting way during recruitment. Additionally, since the study used a snowball sampling technique and people are, in general, likely to work and communicate with those most like themselves, this may have posed an additional difficulty in recruiting experts from under-represented communities. Unfortunately, the goal of over-sampling underrepresented communities proved impossible for this study. All participants identified as White, cisgender, middle-class women, and all but two identified as heterosexual. As indicated above, the women of color who completed the pre-survey did not respond to the three invitations to complete an interview. In addition, I researched ten schools identifying as HBCU's, tribal colleges or women's colleges. These schools either did not have a victim advocacy program, or the individual I contacted did not respond to my email solicitation. After further discussion with my committee chair, I realized that assuming that women of color would respond to a formal email solicitation from a community outsider was a function of my White privilege, and, instead, I could have used a model where an insider known to the researcher made the initial contact/introduction. The question then becomes, first, whether members of these

groups are even to be found among campus advocates, and, second, if they are to be found, whether their perspectives would have been different from those of the current sample.

Another limitation of this study is that it included only 14 participants. While this is an accepted sample size for a Grounded Theory study, it is clear that including additional participants would have provided greater depth to the understanding gained from the study.

A final limitation is attrition. Ten individuals who completed the pre-survey and agreed to the terms of the study did not respond to solicitations to participate in an interview. I attempted to combat attrition by assuring experts in my email communications that the study results would depend entirely on their expert opinion, and by extending three invitations via email to participate in the interview. Nonetheless, attrition is a concern: are the perspectives of those who did not complete an interview different from those who did?

Summary and Conclusions

This study considered ethical dilemmas experienced by college campus victim advocates. The study used a Grounded Theory method to explore with experts their experience with ethical dilemmas they have encountered. This exploratory transformative study involved collecting qualitative data while engaging in continual data analysis.

Benefit to the Community

Direct: Campus victim advocates. When campus victim advocates encountered situations that seemed to have no good solution, they may have been unable to identify these situations as ethical dilemmas. This research identified dilemmas in the field of college campus victim advocacy. Significantly, many participants indicated that my questions led them to think of examples they had not previously identified as ethical dilemmas. The future evolution of this

research will be to develop a training manual for supervisors to train campus advocates on the resolution of ethical dilemmas.

Indirect: Victims of campus sexual assault. When advocates feel as if they have good tools to resolve the ethical dilemmas that are inherent to their work, they can provide better services to victims. For example, if an advocate experiences a dilemma in navigating relationships with campus partners, and is able to navigate that dilemma successfully, then their relationship with that campus partner will be more effective, leading to a better experience for a victim.

Contributions to the field of study

This research will contribute to the field of college campus victim advocacy in several ways. First, it has identified primary ethical dilemmas in the field, as defined by experts themselves. While my own practice experience provided some ideas as to core dilemmas at this time in the field, I believe it has been critical to determine the nature of the dilemmas from those who have expertise in the field, and whose experience may have been additive to my own. Additionally, it has provided a snapshot of issues in the field in the current federal legal climate, post-April 2011's Dear Colleague Letter and in the current context of enhanced focus from the White House and Congress. Finally, it will be able to provide direction for victim services' supervisors on areas of focus for training and mentoring front-line campus victim advocates.

Conclusion

This research study sought to identify ethical dilemmas in the field of college campus victim advocacy. Through the use of Grounded Theory using qualitative methods, I engaged experts in a process of synergistic work to determine their list of ethical dilemmas in the field.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The following sections detail the focused and theoretical codes from this project viewed through the lens of ethical dilemmas identified by the participants. The primary Grounded Theory from this project relates to the concepts of institutional betrayal and institutional trauma, and the fact that advocates experience institutional betrayal as traumatic in the same ways that survivors do. Additional areas of dilemma include experiencing challenges with privilege and confidentiality, supporting survivors' choices vs. participating in a flawed criminal legal system, supporting current survivors vs. maintaining relationships for future survivors, campuses' strategies in responding to the implementation of "the system," negotiating the workplace and maintaining relationships, navigating personal identity as professional identity, and watching the systemic marginalization that survivors experience based on their intersecting oppressed identities. Additionally, the findings explore ways in which advocates experience the simultaneous push-pull of both being used by the system/state and fighting against it.

The Old and the New Collide

Shifting Privilege and Confusing Confidentiality

The face of campus advocacy has changed significantly with the implementation of state privilege laws, the OCR Dear Colleague Letter (DCL), changes to the Clery Act through the 2013 VAWA Amendments, and the additional focus from the White House Task Force. Prior to these mandates, schools were inconsistent in their enforcement of Title IX and there was confusion around the Clery Act. Now, several years later, I would assume that there was more clarity around the DCL and Clery Act. However, all participants discussed the ways in which

their work as advocates is impacted by these laws and policies, and ways in which in fact it is not clearer.

Some participants were clearly able to identify whether they did (n=8) or did not (n=3) have legal privilege under state law, but several (n=4) were not sure whether they had legal privilege due to unclear statutes, conflicting information from campus legal counsel, and political forces at play in their states. As one participant mentioned, “It’s been a battle that I have been fighting for a couple of years... Is the victim advocate confidential or not? ... So that’s been a real challenge for me, to be serving in a role that I do believe should be confidential, but is not.” When asked about legal privilege, another participant responded, “That’s an area that is actually a little confusing for me.” Participants often felt that some of the lack of clarity both in the legislation and the interpretation of that legislation was due to the fact that it had been written by state legislators whom they presumed had no campus advocacy experience. As one participant noted, “I think the biggest challenge for me with some of the legislation and guidance is that I think it is written by well-intentioned people, but...I don’t know how much experience they have working with victims or working on a college campus... I don’t think they’ve ever had the experience of being victim advocates.” This lack of clarity resulted in advocates not knowing whether or not their communication with victims was protected under state law. This finding is significant because of its impact on answering research question three, which addressed the difference in ethical dilemmas between states that had legal privilege and states who did not. It may not be possible to answer this question, which I had initially thought to be straightforward and uncomplicated.

The dissemination of the OCR DCL in April 2011 initially sent a wave of uncertainty throughout the campus advocacy community. With time, however, many participants came to

believe that this guidance actually improved campus advocacy. Some of the ways in which the guidance improved campus advocacy included increased funding for advocacy and prevention from their universities, increased support from their upper administration, and increased clarity about federal expectations in implementing Title IX. For example, one participant described accessing services for survivors on her campus post-DCL:

So like, maybe [other campus professionals] don't need to know everything that happened. So I can be like, hey, I need to have someone to be able to have their class changed or their dorm room moved. Before, like, they had to report to the TIX person for that to happen. But sometimes people don't want to report but they still want to move. So how can they? We're working on how we can help get that accommodation while still respecting victim agency.

Participants often believed that the pressure of seeing peer institutions make changes post-DCL, eventually encouraged their own campuses to make progressive changes. A participant noted, "... there was a lot of national attention. The schools that we typically compare ourselves to, like, for example, [names of four institutions]... They were making moves to set that stuff up. So I think that was a big part of influencing our institution." However, other participants expressed concern that the DCL created a number of unfunded mandates and regulations which put a heavier burden on campuses with fewer resources. One participant expressed this in the following way:

I'm trying to meet Federal mandates and do all the right things. Our Chief of Police actually said, regarding the victims' rights document ... that someone in D.C. told him that they were really going to judge him based on the weight of that booklet, which is about the stupidest thing I've ever heard. I mean, coming from a trauma-informed perspective... I would never hand a two pound booklet to a student and say 'Here you go. Here are your rights and options,' and think that because it's heavier, it's more effective.

Some of these mandates and regulations included a requirement for prevention programming for all incoming students, requirements for designating a TIX Coordinator, and requirements for all university employees (except those with legal privilege) to report sexual assault disclosure to the

university's investigative office (now the Title IX office on many campuses). One participant expressed ambivalence about the impact of Title IX:

And in some ways, I feel like Title IX, while it was intended to promote universities to investigate these situations more, what it kind of did, at least at first here, was make the spaces that were considered confidential and safe not so safe anymore. There was this push and pull of being instructed to hand over information to the Title IX office, but at the same time, we wouldn't want to discourage students from reporting. So the idea of telling them, anything you tell me is reportable to the Title IX office, we were discouraged from doing that, so then there was the issue of informed consent. Students are going to come here with the assumption that they can tell us, only to find out that we have to turn that over.

Another participant described the difficulties involved in implementing Title IX:

I think the drawback to that is that there's a lot of new policies and a lot of new procedures, and while I think those policies and procedures, I think, are going to be good, there's still the trial and error period ... O.K., we wrote the policy like this, but then this particular case comes up, and, Oh, it can be interpreted like that. Oh, that's really bad this time, and we have to tweak and fix, and it's good – the tweaking and fixing – because that might mean it gets better. But that might mean for this particular survivor, the university failed them.

Changes made to the Clery Act in 2013 also brought new regulations to universities. Of particular concern to participants was the issue of timely warnings. This issue included decisions concerning the types of cases that actually required timely warning, the information to be included in timely warnings, and the possible chilling effect on future reports by survivors. Participants reported that timely warnings were often sent in cases of stranger assault but not in cases of acquaintance assault. These participants believed that this decision, often made by upper-level administrators, was frequently based on victim-blaming assumptions, rooted in a rape supportive culture, such as the assumption that stranger assault perpetrators were more dangerous than acquaintance assault perpetrators. Participants, also, expressed concern that either too much or too little information was included in timely warnings. Too much information could lead to the possible identification of the victim, while too little information could frighten

students and make them feel unsafe. One participant noted, “Some students might not report if they are like: What? You’re going to send a message to the whole campus about this? I don’t want to tell you.” Additionally, participants worried that the nature of the prevention information included in timely warnings was victim-blaming. For example, including information about locking windows at night in a timely warning about an assault that occurred at a party is counter-intuitive and incongruent with messages of primary prevention and bystander intervention. As another participant stated, “Because they do have this sort of funky language about prevention and prevention tips in the timely warning. And you do not want to send something out, like, Oh, and by the way, don’t walk alone and don’t drink too much because you’re just going to victim-blame the person the timely warning is about... so you want to be skillful in how you meet that requirement.” Finally, many participants were concerned that timely warnings that were perceived by students to be victim-blaming would have a chilling effect on future victims’ decision to report. If victims believe that the university assumes that they themselves have culpability in their assault, victims would be much less likely to report their own assault.

This Isn’t Special Victims Unit, and Olivia Benson Doesn’t Work Here:

Most participants believed that the criminal legal system which they navigate with survivors is an inherently flawed system. Frequently, survivors, like many others, develop expectations of how the criminal legal system will work from watching television. The television show *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* was identified by several participants as the benchmark for survivors’ expectations. Survivors told their advocates that they believed that all police officers would behave like Olivia Benson, the standout detective on the show. They expected empathetic treatment by police officers and inevitable prosecution of the defendant with almost certain conviction. “In those cases when a survivor comes to talk with me and is just dead set on

reporting, she's just sharing all the details, making sure, they've watched tons of episodes of *SVU*, and they know that they are going to get the guy. I guess in the back of my mind, I have that bias of, oh, I just don't know that the prosecutor is going to take this case." Most participants interviewed indicated that survivors were disappointed when reality did not match *Law & Order*.

All participants indicated that, in reality, the District Attorney in their jurisdiction would not prosecute most of the sexual assault cases brought by the police. In particular, they stated that acquaintance sexual assault cases were almost never prosecuted. In the opinion of one participant:

I think in many, many, many, many cases [*sic*], the university process is going to be more likely to dispense justice than the criminal justice system. And I feel that is being lost sight of quite a bit, because there is so much press about the problems with universities handling it, and I'm like, have you seen the rates of conviction in the criminal justice system, because it is a lot worse. So I mean, it's a flawed system, no matter where you go, and I think that is definitely a challenge.

Therefore, participants found a dilemma in advocating for survivors who chose to participate in the criminal legal system, while knowing that they probably would be disappointed by the handling of their case by police, district attorneys, and even system-based advocates. One participant observed with disappointment: "We just had a meeting with the DA this week, when they said, all of the cases you are giving us are he-said/she-said, and we are not going to prosecute them. You know, short of a confession, and even then, if they're both drinking, we're probably not going to pick it up. And so we're really discouraged by that." Other disappointments resulted because the criminal legal officials allowed their assumptions about certain aspects of the cases and characteristics of the victims to influence their decision to prosecute these cases. Participants believed that the biases of assistant district attorneys factored into their decisions. These biases included: perceiving cases as "he said/she said", apparent alcohol use by the victim, choices of clothing by the victim, and prior sexual contact of the

victim with the perpetrator. Another participant expressed frustration with these attitudes: “And so the first time that we went to the DA’s office, she [the victim] came out crying. And so I was asking what happened, and she said that the DA basically told her that she [the victim] didn’t know what rape was, and that this person’s an asshole, but that doesn’t make them a criminal, and it’s not illegal to want sex and all of this stuff.” In fact, some participants believed that the district attorney in their jurisdiction had no intention of taking acquaintance sexual assault cases at all. As one participant reported, “Our prosecutor is very unlikely to take a case that is a non-stranger assault. That’s never been stated outright, but that’s been the pattern.” Another participant stated: “I don’t think we’ve seen any of our cases go anywhere as far as prosecution, and we see, I’m going to say, more than 200 cases a year, and I can’t recall one in my three years that the DA has picked up.” In the final analysis, the collective opinion of the participants about prosecutorial inaction is summed up by one participant, who said, “In a perfect world, these cases would be taken and they would be won, because we would have really, really smart, well-informed people who get it, you know, making those decisions. But that’s not the reality right now.” And reality is much more like a rape supportive culture than *SVU*.

Should I be Elphaba or Should I be Glinda?

The witches in the musical *Wicked* (Mantello, 1999), Elphaba and Glinda, had different ways of navigating their system in Oz. Elphaba would loudly confront antagonistic officials, while Glinda, on the other hand, would sweetly engage them in a discussion. In this study, all participants identified the importance of maintaining relationships with other professionals as a crucial component of navigating their system as advocates. One of the difficulties for participants was finding a balance between advocating fiercely for the survivor they were serving at the time while at the same time maintaining relationships with law enforcement, district

attorneys, and university officials that would allow them to advocate for future survivors effectively. One participant noted:

I'm always trying to figure out how to advocate with my client, while still having a good relationship... I said to the police officer, no, she's not gonna do it. Let me explain, you know, that I didn't come in here and tell her not to do it. I just came in here and informed her what it would be like, and she still chose not to do it... Because being collaborative and giving good customer service is not always saying yes... And we had to build years of trust with our Title IX and police and be like, we [the advocates] are not adversarial. We have different roles. We have different positions on who we're gonna believe and who we have to believe, but we're not convincing people not to do things. We're just supporting them and informing them to make choices.

If, for example, law enforcement officers were behaving in a victim-blaming manner during an interview, the advocate had the dilemma of deciding whether or not to confront the officers or to passively acquiesce in the process. Confrontations, while perhaps improving the interaction for that particular survivor, could damage the advocates' relationship with that officer for future survivors. One participant shared this example:

Knowing that if you mess it up it can have significant consequences for future victims that you're working with. That is sometimes a heavy weight to carry as an advocate. And sometimes I own it, like, if we mess up, I want to go in and own it. Like, hey, I understand you're upset about how that one went. And so I try to own it as much as I can. But I think the other challenging thing for us is the police and Title IX can criticize all they want about us, but we can't criticize them as freely because we're confidential. So while it's like, we heard you did this, or we heard that I can't be like, yeah, well I heard you said 'what the hell were you wearing' to my victim.

Another participant expressed the difficulties in resolving this dilemma:

Sometimes being a fierce advocate for someone might mean that agency is less willing to work with me as an advocate, and so really having to balance that professionalism and still sometimes, that means that I am not always advocating as strongly as I would like to for that particular student that I am working with this time. But if I choose to advocate strongly for the student I am working with this time, I may not be able to advocate for future students, and really trying to strike that balance is difficult some times.

The tension exemplified here was somewhat like that between the witches in the musical, *Wicked* – do I push against the system as hard as Elphaba does, or do I try to work within the system, like Glinda?

“What About These Poor Boys?”

Even though the DCL required that equal support be made available for both the survivor and the perpetrator, many participants noted that upper administration remained especially concerned for the welfare of the perpetrator. In particular, upper administration often felt that the consequences of an accusation could be detrimental to the perpetrator’s future. As one participant expressed with frustration:

Sadly, I hear administrators talk about retention for perpetrators. ‘If we expel this student for being a perpetrator, then we didn’t retain them,’ and I feel like that, as an advocate, I can feel this pretty easily, that they are choosing between the perpetrator and survivors, and that breaks my heart, because I love working for the place I work for. To see them making decisions like that is really hard.

In essence, they were saying that the institution needs to worry about “these poor boys,” more than about the survivors and the impact of their victimization. “Historically, with the judicial board, there was always talk of these poor boys... We can’t ruin their lives. They go to [name of prestigious university]. Like, what if they cure cancer someday?” This is reminiscent of the judge’s comments at Brock Turner’s sentencing. Participants reported that administrators expressed far less concern for victims, possibly because the victims have dedicated victim advocates. Participants found this circumstance to be particularly frustrating when trying to maintain relationships with the administrators because they could see the impact that the assault would likely have on the survivor’s future.

There were also differences in the way universities adjudicated cases of sexual misconduct. Some universities had the case come before hearing boards. Others made

adjudication decisions simply by reviewing the TIX Investigator's report. As one participant indicated, "...And the idea at the time was, if they don't take responsibility, it should go to a hearing. And there was sort of some push-back on that. Like, ok, why do you need to go to a hearing if the report's there? And the head of [the conduct office] says, because I need to know if they were really raped, or, if, [the victim advocates] convinced them that they were." This response indicated both victim-blaming and a lack of understanding of the role of the advocate in the system. Participants reported concerns that implementation of these laws by their universities might not meet federal standards. Examples included investigations frequently exceeding the sixty day time frame and lack of training for members of conduct hearing boards. One advocate described her campus' process:

All students' reports are now going to a threat team that will decide whether to investigate them, regardless of the students' wishes. And if they determine that there's a threat to the campus or to the larger community, the threat team will initiate an investigation. And they will also report to the police ... and I'm concerned that's going to have a very, um, when it becomes clear to students that that's happening, it'll have a chilling effect on campus.

In addition, sometimes participants felt at odds with their colleagues when considering victims and perpetrators. One participant put it this way:

It gets a little more adversarial when we are talking about suspensions, right? If the perpetrator is not suspended from campus, and the survivor is choosing to leave campus because their perpetrator is not, it gets a little like – who are you choosing? – ... That's just one example of a time where it's like, O.K, this student is choosing to leave the university because they didn't feel supported, and it's important everybody knows that's why ... This student already left. It's unlikely we're going to get them back, but how can we make sure that survivors, even if the decision goes a different way than what that particular survivor would have wanted, how can we make sure that they still felt supported?

Participants expressed concern that when universities were implementing these laws outside of federal standards, survivors' rights were being violated. These laws have, however, provided new pathways for survivors to seek redress when they believe they have not been

treated in accordance with the law, or that concerns about the welfare of the “boys” have been of more interest to the authorities than the concerns of the victims. Survivors can report to the Office of Civil Rights, either using their name or anonymously, to ask that their university be investigated for TIX violations. Additionally, they can disclose the perceived violation to upper administration at their university, and many of those administrators have become more inclined to listen since the DCL was published. Also, since the publication of the DCL, participants believed that survivors feel more empowered to organize with one another and with other students at the grass-roots level. According to several participants, this increased empowerment made some universities nervous. One noted:

I think additionally, campuses are really afraid of activists at this point, and I think before it was like, Oh, that’s cute, the Take Back the Night kids, you know, and now I think the activism has changed, and they’re coming to campuses with pretty specific demands as to how they expect to be treated, and what they expect processes and policies to look like. So I think the role of students, you know, before and after, has really changed.

Perhaps student activism is at last forcing the universities to make the “poor victims” equally as important as the “poor boys.”

Advocate for Survivors or University Employee?

All participants described a feeling of conflict between their role as a victim advocate and their role as a university official. At times, these roles aligned, but more often, they found the roles at odds with one another. As a result of this clash in roles, participants reported a significant internal dilemma. This dilemma was expressed in terms of a conflict between an obligation to the university (administration and community) and a primary allegiance to the survivor. One participant discussed her allegiance to the survivor: “There are times when I know I have information that would help make the institution a safer place if I were able to convey information I have, and yet I don’t, and will not, because I have privilege and will keep

confidentiality with the student I am working with. And I am fine with that ethical dilemma.” For example, several participants recounted situations where they themselves knew of assaults committed by serial perpetrators, but the survivors did not want to make a report. This dilemma is further complicated by the fact that victim advocates, unlike professional social workers or counselors, are trained in varied fields, which may not provide guidance on how to respond to these situations; on the other hand, social workers or counselors may have a duty to warn of a specific, identifiable threat under *Tarasoff*, whereas advocates from other fields may not have this responsibility (Fulero, 1988). One participant described her method of dealing with this situation: “If a client tells me identifying information about a perpetrator, and I’ve heard the name before, for example, I have three cases with John Doe, and the victims don’t want to report, can I not report? So I tell the victims that I have had other reports about this man. If I could get more victims than just you, would you go forward? And they always say, yes.”

Another participant described the situation this way:

The ethical dilemma I can think of ... is when I am aware, from working with multiple students as individuals, that we have a known serial offender. There’s a difference between knowing there are serial offenders on campus, because that’s what the research tells us, and knowing one by name - right? To me, that’s really challenging – to honor confidentiality ... when I know I have an identified serial perpetrator.

For those participants whose roles allowed them confidentiality, their struggle was between reporting their knowledge to the university police and Title IX investigators, or in supporting the survivor by remaining silent.

Often participants expressed difficulty dealing with pressure exerted on them by university officials, including, at times, by their own bosses. These officials wanted all cases of sexual assault to be reported to university officials and wanted advocates to share all information known by the advocate about the victim. One participant described this conflict in this way:

I have a hard time letting go of cases where students feel like the university let them down, and they chose to leave. Because I am an employee of the university, but also an advocate, ... I've heard from them months, years, after they've left, and they say, you were the only one at the university who listened to me and believed me ... but [name of university] isn't a good place for survivors, ... and that's sad, because I know, as an employee, how much my colleagues in other offices care about this process, and how sad it was that they couldn't find a way to convey that they cared about the process to that particular survivor ... I don't ever want to feel like I have to justify my university to a student, and they have every right to feel that way, right?, because they were let down.

This feeling certainly leads the advocate to ask – Am I my own person, or am I an extension of the university?

Maintaining Relationships with Campus Partners

All participants expressed nearly constant concern about their relationships with campus partners, *i.e.*, Title IX staff, conduct staff, residence life staff and other student affairs staff.

Participants felt as if they needed to constantly remind campus partners about the limits of confidentiality. It is common in the culture of student affairs for staff to regularly share details about students' situations; therefore, participants were often in an awkward position where others shared information with them, but they could not reciprocate. Even with staff members who worked often with advocates, this inability to reciprocate could cause tension. Staff members who seldom worked with advocates could become irritated and, despite education by the advocate, could fail to understand the reasons advocates could not share information about survivors. In fact, advocates' confidentiality rules precluded them from even confirming whether or not they were working with a given survivor. One participant explained it this way: "I think, personally, people really like us, but the nature of our work is that we are challenging them on a lot of stuff from the survivor's perspective, and it creates really tense relationships."

There are also issues with advocates being asked by campus partners and supervisors to take on multiple roles within the university, which can cause dilemmas within the advocate's

primary role. For example, many advocates also work as instructors, prevention educators, and supervisors of student staff. It can be an ethical challenge if a student, who met the advocate in another role, then needs advocacy, especially if the participant is the only advocate on a campus. One participant expressed this clearly in saying, “I am their instructor; I am their boss; I am their mentor; and then, sometimes, I am their advocate.” This predicament was also reported in another participant’s experience in providing advocacy:

I kind of felt like I was never really off the clock, because she could email at any time of day, and I was very worried about her, not only as a student who had sought advocacy services, but also because she was a student in my class, and also, after she took my class, was hired to work for us. So I was worried about her on multiple levels. She could kind of contact me at any point, in a way that I felt like could not be as private as she or I would like.

These types of dilemmas were expressed by multiple participants throughout the interviews. One participant described a typical day as an advocate: “You meet with one crying student, and then we have a walk-in, and you have to see that walk-in, and then you have a regularly scheduled student, who may be doing sort of OK, and then you have maybe another walk-in ... and some of them are really emotionally intensive ... Our campus partners really don’t know, you know, the sort of day-in and day-out.” Some participants felt their relationships with campus partners would be better if the partners really understood the “day-in and day-out” of the advocate’s job.

Being a Good Advocate Is All I’ve Got

When asked about personal identity as it impacts the advocate role, participants spoke of their personal identity almost exclusively as it related to their view of themselves as professionals. In the interviews, participants discussed identities such as race, gender, age and parental status, but none of them mentioned class and sexuality at all.

Participants noted that their professional identities were fundamentally informed by their race, gender, age and parental status. All of the participants identified as cisgender White

women and some expressed concern about their own identity as it related to serving survivors of color. They were concerned that their own race made them less effective advocates for women of color. One advocate stated: “Part of my training as a social worker has been to be mindful of the fact that as a straight, cisgender White woman, I carry a lot of privilege. So particularly being thoughtful when I am working with students in minority categories, using inclusive language, you know, doing what I can to make sure my office feels really inclusive and accessible.” Their specific worry was that these survivors would believe that the advocate could not understand their experiences. They believed this because they were afraid the survivors would see them as incapable of understanding them.

When they mentioned age, they wondered if they would be seen by students as being too old to understand the victim’s experience, as it related to their victimization. A middle-aged participant reported: “I think this is kind of true for anybody who works particularly in student affairs on campuses ... , you know, staying relevant to students ... I work very hard to stay seemingly young enough that they will understand that I get where they are coming from.” Another participant expressed a similar concern about age: “A lot of ethical dilemmas I face are because I have been doing this for so long – 17 years. We need to talk about age. We never talk about that in campus victim advocacy. I don’t know how much longer I can hold the ‘cool’ card - that matters on a college campus.”

In terms of parental status, participants had two concerns. One, held by those who had college-age children, was an acute understanding of the possibility of their own child’s exposure to the reality of sexual assault. One participant recounted: “When my son was a student here, he wanted to join a fraternity. I said ‘O.K., I’ll tell you which fraternities you can join.’ And he picked the one where I was the advisor. Guys would say, ‘Dude, your Mom’s the rape lady,’

once it got around that I was his Mom.” The second, held by those with younger children, was how to shield their own children from the realities of their work as an advocate. One such participant recounted this experience: “One time I was in Starbucks with my husband and daughter, and the barista asked, do you remember me? I remember faces, but intentionally not the rest. So she said she was a survivor I saw, and now graduated, and wanted to update me on the case. And we were in the middle of Starbucks, and I was with my daughter, so it’s awkward.”

When considering gender, one participant noted being treated differently because she is a woman. She said, “I remember meeting with male housemasters, and they would sort of look at me as this little girl they needed to explain things to ... There’s also the fact that I am female... I think results in less credibility as a speaker than if my male colleagues speak, especially among all male groups.” Another participant agreed: “And so that’s been just a little bit of a challenge for me, because I think it is important to be pleasant and to work well with others. And I never, as a woman... I never want to be perceived as a bitch. You know, so it’s just like that’s hard for me.” As women, many participants felt as if they were fighting against externalized and internalized sexist stereotypes. As one participant points out: “And you know, sexual assault is a crime that is rooted in patriarchy and gender inequality ... I mean it goes to heteropatriarchy, and anyone that doesn’t fit into their role of how they should behave according to their gender role, or how society views their gender role, deserves any kind of punishment that comes to them, including sexual assault.”

Neither class nor sexuality was explicitly mentioned by any participant in discussing the relationship between their personal and professional identities. This omission was interesting given that survivors, in relating their own experiences of victimization to participants, focused on their own class and sexuality. The observation here is that survivors find these factors to be

paramount in identifying themselves as victims, but the advocates did not feel that they were relevant either to their own personal identities or to their professional identities. Here advocates were very concerned about how effective they were with students of color yet were unable to understand race via an intersectional lens vs. a single axis of analysis, particularly since class and sexuality are omitted yet create multilayers of subordination for students of color navigating systems.

Throughout the interviews, participants framed their identities in terms of deficiencies rather than strengths, *e.g.*, Am I still relevant to students given my age? If participants' personal identities are articulated through their value as a professional and their perception of these identities is deficient, a significant internal and existential dilemma could be created. This dilemma may lead advocates to ask: Have I made a difference or just added to the harm of survivors? When a person's identity is summed up by "being a good advocate is all I've got," it is most important for the advocate to feel that they are successful in all of their professional work so that they can be most effective in their interaction with survivors. One participant observed, "I think even just being cognizant and aware is important for me, but I'm not so naïve to think that I am doing perfect work all the time... I think I still need to be mindful of who I am, and how I've sort of travelled through the world, and how my experience is different from... [that of] students I've worked with." Therefore, being a good advocate has ultimately become the basis for the advocate's self-identity.

Can't See the Forest for the Trees

When asked how advocates perceived survivor identity as relevant to their healing process, all participants only discussed the identities of survivors in terms of the ways that the

survivors had been treated by statutory and administrative systems, including criminal legal systems and university reporting systems. One participant noted:

Women of color are taken in a different light by some of the justice system. There was one case where a student was seen as more combative, given her race and ethnicity, and that different people who came into contact with her, the police, the hearing officers, treated her differently as a result of her response to what happened to her, and we felt like there was kind of a racial component to that.

When viewing these identities through the lens of systems, the focus was often on the “bad” professional. For example, sexual assault by a perpetrator of the same gender as the victim was frequently treated as less serious by law enforcement than opposite-gender sexual assault. The same participant observed, “I probably saw this more in the community than on campus, but with LGBTQ survivors, or male survivors, just not being taken as seriously, or [professionals] having some incompetence around how to talk with them about those kinds of issues.” Individual participants viewed this differential treatment as being the result of homophobic beliefs on the part of individual law enforcement officers rather than as the result of an inherently homophobic criminal legal system. However, when considering the pattern that emerged from all participants’ experiences, it becomes clear that this perception is in fact endemic in the system, rather than in individual professional behavior, because all participants expressed the differential treatment of survivors by law enforcement based on identity.

Another systemic concern raised by participants was that victims of acquaintance assaults worried that if their perpetrators were members of an oppressed group such as men of color or trans* individuals, they would be treated unfairly by the criminal legal system. Survivors, therefore, experienced a dilemma about reporting these assaults because, despite their own traumatic experiences, they still felt some sense of allegiance to the marginalized perpetrator. One participant explained: “For our students of color, they are concerned about bringing stigma

to their community, too.” So, the survivors’ experience was marginalized because, in these cases, they felt their perpetrators had to be protected from the unfairness of the criminal legal system, thus preventing the survivors from seeking justice.

Participants also discussed retaliation and repercussion from survivors’ social communities. For example, survivors who belonged to communities of color or LGBTQ communities expressed concern to the participants about possible retaliation from community members when their perpetrator was also a member of these communities. These survivors felt that if they disclosed their assaults, they would be isolated by their social communities; therefore, they believed that they had to remain silent in order to maintain their standing as members of their groups. As one participant explained: “So I am at a campus that is majority white ... and the latest numbers I saw are that 85% of our students identify as heterosexual ... so our students of color groups are pretty small and tend to be a little bit isolated ... I think the biggest struggles I have seen are because those students are in such small social groups, the repercussions are a lot greater for them if they choose to report something.” The same participant added:

Particularly within our LGBTQ community, I’ve seen some students really struggle with that, because the friend groups, the social groups, are so small... sometimes they become like a *de facto* family. So they’re the only support group that they have. And, you know, this is gonna pull the rug out from me if I [the survivor] report this. And so they have to make some tough choices around taking actions that may really threaten their sources of support when they’re already, you know, in a vulnerable place.

As a result, these survivors felt marginalized by these insular communities, because by being forced to remain silent, they were being told that they were valued less than the perpetrator and the group as a whole.

The participants felt that survivors not only had to deal with their victimization, but they also had to deal with a system that victimizes the victim. The members of the system (e.g., law enforcement, campus authorities) worried about themselves and the perpetrators more than about

the victim. They missed seeing the unintended consequences of their actions, which led to distress for the victim. And in so doing, they saw the trees, while missing the forest.

Reluctant Arm of the State

A main struggle that advocates experience is with the system as perpetrator, a form of governmentality (Dean, 2009; Fergulla, 2011). The system is further victimizing survivors and silencing and monitoring the behavior of advocates such that real change is actually not possible. Advocates are unwittingly participating in this system and, while they tell themselves they are doing right by the survivor they inherently know that something is also amiss with their participation. Though university systems may get more results than the criminal legal system, are these results really just, healing, or helpful for survivors, particularly if they want Olivia from SVU? What is the reality that survivors seek that advocates know that they, in all probability, cannot help the survivor realize? Olivia uses many techniques that are arguably anti-victim to obtain a conviction for the state. Is it that Olivia navigates the state and systems as a woman and former sexual assault victim effectively and unapologetically? Even though all of Olivia's actions are scripted, do the victims perceive their own cases as similar and, therefore, expect similar outcomes? Advocates are disciplined by the system to remain within the system as "good advocates," which equates to doing what the system wants them to do. As one participant explains, "I remember one of the members of the [university hearing board] coming up to me...after the hearing, and saying, you know, people are losing respect for you because you're bringing forward all of these cases...[where] the person was found not responsible." Advocates struggle with this push-pull, and wonder often if they are doing more harm than good. This level of dissonance results in the use of defense mechanisms, such as believing falsely in hope (see below), to enable them to remain in the field. They would like to be Olivia, but, in fact, cannot.

Institutional Betrayal and Institutional Trauma

The overarching theme of the data analysis relates to the concept of institutional betrayal as institutional trauma. The constant feeling of fighting against systems and colleagues created a unique kind of intense personal trauma for these advocates: institutional trauma. Institutional trauma occurs when advocates constantly experience frustration due to the necessity of operating within the systems in which they must exist and function, but which are fundamentally flawed and where system is referent for perpetrator. As one participant put it:

Individuals are carrying out this system and, even if you make a perfect system, the individuals are not trained in a strong way ... I mean, I am a victim advocate, and I was victim-blaming before I did this work. We are all inundated in this victim-blaming culture, and we've got to work on the culture because, even if we have great processes for responding to survivors, if the people carrying out those processes are still wrapped up in the rape culture, processes will inherently be flawed.

Participants reported feeling more stress and burnout due to navigating these systems than with working with any individual survivor. That is, participants felt that they were being used by the system and fighting against the system simultaneously. The institutional betrayal literature is relevant here, because the advocates seem to be experiencing the same kind of exacerbation of trauma (in their case, vicarious trauma) from the system as do the survivors. This conflict is at the heart of the Grounded Theory for this dissertation: that advocates also experience institutional betrayal as trauma – institutional trauma. One participant summed this up succinctly in saying:

There's not a really good understanding of what campus advocates do, and the level of crisis that we see on a day to day basis. And what that means, in terms of our ability to go out to lunch and socialize and do normal things that people do ... we are constantly getting pulled out of the feel-good networking opportunities that a lot of student affairs folks really enjoy, but the nature of our work is that we're pulled in all directions ... There's a real lack of understanding about that on our campus, and that's why we have really reached out to advocates on other campuses to say, 'Oh, my gosh, are you feeling this too?' and so I think ... something that [feels] really palpable and tangible for our advocates is the lack of institutional support.

There is hope; however it is framed by a delusion arising from a never-ending desire to seek justice for victims always, no matter how unrealistic this hope may be. As one participant expressed:

We can be discouraged a lot, but I also think that we have a lot of hope. We think, internally, maybe this one will be picked up. And I don't think we could keep going with our job if we don't hope that in every case that comes through our door, there is some sort of justice for that survivor. So I think what keeps us going is that delusion that this will be the one ... And it's the hard days, where we just sit in each other's offices and cry, you know, that the reality hits. But I think that we hope for the best in every case.

Conclusion

So, in conclusion, advocates feel conflict in that they are forced to become an “arm of the state” because they have to abide by the rules of the system, but they still retain optimism that is derived from the understanding that they after all are the ones, and perhaps the only ones, who can offer hope to the victims. Therein lies the reason that advocates keep fighting the good fight.

Thus, it is possible to examine the research questions: ethical dilemmas have been identified by the participants, and the manner in which federal and state laws and mandates impact these dilemmas is clear. The third research question is more complicated, and must be answered that it depends on the state and even at times on the individual university.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

It is clear from the participants' narratives that there are many ethical dilemmas within the field of college campus victim advocacy. For the most part, these dilemmas do not really relate to the process of working directly with survivors; rather they are focused more on the advocate themselves: engaging relationships with other professionals, navigating reporting systems, addressing challenges associated with implementing recent state and federal laws and mandates, and dealing with their own and survivors' identities. This chapter will examine these dilemmas through an intersectional lens and from theoretical perspectives.

Symbolic Interactionism is particularly relevant to the interpretation of findings in this study. Symbolic Interactionism underlines that humans are products of social systems while still retaining individuality, and that the development of identity happens not internally, but with communication and interaction with one's community (Charon, 2004; Suter et al., 2008). This relates to social identities, such as race and gender, but also relates to a survivor's development of their identity as a survivor. A sexual assault is a catastrophic event and brings a new worldview to the survivor. This is an identity and experience they will now have to navigate for the rest of their life. What is the meaning of their experience? Identity is formed through communication with others, and so disclosing is a key component of developing a survivor identity (Suter et al., 2008). Throughout this discussion of the findings, it will be important to remember that while navigating systems and talking with advocates, friends and loved ones, a survivor is actually developing a new identity.

One would expect that state and federal laws should be very clear-cut and should provide clear direction to victim advocates and other professionals on how they should handle sexual

assault cases. However, the results of the interviews show that the direction is anything but clear. Many participants were even unable to identify whether they had legal privilege under their state laws, or whether they were mandatory reporters according to their campuses. This legal vagueness created a significant dilemma for advocates. Those who were considered confidential by their campus often felt pressure from their colleagues and administrators to break confidentiality, while those who were not confidential advocates often felt as if they were betraying the survivors with whom they worked. Additionally, participants reported that their respective campuses were struggling with implementation of unfunded mandates arising in the laws. Ultimately, participants believed that Title IX and the VAWA Amendments were both positive and negative in advancing the handling of sexual assault on college campuses. These federal mandates create a structural issue for campuses. For example, the VAWA Amendments to the Clery Act chose to limit the definition of sexual assault to “rape, fondling, incest or statutory rape...as those crimes are defined in the FBI’s UCR program” (Department of Education, 2014, section 21). Limiting sexual assault to FBI Uniform Crime Report definitions, while providing more contemporary and inclusive definitions of dating violence and stalking, silences the voices of many victims through the Clery reports (Department of Education, 2014). Sexual assault is commonly defined as much more than just the FBI’s crimes, and the UCR is not commonly used as best practice when discussing the many ways people experience sexual victimization. If the intent of the Clery Act is to provide the public with an accurate picture of sexual violence as it happens on campuses, limiting the definitions to the FBI UCR definitions is problematic. From an intersectionality perspective, there are structural issues here in that these definitions do not center the most marginalized victims. They limit the statute to the most

“common” types of victimization, again tapping in to the stereotypic rape scenario and the idea that there is a “right” type of sexual assault.

There was further confusion on the part of the participants when attempting to operate within criminal legal and university reporting systems. These difficulties created a feeling of push-pull for advocates, who were attempting to support survivors in navigating reporting systems while believing that those systems are inherently flawed. Experiencing a constant feeling of push-pull was one of the areas that participants identified as their most significant challenge. Another frame for the push-pull feeling was institutional betrayal. In particular, operating within the criminal legal system was usually fraught with difficulty for advocates. They struggled to support survivors in their reporting to the police, while knowing that the district attorneys were unlikely to pursue prosecution of the offenders. In fact, every single participant reported that their district attorney would rarely, if ever, prosecute acquaintance sexual assault cases. This unexpected finding speaks volumes about the dysfunction in the U.S. criminal legal system with regard to sexual assault cases, and the embedded nature of the “good victim-bad victim” dichotomy (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Participants identified that the prosecutors would only take cases that meet the stereotypic rape scenario, believing that those are the only cases that can be won. The District Attorney is an elected public official whose duties are defined by state law and includes the prosecution of cases brought on behalf of the state. These are cases in which there must be evidence to support the charge for a criminal conviction however acquaintance sexual assault cases particularly those originating from college campuses appear to be cases that are viewed as not meeting the bar to pursue an indictment. This is particularly problematic since it positions women and our communities in such a way that appears to support rape culture since the underlying message is these cases don’t qualify or meet

the bar for rape. From a structural perspective through an intersectionality lens, the District Attorney's office operates within a system that appears to be homophobic, transphobic, racist, and sexist, and appears to focus on winning individual cases that meet a particular definition of what rape needs to be. I imagine they believe in the system within which they operate, or even venerate the system, while at the same time it is this very arm of the state that refuses to take the most common type of sexual assault cases representative of the sexual violence in our communities today thus further marginalizing victims and supporting rape culture. Additionally, participants identified professionals within the system characterized, for example, women of color as loud and combative, and therefore they did not fit the picture of a "good victim," making the case even less likely to move further along in the criminal legal system. Additionally, survivors of color seem to know about the structural issues with the system, and they are less likely to report to police in the first place (Fisher et al., 2003; Washington, 2001). If the system looked more like *SVU*, as survivors hope it will, there would be structural elements in place that allow the ADA's to take cases of acquaintance sexual assault. However, *SVU* at times also ascribes to victim-blaming messages and Olivia Benson sometimes acts in ways counter to accepted practices in victim support, such as telling victims that they need to go forward so that the perpetrator will not harm anyone else (Wolf, 1999). This is widely seen in the advocacy community as coercive and inappropriate. Despite survivors' hopes, the system does not operate like *SVU*, where every perpetrator is caught and arrested and every case comes in front of a judge (Wolf, 1999). This is a structural barrier for victims that illuminates the multilayers of subordination that victims particularly women of color must traverse in attempting to obtain their personal idea of justice.

Participants felt more hopeful about navigating their university's reporting system since there is a response to survivors in acquaintance rape cases in this milieu. Many reported having good relationships with their Title IX and conduct staff. However even those systems exhibited significant inconsistencies and challenges. One significant finding from the interviews was that there were many inconsistencies in the implementation of Title IX with regard to judicial hearings and appeals processes, despite the fact that the apparent intention of those who prepared the DCL was to streamline such processes. When systems are inconsistently applied, this creates an ethical issue on a national level; they are following neither justice, which would apply the rules universally, nor care, which would consider individual needs of victims and perpetrators. Schools are randomly choosing how to structure their hearing boards, which transgresses ethical principles and leads to inconsistent outcomes.

Every participant also mentioned the difficulty in maintaining relationships with campus colleagues, while at the same time, maintaining confidentiality on behalf of the survivor. The participants expressed that having relationships with colleagues around the university both improved their ability to advocate on behalf of the survivor and also increased their own job satisfaction. Despite the importance of these relationships, the participants indicated that the relationships were difficult to maintain, because of the cultural expectation within the student affairs community that colleagues share information about students with one another. Participants felt as if they had to constantly explain the limits of confidentiality to their colleagues, which caused a strain in their own professional relationships.

Insights gained from the interviews created a mental picture of the various levels of the overall process as an inverted hierarchical pyramid, resting on its point. Within the inverted base, now at the top of the pyramid, is the level containing the overarching framework provided by

Federal and state laws and mandates. Resting below the statutory top level of the pyramid are dilemmas relating to the criminal legal system. Next, moving downward, are dilemmas related to university reporting, followed by dilemmas related to advocates negotiating their workplace and maintaining their relationships with colleagues. At the very bottom point of the pyramid are the personal interactions between the advocate and the survivor. The sheer weight of all of those layered processes above focuses pressure on the critical apex of the inverted pyramid, causing the important direct relationship between advocate and survivor to become even more complicated than it would otherwise be (see figure 5.1).

The resulting pressure on the advocate-survivor relationship and the weight of constantly navigating systems that fail victims results in institutional trauma. There is much focus in the advocacy field about vicarious trauma that results from working with survivors. However, the participants in this study unanimously agreed that it was working within flawed and often failed systems that was the root cause of their trauma. Of those participants who discussed the possibility of leaving the field in the future, all discussed how it is their interaction with systems, not survivors, which caused personal stress, leading to their eventual burnout. Their ability to be hopeful in the face of institutional betrayal became less as years went by.

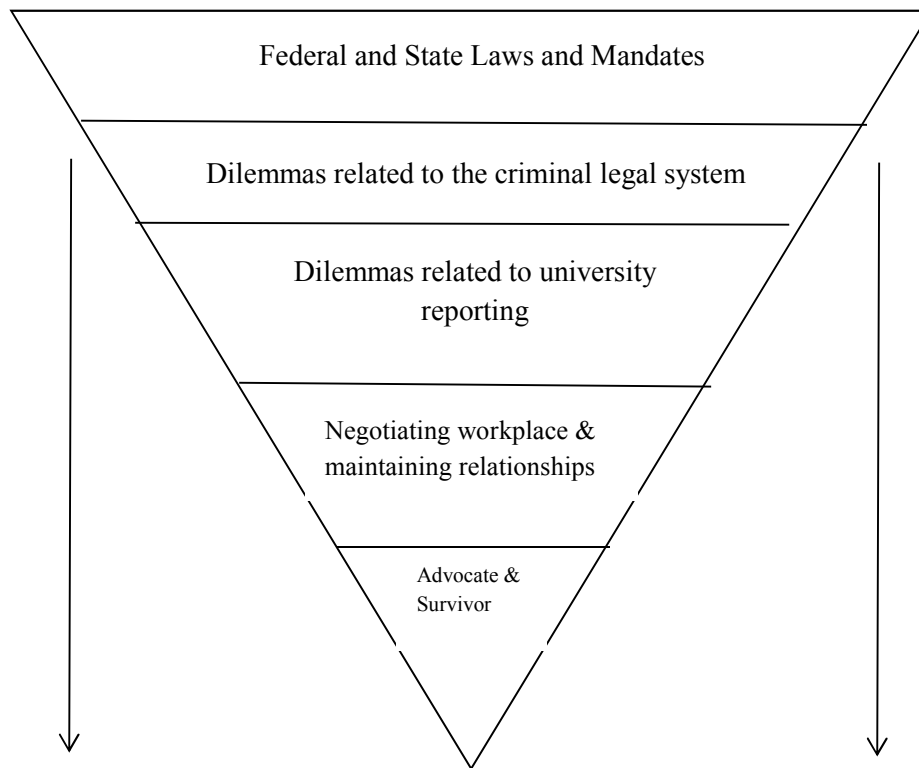


Figure 5.1 – Pressure on the apex leads to institutional trauma

Participants also articulated dilemmas related to both their own, as well as the survivors’ social identities. When discussing survivor identity, advocates focused on how the identities interacted within systems; for example, several participants discussed race in the context of survivors navigating the criminal legal system. They reported observing that survivors of color were treated differently than are white survivors by police. The participants viewed this difference in treatment as being due to individual police officers’ racism, and that it demonstrated an implicit bias against victims on the part of law enforcement. The connection of this individual racism to systemic racism within the larger criminal legal system was not necessarily addressed nor identified by the participants; rather, the focus was on the single “bad” professional. Focusing on the “bad” officer diverts attention from seeing the larger multiple layers of subordination that survivors of color experience throughout their lives, and the

simultaneity of multiple identities that exist for marginalized survivors (Crenshaw, 1994/2005; Mehrotra, 2010). This relates to the concept of law enforcement bias in oppressed communities as discussed in Chapter 2. Because the participants remained focused on individuals rather than systems, they struggled to define their own placement within a fundamentally flawed system. This led them to wonder: Am I part of the system doing harm? Is my way of helping adding to the harm?

These results can be compared to the concept of whistleblowing. Do advocates potentially damage relationships and perhaps even put their jobs in jeopardy if they, for example, talk with a reporter about how cases are not charged by the District Attorney's office or report to the Office of Civil Rights that Title IX investigations often go beyond the federally-prescribed 60-day timeframe? What consequences might they face? The literature on whistleblowing discusses some of these consequences. Whistleblowing can be defined as "the disclosure to a person or public body, outside of normal channels and management structures, of information concerning unsafe, unethical or illegal practices" (Mannion & Davies, 2015, p. 503). Workplace bullying was reported by employees that blew the whistle on their employers, which can lead to health and mental health consequences (Bjorkelo, 2013; Mannion & Davies, 2015). Mannion and Davies also discuss whistleblowing in the context of "speaking truth to power," which can feel and be empowering for the whistleblower (2015, p. 503). However, other authors discussed the "perceived threat of retaliation" and its chilling effect on whistleblowing (Elias & Farag, 2015; Mecca et al., 2014). Thus, potential whistleblowing may be deterred by the perceived consequences, and literature describes that bullying and harassment from other employees may indeed occur (Miller, 2013). For campus advocates, the perceived and real consequences for future relationships with other professionals cannot be ignored. This is further complicated by

the fact that campus advocates, unlike their community/non-profit counterparts, are paid by the very system that fails survivors. The conflict that arises from this dilemma is illustrated by the choice that the advocate must make between being a fierce advocate for a survivor versus maintaining loyalty to the campus where they work. Campuses are insular communities, for students and for staff and faculty. Whistleblowing from within a system can have different consequences than for those whistleblowing about a system with which they must interact, but which is not their employer (Mecca et al., 2014).

Advocates discussed survivors' identity, but viewed identity in such a way that did not consider or recognize the systemic ways in which those with multiple marginalized identities could be caught in multiple layers of subordination, such as when poverty, gender, gender identity, and race intersect. They instead focused on their own ability to serve "diverse" survivor, focusing on a single axis of identity. Focusing on a single axis of identity and failing to center the most marginalized survivors dismisses the structural implications of multiple layers of subordination and risks re-inscribing privilege that further marginalizes the most vulnerable (Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Participants largely did not use the language of intersectionality which indicates a possible complication when working with survivors with multiple subordinated identities, as intersectionality would help them actually relate to and serve these survivors more effectively.

In addition, participants described a dilemma that women of color, LGBTQ, and trans* survivors felt about reporting to formal systems. Because these survivors felt as if the system would not treat their perpetrator fairly based on their race, sexuality, or gender identity, and because survivors of acquaintance assault often feel an allegiance to perpetrators within their own communities, survivors felt strong ambivalence at "giving up" their perpetrators to a hostile

system. Survivors also discussed the retaliation and repercussion they feared receiving from within their social community for that betrayal.

Feminist Critical Theory is an important lens here, as it looks at these issues from a place of critical emancipation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). Survivors are searching for their place of empowerment in a system that often leaves them feeling helpless and out-of-control. Advocates, too, want to be in control of their own choices and to give survivors choices wherever possible. Feminist Critical Theory also examines hegemony, from which the criminal legal system and other aspects of governmentality flow. Hegemony seeks to keep those individuals and systems with dominant identities in power and delegitimizes those with multiple layers of subordination. Advocates are fighting much more than individual “bad” assistant district attorneys or police officers; they are fighting against much larger systems of oppression.

Participants further discussed their own identities in relation to their work as victim advocates. When considering their own identities, participants focused on their role as professionals. They discussed how identities such as race, gender, parental status, and age influenced their role as advocates. They discussed intersecting identities and simultaneity as well as structural barriers. For example, all of the participants identified as white women, and several expressed concern that students of color would not feel comfortable having a white advocate. Interestingly, participants made no reference to class or sexuality in their discussion of their own identities. Again, most participants failed to consider an intersectional lens when considering their own identities. Participants largely seemed to feel guilt or reticence about their whiteness in particular and how this presents a deficit in serving survivors of color. An intersectional lens may help them to move beyond these feelings and help them feel more prepared to work with survivors with multiple layers of subordination.

When considering their own identities, participants focused heavily on perceived deficiencies within themselves and their method of advocacy. This may also be related to the overwhelming helplessness articulated by participants, which may be attributed to institutional trauma. When advocates feel overwhelmed or helpless, they are unable to see the real value of the work in which they are engaged and the help they provide to survivors. If advocates' identities are articulated largely through their value as professionals, but their perception of their role in the profession and the systems in which they work are deficient, this conflict creates a significant internal and existential dilemma: How have I spent my life? Was it worth it? Have I made a difference? Or have I only added to the injury of survivors? If the answers to these questions are negative, then the threat to confidential advocacy is very serious, but if they are positive, then the future for advocacy is more hopeful.

Crisis Theory and Ecosystems Theory are lenses that are helpful in this analysis. Taken together, Crisis Theory and Ecosystems Theory focus not just on the individual situational crisis, in this case sexual assault, but on the systems and environment surrounding the individual experiencing the crisis (Gilliland & James, 1997). Participants discussed how, as advocates, their frustration was with the systems they had to navigate and not with the individual survivors. There is a village around a survivor. But participants reported that survivors often felt alone and left to struggle through their crisis with no support before becoming engaged with advocates or disclosing to friends, roommates, family or intimate partners. If those disclosures went well, participants reported feeling like they had more internal and external resources to navigate the crisis. However, if the disclosure sources or systems responded negatively, they experienced more negative symptoms. This makes sense through the lens of Crisis and Ecosystems Theories,

which stress the importance of a positive support network as critical to navigating the sudden, intense nature of situational crises (Gilliland & James, 1997).

By definition, victim advocacy is a profession that lends itself to care ethics. Advocates operate with compassion and empathy, and emphasize interconnectedness by supporting the survivor in engaging both informal (e.g., friends, family) and formal (e.g., counseling, academic support) support systems (Burnier, 2003; Gray, 2010). However, the system in which advocates must work is justice-oriented. It is focused on impartiality of rules and individual rights (Larrabee, 1993; Li, 2008). While justice and care ethics are not mutually exclusive, they can add to the push-pull for advocates as they attempt to provide care in a system that should focus on impartiality. The Grounded Theory developed through this study focuses on the impact that institutional betrayal, or the failure of systems and institutions, has on advocates. Institutional betrayal can cause as much trauma for advocates as for survivors, and can result in a kind of trauma called institutional trauma. This puts justice and care in opposition, and because those working in the system from an impartial, justice perspective value care less than justice, advocates are continually fighting for their legitimacy to be recognized. It is, therefore, essential, that the concerns revealed in this research be acknowledged and addressed.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored ethical dilemmas in college campus victim advocacy. Interviews with 14 participants have yielded rich data from which these conclusions are drawn. The overarching theme of this Grounded Theory study, which is that institutional betrayal can cause institutional trauma for advocates, has guided the data analysis for this dissertation. The following sections will explore implications of this study and directions for future research.

Implications

One implication that has arisen from this study is that, since all participants identified that the District Attorney in their jurisdiction would rarely prosecute acquaintance sexual assault cases, there is a need to examine prosecutorial assumptions in these cases and the role of victim-blaming in these decisions.

Another systemic implication gleaned from the study was the structure and content of timely warnings under the Clery Act. Current practices at many schools include victim-blaming and risk-reduction messages, as well as the inclusion of information that may result in the disclosure of the identity of the victim. The inclusion of advocates in the process of reaching timely warning decisions would likely improve this process.

Yet another implication is the need for state lawmakers to define very clearly which victim advocates have legal privilege and the specific circumstances under which this privilege is granted. Additionally, federal policy-makers should more clearly prescribe the structure of conduct systems and appeals boards, as currently, schools have adopted varying systems. Most of these systems, which on the surface seem to meet federal policy guidelines, actually provide very different, and often conflicting, experiences for survivors, perpetrators and advisors.

Structurally from an intersectional perspective, there are several implications for this study. Advocates and other professionals, on- and off-campus, need training on how to work with survivors with multiple layers of subordination due to multiple oppressed identities. There also needs to be training focusing specifically on the advocates' dominant identities – basically assistance at doing their own social justice work incorporated in the trainings – assisting them in navigating advocacy interactions with survivors with different identities' than theirs.

Additionally, there needs to be support for advocates in navigating racist, sexist, homophobic, classist, and transphobic systems as they work to support survivors navigating these systems.

From a Crisis and Ecosystems Theory lens, it is also important to help build survivors' support systems so that they can have more resiliency as they develop their new identity as survivors. Training all college students and staff to be good “disclosure sources” (e.g., believing survivors providing support, and connecting to resources), will improve the responses survivors receive when they decide to tell their stories.

The existential dilemmas previously discussed, combined with the institutional trauma that advocates face, can have a significant impact on advocates' ability to feel worth and success in their professional role. Working in an environment of helplessness and hopelessness can make it difficult for advocates to feel intrinsic worth as professionals. When advocates are working every day to navigate broken or unclear systems, while at the same time trying to remain positive and hopeful for survivors, it is difficult for them to maintain a positive view of their role in campus advocacy. Therefore, a final implication concerns the job satisfaction of campus victim advocates. Universities need to provide sufficient support for advocates and strong upper administration backing for advocates in their roles as confidants, consultants, and university resources.

Directions for Future Research

The study identified the frustration and lack of job satisfaction for advocates as they navigate systems; further research should now be conducted on how these factors impact their mental health and levels of burnout. While there is much research reported in the literature concerning social worker and therapist burnout, little research has been done specifically directed toward campus victim advocates and the factors influencing their burnout. In addition, there is a need to explore institutional trauma and systemic factors influencing burnout.

Future research should also be conducted on the approaches that advocates use to resolve ethical dilemmas with which they are faced. Additionally, exploration of whether advocates resolve ethical dilemmas in internally congruent ways, and whether these approaches provide ultimate benefit to the advocates, needs to be conducted.

Probably of most importance is the need for the sample to include advocates whose identities were not represented in the current research. This is essential to providing greater understanding of intersectionality and how this informs campus victim advocacy.

Conclusion

This dissertation examined ethical dilemmas in college campus victim advocacy. Multiple dilemmas were identified, including those related to navigating broken systems, maintaining relationships with other professionals, and navigating participants' and survivors' social identities. Participants emphasized that it is working within broken systems, and not working individually with survivors, that cause them stress and decreased job satisfaction. This finding led to the ultimate theorizing that it is institutional trauma and being both part of a system and fighting against that same system that has the most profound impact on advocates.

However, participants still expressed a sense of hope in a broad context. As one participant described:

[Survivors] want to stay on campus and there's such an opportunity to provide resources and I hope that we can really strengthen that and just overall help people be rid of these victim-blaming attitudes and this rape culture because, in the end, that's the only way we are going to end sexual assault. And I always have to have my eye on ending sexual assault in addition to responding to the students who've experienced it. It's definitely my self-care. I tell my students – a lot of them are like – I don't think we can ever really be rid of rape, but you know, I think we can reduce it, and I'm like, I support you in believing that, but I have to believe that we can end it. Because if I don't then who will?

So, in spite of the inherent difficulties almost universally experienced by campus victim advocates, a deeply held expression of hopefulness among the participants leads me to expect that continual improvement in campus victim advocacy systems will ultimately lead to more beneficial outcomes and more positive experiences for victims of sexual assault on college campuses.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

My research project is on identifying ethical dilemmas in the field of college campus victim advocacy.

1. In your state, do victim advocates have legal privilege? That is, does your state protect victim advocate confidentiality by law?
2. In your experience with campus victim advocacy, tell me about the dilemmas you or your staff and volunteers run across.
3. Tell me about situations you have heard or dealt with that seem to have no good solution.
4. What situations have you run across yourself that have been really difficult to handle?
5. How do you perceive ethical dilemmas in campus victim advocacy to be different now than before the 2011 Dear Colleague Letter?
6. Tell me about dilemmas you run across when helping victims navigate the university reporting system.
7. Tell me about dilemmas you run across when helping victims navigate the criminal justice system.
8. Tell me about situations that stay with you that bothered you in some way.
9. In what ways have your own social identities impacted your work as an advocate?
10. In what ways have you seen survivors' social identities impact their healing process?
11. Is there anything you would like to add that we haven't covered?
12. Are there other individuals I should be contacting to participate in this study?

APPENDIX B

Initial Email Solicitation

Dear colleagues,

I am a PhD student in social work at Colorado State University. I also work full-time in college campus victim advocacy. I am engaging in a research project designed to identify key ethical dilemmas in the field of college campus victim advocacy as identified by experts in the field.

I would like to invite you to help me in identifying experts whose opinions should be included in this study (that may be you!). I am looking for folks who are working or have worked in the field of college campus victim advocacy for three years, with at least two years post-April 2011. I am committed to having a diverse panel of experts, and invite you to also identify folks who may hold marginalized identities or work on campuses where there are a large number of students from marginalized identities.

If you or others you know fit this description, please provide me with contact information (email is preferable) so I may invite their participation. I really appreciate your help in finding the voices that can help with this important project!

Thank you,

Kathryn Woods