On the Wrong Side: How Universities Protect Perpetrators and Betray Survivors of Sexual Violence



What's the data?

	Interviews	Participant Observation	Content Analysis
Data	76 interviews, 69 participants	47 hours of observation	79 policy-related documents
Period	Sep. 2018 – Sep. 2019	July 2018 – June 2019	Sep. 2018 – June 2019
Sample	Survivors seeking resources (i.e., victim advocacy, adjudication)	Non-confidential meetings, trainings, and events (e.g., staff meetings, campus protests)	All school materials referencing the university sexual misconduct policy or available resources
	Students formally accused of sexual misconduct Administrators providing resources to students (e.g., victim advocates, Title IX staff, Dean of Students Office staff)	Weekly check-ins with staff in the Victim Advocacy, Title IX, and Dean of Students Offices	Many emails between parties and Title IX investigation files All newspaper articles about the school's management of sexual violence cases

Three Big Misunderstandings

- What is campus sexual violence?
- Why do we need to intervene after a violent event?
- Who is most impacted by decisions made in the Title IX Office?

What is campus sexual violence?

Our campuses are more than schools

Our students experience their universities as schools, but also as...

- Employers
- Landlords
- Grocery stores
- Healthcare providers
- Coffee shops
- Gyms
- Entertainment venues

Our campuses are more than schools

That means when institutions betray survivors, they risk a survivor's...

- Job and financial stability
- Home and housing stability
- Capacity to afford and access food
- Capacity to afford and access health care
- Daily routine and ordinary comforts
- Social network and support system

Campus sexual violence is a broad issue

Survivors in my study reported *every* type of gender-based harm, including...

- Sexual harassment
- Sexual assault
- Intimate partner violence
- Childhood sexual abuse
- Stalking
- Death threats

It's more than "party rape"

- The most common locations of sexual violence were:
 - A survivor's bedroom
 - A survivor's workplace
- The most common perpetrator was a:
 - Significant other
 - Family member
 - Roommate
 - Co-worker
- 76% of cases involved no drinking or drug use at all

And the victims are diverse



Survivors ranged from **18 to 57 years of age**.

Sexual violence always has consequences

Survivors ended up in the Title IX system because violence had upended their lives. They reported because...

- The violence was still ongoing and they were unsafe
- The trauma of what they endured interfered in their schooling (e.g., class work, capacity to access financial aid, housing contract)
- They worried their perpetrator would harm others in the campus community (e.g., creating a hostile education/work environment, serial perpetration, mass shootings)

What is campus sexual violence?

Sexual violence always has consequences

If sexual violence always has consequences, our work is to determine who will bear their burdens.

As Mariame Kaba writes...

Punishment is "inflicting cruelty and suffering on people," while...

Powerful people stepping down from their jobs are consequences, not punishment. Why? Because we should have boundaries. And because the shit you did was wrong and you **having power is a privilege.** That means we can take it away from you. You don't have power anymore.

Citation: "The Complainer as Carceral" by Sara Ahmed

The Friction in Addressing Violence

Punishment

Schools conceptualize of Title IX as a punishment intended to hurt perpetrators through...

- Writing time-consuming essays
- Sitting in ineffective trainings
- Expulsions as a form of social exclusion

Consequences

Survivors are asking consequences to be removed from them and placed on perpetrators, like...

- Withdrawing from a class
- Moving dorms
- Expulsions as a way of opening campus up for the victim

Who is most impacted by Title IX?

The Friction in Addressing Violence

In a punishment paradigm, the perpetrator is the most impacted. He faces the risk of suffering that offers no benefit to anyone else.

In a consequences paradigm, the survivor is the most impacted. They can feel the burdens of violence lifted off their shoulders when a community comes together to protect their education.

Brie's Example:

Why can't a survivor stay in class?

The **Biggest Mistake** Administrators Make

School administrators who bought into the "Title IX is punishment" paradigm focused on sparing perpetrators—at the expense of survivors who continued to bear the burdens of sexual violence alone.

And their justifications were gendered

Himpathy

The men accused were given empathy (and impunity), even when it required ignoring clear patterns of harm and blaming victims

Hysteria

Survivors were treated as hysterical women who were overreacting to incidents that were "not that bad" OR Severely damaged women who could never be repaired

Citations: Entitled by Kate Manne and "Epistemic Injustice" by Miranda Fricker

We can solve this problem

If we recognize that sexual violence has consequences, And we focus on placing those consequences on the shoulders of the perpetrator who chose to cause harm,

We can make sexual violence less damaging for survivors.