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Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Series
No. 17

# Acquaintance Rape of College Students

by
Rana Sampson

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Rana Sampson

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## About the Guide Series

The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. The guides are written for police–of whatever rank or assignment–who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who

- Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods. The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (An assessment guide has been produced as a companion to this series and the COPS Office has also published an introductory guide to problem analysis. For those who want to learn more about the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, the assessment and analysis guides, along with other recommended readings, are listed at the back of this guide.)

- Can look at a problem in depth. Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local

situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.

- Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business. The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem.

- Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge. For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.

- Are willing to work with other community agencies to find effective solutions to the problem. The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public entities. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

The COPS Office and the authors encourage you to provide feedback on this guide and to report on your own agency's experiences dealing with a similar problem. Your agency may have effectively addressed a problem using responses not considered in these guides and your experiences and knowledge could benefit others. This information will be used to update the guides. If you wish to provide feedback and share your experiences it should be sent via e-mail to **cops_pubs@usdoj.gov**.

## Acknowledgments

The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series is very much a collaborative effort. While each guide has a primary author, other project team members, COPS Office staff and anonymous peer reviewers contributed to each guide by proposing text, recommending research and offering suggestions on matters of format and style.

The principal project team developing the guide series comprised Herman Goldstein, professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin Law School; Ronald V. Clarke, professor of criminal justice, Rutgers University; John E. Eck, associate professor of criminal justice, University of Cincinnati; Michael S. Scott, police consultant, Savannah, Ga.; Rana Sampson, police consultant, San Diego; and Deborah Lamm Weisel, director of police research, North Carolina State University.

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# The Problem of Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Rape is the most common violent crime on American college campuses today.[1] This guide describes the problem of acquaintance rape of college students, addressing its scope, causes and contributing factors; methods for analyzing it on a particular campus; tested responses; and measures for assessing response effectiveness. With this information, police and public safety officers can more effectively prevent the problem.

Researchers believe that college rape prevention programs, including the most widely used ones, are insufficient. Most rapes are unreported, perhaps giving campus administrators and police the false impression that current efforts are adequate. In addition, campus police may be influenced by college administrators who fear that too strong an emphasis on the problem may lead potential students and their parents to believe that rape occurs more often at their college than at others.

## Related Problems

Acquaintance rape is but one aspect of the larger set of problems related to sexual assault of college students, and a coherent college strategy should address all aspects of these problems. This guide is limited to addressing acquaintance rape. Other related problems not directly addressed by this guide include:

- stranger rape;
- drug-induced rape;†
- sexual assault other than rape (e.g., sexual battery);
- use of verbal coercion to obtain sexual intercourse;
- indecent exposure in college libraries;
- "peeping Toms" on college campuses;
- obscene phone calls made to college students;
- sexual harassment;
- abuse in college dating relationships (including violence other than sexual victimization); and
- stalking of college students.

## Scope of the Problem

"Women ages 16 to 24 experience rape at rates four times higher than the assault rate of all women,"[2] making the college (and high school) years the most vulnerable for women. College women are more at risk for rape and other forms of sexual assault than women the same age but not in college.[3] It is estimated that almost 25 percent of college women have been victims of rape or attempted rape since the age of 14.[4]

Rape rates vary to some extent by school, type of school and region, suggesting that certain schools and certain places within schools are more rape-prone than others.†† Some features of the college environment–frequent unsupervised parties, easy access to alcohol, single students living on their own, and the availability of private rooms–may contribute to high rape rates of women college students.

† There is no data on the number of college students raped after unknowingly ingesting Rohypnol, GHB or similar drugs; most information is anecdotal. Additional information is available from the National Institute on Drug Abuse's website, www.nida.nih.gov.

†† For instance, private colleges and major universities have higher than national average rates, while religiously affiliated institutions have lower than average rates (Sanday 1996). Also, students at two-year institutions (15.6%) were significantly more likely than those at four-year institutions (11.1%) to report they had been forced during their lifetime to have sexual intercourse (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1995).

College women are raped at significantly higher rates than college men.† College men are more likely to report experiencing unwanted kissing or fondling than intercourse.[5] College men who are raped are usually raped by other men. However, since so few men report, information is limited about the extent of the problem.[6] Even current national data collection systems fail to capture information about rape of men; the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) does not provide data on male rape victims.†† Researchers have begun to fill this information gap with survey data, which suggest that up to 10 percent of acquaintance rape victims on campus are men.[7] Since so little information is available about acquaintance rape of college men, this guide focuses on college women.

The most recent large-scale study, including students at both two- and four-year colleges, found 35 rapes per 1,000 female students over seven months[8] (rape was defined as "unwanted completed penetration by force or threat of force"). Based on this study, a college with 10,000 women students could experience 350 rapes a year. This conflicts with official college data.††† In 1999, reported forcible and nonforcible sexual offenses totaled 2,469 incidents for all U.S. college campuses combined,[9] underscoring the low levels of rape reporting.

Stranger rape of college students is less common than acquaintance rape. Ninety percent of college women who are victims of rape or attempted rape know their assailant.[10] The attacker is usually a classmate, friend, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, or other acquaintance (in that order).[11,]†††† Most acquaintance rapes do not occur on dates; rather they occur when two people are otherwise in

† Women are also the victims in the vast majority of rapes not involving college students.

†† FBI data also do not capture most acquaintance rapes of women since the FBI only requires reporting of rapes that involve force or fear.

††† Congress enacted the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990 [U.S.C. 1092(f)(1)], covering all colleges and universities receiving federal funds, and a 1992 amendment to the act requires campuses to spell out rape victims' rights and to annually publish information on prevention programs. A 1998 amendment added reporting obligations and renamed the act the Jeanne Cleary Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act. Jeanne Cleary's rape and murder on a college campus brought to light some of the inadequacies both in knowledge of the problem and in college reporting of crime.

†††† The most recent survey on college rape "did not find that college professors committed any of the rapes or sexual coercions; however, they were involved in a small percentage of the unwanted sexual touching" (Fisher, Cullen and Turner 2000).

the same place (e.g., at a party, studying together in a dorm room). Thus, "date rape" (rape that occurs during or at the end of a date) is not the appropriate term to describe the majority of acquaintance rapes of college women, as date rapes account for only 13 percent of college rapes (although they make up 35 percent of attempted rapes).[12] Gang rape of college women (multiple men taking turns raping a woman) is also a problem, although to a lesser extent than even date rape.[13]

† One of the largest studies of the problem found that in nearly half the incidents legally categorized as completed rapes, the women did not consider the incident to be a rape (Fisher, Cullen and Turner 2000).

## Victim Underreporting

Fewer than 5 percent of college women who are victims of rape or attempted rape report it to police.[14] However, about two-thirds of the victims tell *someone*, often a friend (but usually not a family member or college official). In one study, over 40 percent of those raped who did not report the incident said they did not do so because they feared reprisal by the assailant or others.[15] In addition, some rape victims may fear the emotional trauma of the legal process itself. Low reporting, however, ensures that few victims receive adequate help, most offenders are neither confronted nor prosecuted, and colleges are left in the dark about the extent of the problem.[16]

Many acquaintance rape victims (using the legal definition of rape) do not label their assault as rape.† Perhaps it seems unimaginable that an acquaintance would rape them, and victims often initially blame themselves. Acquaintance rape victims offer a range of reasons for not reporting the rape to authorities:[17]

- embarrassment and shame,
- fear of publicity,
- fear of reprisal from assailant,
- fear of social isolation from the assailant's friends,
- fear that the police will not believe them,
- fear that the prosecutor will not believe them or will not bring charges,
- self-blame for drinking or using drugs before the rape,
- self-blame for being alone with the assailant, perhaps in one's own or the assailant's residence,
- mistrust of the campus judicial system, and
- fear that their family will find out.

Some police officers believe that there is an unusually high rate of false rape reports (by both college students and the general population of women). The FBI does not separately track false reports; it tracks only the total number of unfounded reports. The category of "unfounded" consists of both baseless cases–in which the elements of the crime were never met–and false reports. In 1998, unfounded rape reports accounted for 8 percent of total reported rapes; however, this number is questionable. Some police officers incorrectly think that a rape report is unfounded or false if any of the following conditions apply:

- the victim has a prior relationship with the offender (including having previously been intimate with him);
- the victim used alcohol or drugs at the time of the assault;
- there is no visible evidence of injury;
- the victim delays disclosure to the police and/or others and does not undergo a rape medical exam; and/or
- the victim fails to immediately label her assault as rape and/or blames herself.†

† For more detailed information about unfounded allegations and the need for accurate training on this subject, see http://www.vaw.umn.edu/FinalDocuments/Investigate/acquaintSA.asp.

## Types of Acquaintance Rape

† For a discussion of the need to study different types of acquaintance rape, see Koss and Cleveland (1996).

In examining the problem of acquaintance rape of college students (which, as noted, accounts for 90 percent of college rapes), it is important to define the subproblems for analysis, investigation and prevention purposes. Among them are:

- party rape (can also include gang rape);
- date rape (usually takes place in the victim's or offender's residence or in a car after the date);
- rape in a non-party and non-date situation (e.g., while studying together);
- rape by a former intimate; and
- rape by a current intimate.

In each case, the offender's behavior before the attack and the contributing environmental factors during the attack may be different.† For instance, the typical party rape occurs at an off-campus house or on- or off-campus fraternity and involves the offender's plying a woman with alcohol or targeting an intoxicated woman. Environmental factors that could facilitate the rape include easy access to alcohol, availability of a private room, loud music that drowns out the woman's calls, and, potentially, a cover-up by the house's residents, who may choose to maintain group secrecy over reporting the rape. By contrast, a date rape typically involves two people who are just becoming acquainted, and the offender rapes the woman in a car or residence after the date. [Stranger rapes tend to occur in isolated areas of campus (e.g., parking lots or campus garages) or in the woman's dorm room. In these cases, the victim usually has not drunk any alcohol, and there is no prior relationship or even acquaintance between the victim and the rapist.]

Refining recordkeeping to include subtypes of acquaintance rape allows police to better understand the dynamics of rape, design prevention around the subtypes, and improve rape investigations within the subtypes.†

In addition, there are patterns regarding time (temporal), place (geographic), victim injuries, victim resistance, fear of rape, psychological harm to victims, and attitudes about acquaintance rape. These patterns are outlined below.††

## Temporal Patterns

College students are the most vulnerable to rape during the first few weeks of the freshman and sophomore years.[18] In fact, the first few days of the freshman year are the riskiest, limiting the value of any rape prevention programs that begin after that. Research has shown that rapes of college women tend to occur after 6 p.m., and the majority occur after midnight.[19]

## Geographic Patterns

Thirty-four percent of completed rapes and 45 percent of attempted rapes take place on campus.[20] Almost 60 percent of the completed campus rapes that take place on campus occur in the victim's residence, 31 percent occur in another residence, and 10 percent occur in a fraternity.[21]

## Victim Injuries

Only 20 percent of college rape victims have additional injuries, most often bruises, black eyes, cuts, swelling, or chipped teeth.[22] Thus, investigative practices should be modified to obtain more subtle evidence of lack of consent, rather than just use of force.

† Although this guide does not focus on investigation, it is important to mention that the defendant generally does not claim consent as a defense in a stranger rape case. Thus, the investigation need not focus intensely on disproving consent. However, in an acquaintance rape case, consent *is* the most likely defense. Disproving consent becomes the most important part of the investigation. It also follows that evidence of nonconsent in a party rape will differ from that of nonconsent for a date rape that occurred in a car.

†† Some of the research covers data for both acquaintance and stranger rape of college students. Since nearly 90 percent of the time, college rape victims know their assailant, these temporal, geographic and victim resistance patterns would likely apply to college acquaintance rape, although perhaps with some slight variations.

## Victim Resistance

Slightly more than 50 percent of college rape and attempted rape victims use force against their assailant, and 50 percent tell the person to stop. Most victims try to stop a rape by doing one of the following: using force, telling the assailant to stop, screaming, begging, or running away.[23]

## Fear of Rape

The fear of rape is widespread among college women, although they fear stranger rape more than acquaintance rape, even though the latter is much more common.[24] College women–even those aware of acquaintance rape's pervasiveness–take more precautions to guard against stranger rape–even if they have been a victim of acquaintance rape.[25]

## Psychological Harm to Victims

Acquaintance rape victims suffer the same psychological harms as stranger-rape victims: shock, humiliation, anxiety, depression, substance abuse, suicidal thoughts, loss of self-esteem, social isolation, anger, distrust of others, fear of AIDS, guilt, and sexual dysfunction.[26] College acquaintance rape victims face additional consequences. Many drop out of school[27] because, if they stay, they might regularly face their attacker in class, in their dorm, in the dining hall, or at campus functions and events. Since most victims do not report, colleges cannot intervene to protect them from reencountering their attackers.

## Societal Attitudes About Acquaintance Rape

During the 1990s, researchers found that attitudes about acquaintance rape victims improved. However, in general, college students, campus administrators, police, prosecutors, judges, and juries still overwhelmingly view and treat acquaintance rape less seriously than stranger rape, sustaining the myth that stranger rape is "real rape," while acquaintance rape is less serious and less harmful. College studies still find that many on campus, both men and women, have little understanding of acquaintance rape because, as discussed below, it is a much more complex crime than stranger rape.

> Rape myths allow us to believe that a "real rape" is one in which a victim is raped by a stranger who jumps out of the bushes with a weapon, and in which she fought back, was beaten and bruised, reported the event to the police, and had medical evidence collected immediately. In a "real rape," the victim has never had sex with the assailant before, is preferably a virgin, was not intoxicated, was not wearing seductive clothing, and has a good reputation.…Unfortunately, acquaintance sexual assaults contain few, if any, of those elements. In many acquaintance rape situations, the victim had been drinking, did voluntarily go with the man to his apartment or room, was not threatened with a weapon, did not fight back, did not report the event to the police immediately, did not have medical evidence collected, and may have even had sex with the assailant voluntarily before.[28]

## Risk Factors Associated With Acquaintance Rape

Understanding the factors that contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine good effectiveness measures, recognize key intervention points, and select appropriate responses.

Acquaintance rape is less random and more preventable than stranger rape.[29] A woman's condition or behavior does not cause rape, but certain factors appear to increase a woman's vulnerability to it:

- frequently drinking enough to get drunk;[30]
- drinking to the point of being unable to resist forceful sexual advances;[31]
- using drugs and/or drinking (both the victim and the assailant);[32]
- having previously been the victim of sexual assault, before the start of the school year;[33]
- being single;[34]
- engaging in social activities with sexually predatory men;[35]
- being at an isolated site;[36]
- miscommunicating about sex;[37] and
- holding less conservative attitudes about sexual behavior.[38]

## Repeat Victimization

Numerous studies of campus rape have found that a small number of victims are repeat victims.[39] One of the largest studies to date found that 22.8 percent of college rape victims had been victimized before.[40]

College women most at risk of rape are those who were previously victims of childhood or teen sexual assault.[41] *Prior victims are nearly twice as likely to be raped in college than those with no previous history of sexual assault*.[42] "Adolescent/young adult victimization is the most robust risk factor for victimization in the college years, and victimization in one semester predicts victimization in the following semester."[43] Some researchers believe that college men can sense out women who are less able to defend themselves, or target women whose behavior (e.g., binge drinking) weakens their credibility.[44]

## Repeat Offending

It is unknown how many college rapists are repeat offenders. Most college acquaintance rapists go unpunished (in part because reporting is so low), so the number of serial offenses are difficult to determine. However, one study found that 96 college men accounted for 187 rapes,[45] suggesting that further research may establish that serial rapists are a common component of the acquaintance rape problem. Lack of reporting complicates the problem, since it may prevent colleges from identifying and ridding themselves of their most dangerous students.

## Why Some College Men Rape

In studies in the early 1980s and 1990s, approximately one-third of college men reported they would rape a woman if they knew they would not get caught.[46] Given the number of college women raped, researchers have tried to explain the problem's prevalence:

- **Some men have stereotypic views of women's**

**sexual behavior**. In light of the high number of rapes, researchers believe that rape is not the product of psychopathic behavior; rather it is the product of mainstream beliefs about women's role in sexual situations.[47] For example, many men are socialized to believe that women initially resist sexual advances to preserve their reputation and, because of this, prefer to be overcome sexually. If a woman says no, a man is to proceed as if she said yes. In addition, some men believe that if a woman is a "tease" or "loose," she is asking for sex. If she then claims rape, she changed her mind after the fact. Such men generally believe that most rapes are false reports.

- **Some college men have sexist attitudes and seek sexual conquests.** Some men simply do not care about women's feelings. "They have learned that what counts, in the popular sports term invariably adopted…is that they 'score.'"[48]
- **Some men see alcohol as a tool for sexual conquest.** While alcohol use does not cause rape, "alcohol abuse is strongly related to abuse of women."[49] In addition, many college men may be unaware that having sex with someone who is drunk is rape.
- **Some men receive peer support for sexually abusive behavior.** Sexually abusive men often are friends with and loyal to other sexually abusive men and get peer support for their behavior, fostering and legitimizing it.[50] During the 1980s and 1990s, a series of rapes in fraternity houses, and subsequent cover-ups by fraternity members, suggested to researchers that certain all-male living arrangements foster unhealthy environments conducive to rape.[51]

## Alcohol's Role in Acquaintance Rape

Alcohol appears to play a large role in acquaintance rape, although it is not the cause. Research indicates that in over three-quarters of college rapes, the offender, the victim or both had been drinking.[52] Researchers provide several explanations for alcohol's presence in so many rapes:[53]

- **Men expect to become more sexualized when drinking**. "Men view the world in a more sexualized manner than women do and, consequently, are more likely than women to interpret ambiguous cues as evidence of sexual intent."†
- **Alcohol increases misperceptions because it reduces a person's capacity to analyze complex stimuli**. Alcohol (and drug) use increases the risk that men and women will misinterpret messages between them.
- **Some men believe in stereotypes about women and drinking.** Some men believe that women who drink are more sexually available than those who do not.[54]
- **Some men use alcohol as a justification or an excuse**. Some men use alcohol to justify or excuse acting out, misbehaving or committing a crime.
- **Alcohol causes poor sending and receiving of friendly and sexual cues**. "While drinking alcohol, a woman may not notice her date's persistent attempts to get her into an isolated location or encourage her to consume even more alcohol."[55] In one study, "three-quarters of the acknowledged date rapists interviewed . . . said that they sometimes got women drunk in order to increase the likelihood of having sex with them."††
- **Alcohol decreases women's ability to resist rape.** Alcohol slows motor functions, reducing the likelihood that a woman can verbally or physically resist a rapist.

† Some studies have found that men (more so than women) view certain cues as evidence that a woman is interested in having sex, such as her wearing revealing clothing, agreeing to a secluded date location such as the man's room or the beach, drinking alcohol, complimenting the man during the date, and tickling the man (Abbey 1991).

†† In one study, researchers found that women did not see being alone with a man and drinking as putting them at risk. Women tended to appropriately estimate the risk to others, but not to themselves, perhaps because on prior occasions, being alone with a man and drinking did not result in rape. The researchers found that women drinkers believed they could drink a lot before being at increased risk for sexual aggression (Norris, Nurius and Graham 1999).

Research has found that when alcohol or drugs are involved in acquaintance rape–which is frequently the case–peers tend to hold women more responsible for the rape, and men less responsible for it.

† Humphrey and Kahn (2000) found that college women correctly identify the campus fraternities and athletic teams that are high risk and low risk for rape, based on the type of parties they have had.

## Athletic Teams, Fraternities and Acquaintance Rape

College athletes are disproportionately reported to campus judicial officers for acquaintance rape.[56] It is unclear whether they actually offend more, or whether students tend to report them more (perhaps angered by athletes' esteemed and privileged status). On some campuses, revenue-generating athletes (usually football and basketball players) may believe they are immune to campus rules (and sometimes are), and take advantage of "groupies" or other women they perceive as sexually interested in them.[57]

As for fraternities, a disproportionate number of documented gang rapes involve fraternity members. Research on reported gang rapes committed by college students from 1980 to 1990 found that fraternity members committed 55 percent of them.[58] Fraternities often have a unique place on campus; they are typically housed in private residences (with many private rooms) and hold large unsupervised parties, often with free-flowing alcohol. Some fraternity members approve of getting a woman drunk to have sex. This, combined with some fraternities' emphasis on loyalty above identifying members who rape, has put fraternities in the center of controversy because a disproportionate number of reported rapes occur on their property. A number of researchers believe that certain fraternities, because of their practices, are more rape-prone† than others, placing sorority members (and other frequent women attendees at fraternity parties) at greater

risk of rape. Some researchers also believe that binge drinking makes certain fraternities high risk for rape. Many national Greek organizations now require education for their local chapters concerning sexual assault and alcohol consumption, and some now mandate "dry" houses.

## Legal Obligations of Colleges

The more that acquaintance rape remains a hidden crime, the less incentive that schools have to invest sufficiently in its prevention. *Stranger rape* results in dramatic and unwelcome publicity for colleges. Administrators try to prevent such victimization by putting cameras in parking garages, running late-night student escort and/or shuttle services, deploying student patrols, placing emergency telephones throughout campus, locking buildings to prevent strangers from entering, trimming obstructive foliage, and improving the lighting in dark or less-traveled areas. The costs of these prevention initiatives far exceed the dollars spent on acquaintance rape prevention, even though acquaintance rape is a much more likely occurrence. Increased reporting–even anonymous reporting–may push colleges to further invest in more effective acquaintance rape prevention.

Colleges have a legal duty to warn students of known risks and to provide reasonable protection.[59] If a crime is foreseeable, then a college can be held liable for not sufficiently protecting against it. As noted, acquaintance rape is the most common violent crime on college campuses.[60] If "acquaintance rape(s) occur at predictable times and places, the school must make reasonable efforts to prevent a recurrence; and the school may be liable if it fails to deal effectively with repeat student offenders, including rapists, whose conduct eventually results in more damage."[61]

## Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided is only a generalized description of acquaintance rape of college students. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem carefully will help you design a more effective response strategy.

† Campus and municipal police may find that certain faculty members (trained in research methods) and their students would be willing to conduct such surveys, perhaps as part of a sociology class or seminar project.

### Asking the Right Questions

The following are some critical questions you should ask in analyzing your particular acquaintance rape problem, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on.

#### *Victims*

- How many *reported* rape victims does the college have?
- What percentage are women? What percentage are men?
- What percentage of the reported incidents are acquaintance rapes?
- What percentage of female victims are raped by college students?
- What percentage of male victims are raped by college students?
- How many of the college's students have been acquaintance rape victims in the past two years, but did not report? A two-year period can provide useful trend data. A victimization survey may be the best means to capture this information. It may also be valuable in revealing reasons for not reporting.†

- Were the victims previously raped *during* college? If so, where and when? Were the victims previously raped *before* attending college? Police should also ask college counselors to pose these questions to all rape victims who come to their attention, and to track this information each year in order to tailor rape prevention programs.
- What is the offenders' relationship to the victims (e.g., boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, dorm mate, classmate, stranger)?
- Did the acquaintance rape victims drink alcohol or use drugs before the assaults? If so, what kind and how much? Did they do so at the offenders' insistence or encouragement?
- What reasons do the victims give for the rapes? A survey may include optional answers such as those listed below, allowing the victim to check all that apply:

    - "He did not listen to me."
    - "He did not respect my wishes."
    - "We were both drunk."
    - "He kept giving me drinks."
    - "He drugged me."

- Did the victims attend any rape prevention programs before the assaults?
- Does the college conduct exit interviews of nonreturning students that include questions about, among other things, whether the students were raped?

### *Locations/Times*

- Where did the acquaintance rapes occur? The victimization survey may be the best way to get this information. Possible answers should be listed and

might include the offender's residence hall room, the victim's residence hall room, a fraternity house bedroom, a fraternity house bathroom, a sorority house, a car, a college-sponsored party, a nonstudent party, etc.

- Who owns the premises or locations where the rapes occurred?
- Do certain campus fraternities have reputations as places where rapes occur? If so, why?
- What specific event preceded the rapes (e.g., fraternity party, intercollegiate athletic party or game, college-sponsored party, residence hall party, date, drinking at a bar)?
- At what times and on what days did most of the rapes occur?
- Based on the victimization survey, when do the rapes cluster (e.g., the first week of school; the first month of school, but not the first week; the first semester of school, but not the first month; spring break; the beginning of the sophomore year)?

### *Offenders*

- Who are the offenders (e.g., freshmen, sophomores, nonstudents, fraternity members, athletes)?
- Are rape prevention programs targeted, tailored and timely enough to address the offender group(s)?
- Are certain campus fraternities or athletic teams thought to have parties that are high or low risk for rape? A survey of the college's women may help to identify high-risk groups.
- Have the high-risk groups attended rape prevention programs?
- Are the sanctions against potential offenders sufficiently publicized to reach the targeted group(s)?

*Current Responses*

- How much money has the college invested in preventing stranger rape compared with preventing acquaintance rape?
- Does the college or do campus police have a security role at any of the places or functions (on or off campus) where acquaintance rapes have occurred?
- Are current investigative methods designed to counter the most predictable defense in acquaintance rape: consent?
- Does the rape prevention program provided by the college or by campus or municipal police specifically address that college's problem? Does the curriculum contain valid information? Is the curriculum designed to focus on behavioral change? Has the program reduced the number of reported and unreported acquaintance rapes? Has the program been evaluated?
- Are the right people attending the program?
- Is the program timely enough to prevent most acquaintance rapes? Is the information provided sufficient to stop the different types of acquaintance rape from occurring?
- Does the curriculum provide potential victims with skills to deal with a variety of risky situations (e.g., at parties, in cars at the end of dates, in encounters in an apartment, when the man or woman is drinking heavily)?
- Do the college's rules effectively address acquaintance rape? Does the college enforce the rules?
- Are the people who make disciplinary decisions about acquaintance rape educated about the problem, including the temporal, geographic, victimization, and offending patterns for the college?
- Are police and college public safety officers adequately educated about the exact nature of the problem at the college?

- Are college officials and public safety officers trained concerning the UCR's "unfounded" category, and do they understand that certain conditions (e.g., the victim's intoxication or prior intimate relationship with the offender) do not allow for "unfounding" a case? Do campus judiciary decisions in acquaintance rape cases properly reflect this?
- Are those arrested for acquaintance rape prosecuted? If not, why? If so, what is the typical sentence?

## Measuring Your Effectiveness

You should take measures of your problem *before* you implement responses, to determine how serious the problem is, and *after* you implement them, to determine whether they have been effective. Measurement allows you to determine to what degree your efforts have succeeded, and suggests how you might modify your responses if they are not producing the intended results. (For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see the companion guide to this series, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers*.)

The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to acquaintance rape of college students.

### *Process Measures*

The following process measures assess whether responses designed to reduce acquaintance rape were implemented:

- increased percentage of victims reporting acquaintance rape;
- increased percentage of victims reporting attempted acquaintance rape;

- increased percentage of men who are knowledgeable about the issue of consent;
- increased percentage of freshman and sophomore women who are knowledgeable about risk factors associated with acquaintance rape;
- increased percentage of rape cases investigated by the police that result in prosecutions and convictions and/or appropriate campus judicial sanctions;
- increased willingness of college administrators to make training mandatory and ongoing;
- increased percentage of female students who recognize that they are more at risk for acquaintance rape than stranger rape; and
- increased percentage of women who take preventive measures against acquaintance rape.

### *Impact Measures*

The following impact measures might indicate that acquaintance rape has decreased:

- reduced number of acquaintance rapes, tracked by type (e.g., party rape, date rape, non-party rape, rape by a former intimate) and time of year (e.g., freshmen orientation week, first semester);
- reduced number of repeat victims; and
- reduced number of repeat offenders.

## Responses to the Problem of Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Researchers suggest that educational programs are the most effective acquaintance rape prevention approach. At this point, there is no research to suggest whether other interventions, such as having only single-sex residence halls, enforcing residence halls visitation rules, placing anti-acquaintance rape educational posters in residence halls, or banning alcohol on campus, are effective in preventing acquaintance rape.

### General Considerations About Acquaintance Rape Prevention Programs

Because acquaintance rape of college students often involves conflicting accounts of what occurred and, without the help of witnesses, determining which account is more credible, tailored prevention is the primary approach police, especially campus police, should use. Typically, the campus police role in rape prevention consists of providing self-defense training, doing environmental assessments of outdoor areas vulnerable to rape, and recommending the installation of cameras, lights, locks, etc. There is a strong argument that these approaches do not focus on preventing the most prevalent type of campus rape: acquaintance rape. If campus police predominantly invest in such approaches, the message to students is that "real rape" is stranger rape, and that is what police prevent, while acquaintance rape prevention is left to other campus departments or student organizations.

Educational programs should involve multiple intervention efforts, with repeated and reinforced exposure to the issue.[62] Police and other trained professionals should

conduct the programs before the most high-risk times, and again at later intervals, tailoring them to high-risk groups. *Programs should focus on changing behavior, not just attitudes, and program evaluations must be done to determine if the various components are effective for your particular population.*†

† For a full discussion of evaluating rape prevention programs, see Chapter 6 in Finn (1995), and for a thorough discussion of the effectiveness of typical college rape prevention programs, see Yeater and O'Donohue (1999).

Generally, researchers suggest that most college rape prevention programs suffer from several weaknesses:[63]

- a lack of clear goals;
- a focus on changing attitudes, rather than behavior;
- lack of distinct programming for those at highest risk, including prior sexual assault victims; and
- a lack of follow-up assessment.

### *Mixed-Gender, Gender-Specific and Peer-Delivered Programs*

Mixed-gender programs show uneven results in changing rape-supportive attitudes.[64] Consequently, a number of researchers advocate separate programs for men and women to address gender-specific issues. Such programs may also remove the fear of discussing rape in front of peers of the opposite sex. Some colleges use trained students to conduct programs; however, the use of peer educators, male or female, remains unexamined empirically.[65] In addition, there is no evidence that student role-playing is more effective than a combined lecture/video approach.[66]

### *Program Timing*

As noted earlier, the risk of rape is highest during the freshman year, beginning with the first day of school. If police or college administrators cannot provide rape

prevention programs on the first day of freshman orientation, they can mail letters to students and parents before freshman fall classes start, addressing rape and the relevant rules, laws and consequences; the letters should also stress the importance of parents' educating students about acceptable conduct.†

## Key Responses

Outlined below are key elements of acquaintance rape prevention responses targeting different campus groups.

**1. Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs for college men in general.** Programs for men should focus on rape reduction. Attendance should be mandatory, both at the initial program and at follow-up programs during the freshman year and at the start of the sophomore year. Key program elements should include the following:

- A preprogram survey of the men's knowledge of and behavior concerning acquaintance rape.
- The provision of accurate definitions of stranger, acquaintance, party, gang, and date rape, and information about related state laws and sanctions, as well as college rules and sanctions. Each state has different rape laws; in many states, the use of physical force is no longer a requirement for a rape to have occurred.
- The use of realistic scenarios to illustrate risky situations in which men may find themselves.††
- A comparison of the frequency of acquaintance rape with that of stranger rape.
- A discussion of the relationship between rape and alcohol use.†††

† Letters to parents may be effective in widening interest in the problem. One university asked the parents of incoming freshmen to speak with their son or daughter about rape (as well as several other problems that are significant for freshmen such as binge drinking and hate crimes). At another university, after a gang rape at a fraternity party, the campus police sent a letter warning parents of incoming freshmen, as well as insurance carriers, about fraternities in violation of alcohol laws (Bernstein 1996).

†† One campus public safety director collaborated with the municipal police department to create a scenario-based brochure to educate male students about sexual assault and rape reduction. They also developed a scenario-based brochure tailored to women college students. These are available from Rana Sampson via email at ranasampson@aol.com.

††† Researchers agree about the importance of combining rape prevention programs for college students with substance abuse prevention programs, especially regarding binge drinking. Typically, substance abuse prevention programs focus on risks such as drunken driving, fistfights and vandalism, but the main emphases should be on the risks of sexual miscommunication and rape (Abbey et al. 1996).

- A discussion about consent, including the use of consent scenarios to show what is required. Men cannot legally engage in intercourse without explicit consent. State laws require consent, and in most states, it cannot be obtained if the person is drunk.
- A discussion of commonly held misconceptions about a man's "right" to sex (e.g., if the man has paid for dinner, if the woman is dressed seductively, if the man thinks the woman is a "tease" or flirt, if the man thinks the woman has a crush on him).
- A discussion about "scoring" and how it devalues women by treating them as objects of conquest.
- An emphasis that the harm acquaintance rape victims suffer is the same as that suffered by stranger-rape victims.
- A discussion of counseling services for men who want to change their behavior.
- A discussion of men's role in stopping acquaintance rape.
- A review of the investigative and disciplinary processes for rape cases, and of the consequences for rape and for seeking reprisal against the victim.
- A follow-up survey several months after the programs to assess knowledge retention and behavioral change.

**2. Conducting acquaintance rape risk-reduction programs for college women.** Even though the vast majority of college rapes entail men raping women, interventions geared toward changing only men's behavior will not be 100 percent effective. It is also important to provide *risk reduction* programs for women. Outlined below are program elements researchers suggest.

- A preprogram survey of women's knowledge of acquaintance rape, risk factors and risk reduction techniques.
- The provision of accurate definitions of stranger, acquaintance, party, gang, and date rape, and information about related state laws and sanctions, as well as college rules and sanctions.
- The use of realistic scenarios to illustrate risky situations in which college women may find themselves.
- A comparison of the frequency of acquaintance rape with that of stranger rape. Research suggests that many women are in denial about their risk for acquaintance rape. Although some women are knowledgeable about acquaintance rape, they think it is more likely to happen to others than to themselves.[67]
- An emphasis that the harm acquaintance rape victims suffer is the same as that suffered by stranger-rape victims.
- A discussion of the need for explicit consent.
- A discussion of accurate labeling of rape. Acknowledging when an assault occurs and the importance of reporting in stemming repeat offending.
- A discussion of risk factors, including the potential for repeat victimization.
- A discussion of how friends can help and support acquaintance rape victims.
- A review of the investigative and disciplinary processes for rape cases.
- A discussion of counseling services for rape victims.
- A follow-up survey several months after the programs to assess knowledge retention and behavioral change.

Research has found that comprehensive programs with these key components can reduce sexual victimization of college women by up to half, but only for those women who have not previously been raped or experienced attempted rape.†

**3. Developing risk reduction plans to prevent repeat victimization.** Police must develop specific programs for women raped prior to college, as researchers have found that the programs described above do not reduce their risk for repeat victimization.[68] It is theorized that women who have previously been raped require additional training to accurately assess risky situations.[69] Police should enlist campus counselors to develop tailored risk recognition and reduction plans for prior victims.†† Counselors should intermittently recontact the women to determine if the plans have been effective, and to track repeat victimization in order to improve programs and safety plans.

**4. Educating police about acquaintance rape of college students**. Educating police about the extent of acquaintance rape (compared with stranger rape) of college students, and about the patterns related to it, can provide them with an important background context. The training should cover the research on high-risk times and high-risk groups, the elements of effective rape prevention programs, and the need for police involvement in the programs.††† Police involvement can help assure students that the college takes acquaintance rape seriously.

**5. Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs for college administrators, campus judicial officers and other key campus personnel.** Top campus administrators should be called upon to clear the way for

† Hanson and Gidycz (1993). For a discussion of the need for different training for rape victims and attempted rape victims, see Breitenbecher and Scarce (1999).

†† Representatives from campus counseling services should attend rape education programs and offer to meet privately with victims, helping them design individualized safety plans to reduce their risk of repeat victimization.

††† Although this guide does not address investigative issues, it is important to note that police training for acquaintance rape investigations must include components on evidence gathering when the offender will likely claim consent. For information about the different investigative methods for acquaintance vs. stranger rape cases, see material published by the National Center for Women and Policing.

police to provide education and prevention programming in residence halls, fraternities and sororities, to athletic teams, and incoming students during orientation.[70] It is also necessary to educate all campus healthcare staff, residence directors and assistants, and Greek advisors about rape, as well as advise counseling personnel about the need to track anonymous reporting, ask students about prior rapes, and develop safety plans for prior victims.† In addition, police must educate athletic coaches about rape prevention. Some coaches will not need much persuading, others may be convinced of its importance as a means of keeping their athletes from jeopardizing their own or their team's reputation. Since coach support of rape prevention programs is crucial for success, police may want to advocate that coaches' active participation in the programs be used as one measure in coaches' performance evaluations.††

**6. Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs geared toward campus athletes and fraternity members.** Acquaintance rape prevention programs should be tailored to focus on the specific risks for athletes††† and fraternity members. Program elements researchers suggest include the following:

- A preprogram survey of athletes' and fraternity members' knowledge of and behavior concerning acquaintance rape.
- An emphasis on athletes' using aggression only on the field.††††
- A discussion stressing that athletes' prominent status on campus does not entitle them to sex. Women must freely give consent.

† Police should ask those in college counseling services to develop in-depth interview protocols for rape victims, including questions about prior victimization. Counselors should develop safety plans with victims that help them more accurately assess risky situations.

†† It is also wise to provide adequate information to faculty, particularly those whom rape victims are likely to approach because their courses cover rape (e.g., psychology, sociology, women's studies, criminology, and criminal justice faculty). Police can also recruit faculty to conduct or participate in rape prevention programs.

††† If athletes are educated about rape only after an incident occurs, they may perceive it a punishment rather than a proactive rape prevention effort.

†††† Many of the gang rape charges involving athletes "seem to involve members of such contact team sports as football, basketball and lacrosse, rather than athletes from such individual nonaggressive sports as tennis and golf" (Parrot et al. 1994).

- A discussion stressing that athletes should not equate the behavior of *some* women fans with that of *all* women, and that a fan's *perceived* interest in an athlete does not constitute consent.
- A discussion of the increased risk of rape when all-male groups (such as athletes and fraternity members) live together in houses with private rooms, where parties are frequent, and where alcohol is available.
- Realistic approaches athletes and fraternity members can use to counter any "group think" supporting male sexual dominance of females and the myth that women secretly want to be sexually overtaken.
- Approaches for resisting pressure to participate in "group sex" acts.
- An emphasis on the importance of intervening in and reporting rape, despite team or fraternity pressure to maintain secrecy.
- Follow-up assessments to determine behavioral change.

## Responses With Limited Effectiveness

**7. Providing student escort and/or shuttle services.** Many colleges have student escort and/or shuttle services so that women do not have to walk alone on campus late at night. These services may reduce the risk of stranger rape, but not of acquaintance rape; they do not take the place of adequate acquaintance rape prevention.

**8. Providing rape aggression defense training.** Many college public safety departments offer women students rape aggression defense training to increase their ability to fend off would-be rapists. Police now commonly include

such training in acquaintance rape prevention programs, no longer focusing only on stranger rape. Researchers find that this training is:

- too limited to cause significant reductions in acquaintance rape,
- not sufficiently focused on the most prevalent types of campus rape, and
- inadequate for causing any behavioral change in male students.[71]

Colleges may choose to include the training in their stranger rape reduction efforts; however, it is unlikely to reduce acquaintance rape.

## Summary of Responses to Acquaintance Rape of College Students

The table below summarizes the responses to acquaintance rape of college students, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

| Response No. | Page No. | Response | How It Works | Works Best If... | Considerations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Key Responses* | | | | | |
| 1. | 25 | Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs for college men in general | Removes excuses for rape by increasing men's knowledge | ...programs are designed to change behavior, not just attitudes, and coincide with high-risk times | Finding adequate time for programs before or during high-risk times; researchers recommend combining the programs with prevention programming targeting other forms of sexual assault and also with substance abuse prevention programs |

| Response No. | Page No. | Response | How It Works | Works Best If… | Considerations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | 26 | Conducting acquaintance rape risk-reduction programs for college women | Increases the effort offenders must make to commit rape and increases offenders' risk that they will be identified | …programs are designed to change behavior, not just increase knowledge | It is the victim's choice whether to report a rape and identify the offender; however, colleges should strongly support reporting, even anonymous reporting |
| 3. | 28 | Developing risk reduction plans to prevent repeat victimization | Increases the effort offenders must make | …college counseling personnel work with prior victims–without blaming them–to develop individualized risk reduction plans | May be difficult to identify prior victims; victims must choose to come forward and may do so only if they think more good than harm will come from it |
| 4. | 28 | Educating police about acquaintance rape of college students | Increases the likelihood that police will participate in developing appropriate rape reduction initiatives for students | …police are trained before classes start | Often requires police to examine their prevention and investigation approaches to acquaintance rape |
| 5. | 28 | Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs for college administrators, campus judicial officers and other key campus personnel | Increases campus personnel's knowledge and enables personnel to appropriately deal with victims and offenders | …programs are completed before classes start | Requires extensive coordination, open access to campus personnel, and school leaders' commitment to support rape prevention efforts |

| Response No. | Page No. | Response | How It Works | Works Best If… | Considerations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | 29 | Conducting acquaintance rape prevention programs geared toward campus athletes and fraternity members | Removes excuses for rape by changing men's attitudes toward women and setting explicit rules | …coaches, fraternity leaders and fraternity alumni leaders support the programs | Programs should be presented as a means to prevent harm, not as a punishment |
| *Responses With Limited Effectiveness* | | | | | |
| 7. | 30 | Providing student escort and/or shuttle services | Reduces the risk of stranger rape | …combined with comprehensive efforts to reduce acquaintance rape | Campus women's groups often advocate these services |
| 8. | 30 | Providing rape aggression defense training | Increases the effort stranger rapists must make | …combined with comprehensive efforts to reduce acquaintance rape, in particular | Campus women's groups often advocate this training |

## Endnotes

[1] Finn (1995); Weitzman, DeJong and Finn (n.d.).
[2] Humphrey and Kahn (2000).
[3] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[4] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000), based on the extrapolation of a six-month data set. Also see Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski (1987) for similar results.
[5] Waldner-Haugrud and Magruder (1995).
[6] Abbey (1991).
[7] Benson, Charton and Goodhart (1992).
[8] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[9] U.S. Department of Education (2001).
[10] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[11] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[12] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[13] Bohmer and Parrot (1993).
[14] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[15] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[16] Benson, Charton and Goodhart (1992).
[17] Bohmer and Parrot (1993).
[18] Ostrander and Schwartz (1994); Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[19] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[20] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[21] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[22] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[23] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[24] Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
[25] Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
[26] Yeater and O'Donohue (1999).
[27] Finn (1995).
[28] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[29] Himelein (1995).
[30] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[31] Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[32] See Hanson and Gidycz (1993) for a discussion of the research on risk factors.

[33] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000); Himelein (1995). See Hanson and Gidycz (1993) for a discussion of the research on this subject.
[34] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[35] Schwartz and Pitts (1995).
[36] See Hanson and Gidycz (1993) for a discussion of the research on risk factors.
[37] See Hanson and Gidycz (1993) for a discussion of the research on risk factors.
[38] Himelein (1995).
[39] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000); Hanson and Gidycz (1993). Also see Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) for a discussion of research on sexual assault repeat victimization.
[40] Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[41] Hanson and Gidycz (1993); Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
[42] Hanson and Gidycz (1993), reporting on research by Gidycz.
[43] Greene and Navarro (1998).
[44] Greene and Navarro (1998).
[45] For a discussion of college male repeat rape offending see Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[46] Fisher and Sloan (1995).
[47] Earle (1996).
[48] Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[49] Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[50] Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[51] Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997).
[52] Abbey et al. (1996).
[53] Abbey (1991). For recent research on college binge drinking, binge drinking rates for athletes and fraternity members, and the increased risk of rape, see Wechsler (2000), at http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/cas/Documents/monograph_2000/cas_mono_2000.pdf
[54] Abbey (1991).
[55] See Abbey (1991) for a general discussion of the research on this subject.
[56] Koss and Cleveland (1996).
[57] Fisher and Sloan (1995); Koss and Gaines (1993).
[58] Bohmer and Parrot (1993).
[59] Finn (1995).
[60] Finn (1995); Weitzman, DeJong and Finn (n.d.).
[61] Finn (1995).

[62] Finn (1995).
[63] Lonsway (1996).
[64] Lonsway (1996). See Earle (1996) for a discussion of programs for first-year male students.
[65] Lonsway (1996).
[66] Forst, Lightfoot and Burrichter (1996).
[67] Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
[68] Hanson and Gidycz (1993).
[69] Norris, Nurius and Graham (1999).
[70] Finn (1995).
[71] Lonsway (1996).

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## About the Author

*Rana Sampson*

Rana Sampson is a national problem-oriented policing consultant and the former director of public safety for the University of San Diego. She was previously a White House Fellow; National Institute of Justice Fellow; senior researcher and trainer at the Police Executive Research Forum; attorney; and patrol officer, undercover narcotics officer and patrol sergeant with the New York City Police Department, where she was awarded several commendations of merit and won the National Improvement of Justice Award. She is the coauthor (with Michael Scott) of *Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving*, which documents high-quality crime control efforts from around the United States, Canada and Europe. She is a judge for the Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing, a former judge for the police Fulbright awards, and a commissioner with California's Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. Sampson holds a law degree from Harvard and a bachelor's degree from Barnard College, Columbia University.

## Recommended Readings

- ***A Police Guide to Surveying Citizens and Their Environments***, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1993. This guide offers a practical introduction for police practitioners to two types of surveys that police find useful: surveying public opinion and surveying the physical environment. It provides guidance on whether and how to conduct cost-effective surveys.

- ***Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers***, by John E. Eck (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). This guide is a companion to the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series. It provides basic guidance to measuring and assessing problem-oriented policing efforts.

- ***Conducting Community Surveys***, by Deborah Weisel (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999). This guide, along with accompanying computer software, provides practical, basic pointers for police in conducting community surveys. The document is also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs.

- ***Crime Prevention Studies***, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Criminal Justice Press, 1993, et seq.). This is a series of volumes of applied and theoretical research on reducing opportunities for crime. Many chapters are evaluations of initiatives to reduce specific crime and disorder problems.

- ***Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing: The 1999 Herman Goldstein Award Winners.*** This document produced by the National Institute of Justice in collaboration with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum provides detailed reports of the best submissions to the annual award program that recognizes exemplary problem-oriented responses to various community problems. A similar publication is available for the award winners from subsequent years. The documents are also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij.

- ***Not Rocket Science? Problem-Solving and Crime Reduction***, by Tim Read and Nick Tilley (Home Office Crime Reduction Research Series, 2000). Identifies and describes the factors that make problem-solving effective or ineffective as it is being practiced in police forces in England and Wales.

- ***Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention***, by Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke (Home Office Police Research Series, Paper No. 98, 1998). Explains how crime theories such as routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory have practical implications for the police in their efforts to prevent crime.

- ***Problem-Oriented Policing***, by Herman Goldstein (McGraw-Hill, 1990, and Temple University Press, 1990). Explains the principles and methods of problem-oriented

policing, provides examples of it in practice, and discusses how a police agency can implement the concept.

- ***Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years***, by Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000). Describes how the most critical elements of Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented policing model have developed in practice over its 20-year history, and proposes future directions for problem-oriented policing. The report is also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov.

- ***Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News,*** by John E. Eck and William Spelman (Police Executive Research Forum, 1987). Explains the rationale behind problem-oriented policing and the problem-solving process, and provides examples of effective problem-solving in one agency.

- ***Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships*** by Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart and Meg Townsend. (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1998) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Provides a brief introduction to problem-solving, basic information on the SARA model and detailed suggestions about the problem-solving process.

- ***Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies***, Second Edition, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Harrow and Heston, 1997). Explains the principles and methods of

situational crime prevention, and presents over 20 case studies of effective crime prevention initiatives.

- ***Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving***, by Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Presents case studies of effective police problem-solving on 18 types of crime and disorder problems.

- ***Using Analysis for Problem-Solving: A Guidebook for Law Enforcement***, by Timothy S. Bynum (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). Provides an introduction for police to analyzing problems within the context of problem-oriented policing.

- ***Using Research: A Primer for Law Enforcement Managers***, Second Edition, by John E. Eck and Nancy G. LaVigne (Police Executive Research Forum, 1994). Explains many of the basics of research as it applies to police management and problem-solving.

## Other Guides in This Series

**Problem-Oriented Guides for Police series:**

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Companion guide to the Problem-Oriented Guides for Police series:

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- **Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving.** Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott. 2000.
- **Community Policing, Community Justice, and Restorative Justice: Exploring the Links for the Delivery of a Balanced Approach to Public Safety.** Caroline G. Nicholl. 1999.
- **Toolbox for Implementing Restorative Justice and Advancing Community Policing.** Caroline G. Nicholl. 2000.
- **Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships.** Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart and Meg Townsend. 1998.

For more information about the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series and other COPS Office publications, please call the Department of Justice Response Center at 1-800-421-6770 or check our website at www.cops.usdoj.gov.

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Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
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