Victim Empowerment, Safety, and Perpetrator Accountability through Collaboration: A Crisis to Transformation Conceptual Model

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Abstract:

This article describes the development of the Victim Empowerment, Safety, and Perpetrator Accountability through Collaboration (VESPAC) model based on a grounded theory analysis of congressionally mandated and permissible purpose areas for grants authorized by the Violence Against Women Act. These areas are reflective of ongoing and emerging needs of victims and agencies serving victims and are rooted in the expertise, insight, and concerns of those who work most closely with victims and perpetrators on a regular basis. Analysis resulted in five overarching and interconnected themes: Community Readiness, Victim Services, Justice Responses, Coordinated Community Responses, and Cultural Relevance. The final model emphasizes the centrality of coordinated community responses to ensure that the remaining components of the model work in tandem across time to achieve victim safety and perpetrator accountability in a culturally appropriate way. The model also may help agencies, coalitions, and communities think "big" and consider more strategically about where their strengths best fit in the vast scope of victim needs necessary to meet safety goals and where they might benefit most from the expertise of partners.

Keywords: violence against women | sexual assault | domestic violence | Coordinated Community Responses | conceptual model

Article:

In 1994, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act in recognition of violent crimes committed against women and as a commitment to reduce the frequency with which domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking occur (United States, 1996).[1] Substantial advocacy by service providers, in concert with the leadership of then Senator Joe Biden and staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, contributed to the development of VAWA and continues to help shape legislative priorities today (Legal Momentum, 2017).

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[1] It is now recognized that boys and men may also be the targets of domestic violence, sexual assault, teen dating violence, and stalking, Thus, although the language of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) involves violence against women, VAWA's intent is inclusive of all victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, teen dating violence, and stalking.

VAWA marked a paradigm shift toward the decreased tolerance for crimes against women, the stricter enforcement of legislation prohibiting violence against women, and increasing resources for victims beyond shelters and immediate crisis services (Aday, 2015; Rosenthal, 2107). In 1995, as part of the original VAWA legislation, the Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) was formed with a mission to "provide federal leadership in developing the national capacity to reduce violence against women and administer justice for and strengthen services to victims of domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking" (OVW, 2017a). Housed within the Department of Justice (DOJ), OVW provides financial resources and technical assistance to communities enacting programs, policies, and practices to reduce the occurrence of violence against women. The Office also seeks to increase prosecutions and consequences for offenders and support evaluation activities of the grant programs they fund. VAWA has been expanded and improved since its original enactment, in 2000, 2005, and again in 2013 (113th Congress with funds authorized through FY 2018; see Auchter & Backes, 2013; Auchter & Moore, 2013; Backes, 2013; Laney, 2010; McNamee & Backes, 2012, for further discussions of federal support for violence against women work).

OVW-funded initiatives focus on victim safety and perpetrator accountability from the local to federal level. The Office was charged to "develop policy, protocols, and guidelines; develop and manage grant programs and other programs and provide technical assistance; and award and terminate grants, cooperative agreements, and contracts" (OVW, 2017a). With each reauthorization of VAWA, various grant programs were developed to focus on specific content areas (i.e., legal assistance to victims or transitional housing) and target populations (i.e., the elderly, those with disabilities, tribal governments). By statute, each grant program comprised congressionally mandatory and permissible purpose areas; these areas are reflective of ongoing and emerging needs of victims and agencies serving victims. As a result, the mandated and permissible purposes of OVW-administered grants are rooted in the expertise, insights, and concerns of those who work most closely with victims and perpetrators on a regular basis; thus, OVW programs reflect emerging needs, newly identified problems, and recognition that underserved populations may need different ways of accessing services to be able to benefit from them. This suggests that OVW grant purpose areas are a unique source of data from which to deepen an understanding of how experts on violence against women conceptualize approaches to victim safety and perpetrator accountability. Analyzing OVW programs through this lens helps us to understand the national landscape of victimization and services for victims of gendered violence.

Across reauthorizations of VAWA, the focus and purpose of grant programs have remained consistent, although the exact number and name of various grant programs have varied. By statute, each grant program funded by OVW has several mandatory and permissible purpose areas for which funding is available. A statute authorizing a grant typically has several components, including a title (such as Underserved Populations Program), a statute number (such as 42 U.S.C. § 14045 for grants for outreach and services to underserved populations), a list of entities eligible to apply, and a list of purpose areas using the language of "shall be used" and/or "may be used." The purposes under the "shall be used" phrase are the focus of the present article.

Due to the sheer number of grants and purpose areas within each, the scope of OVW-administered grants is quite large and covers a gamut of possible responses to, and services for, victims and perpetrators, including, for example, crisis intervention, legal assistance to victims, specialized domestic violence courts, equipment for law enforcement, and public awareness campaigns. Because VAWA legislation is so encompassing, it can be difficult to visualize a cohesive picture of all the purposes. One might wonder how providing computers to a police department relates to funding a hotline. Thus, in this article we develop a model to describe a framework that connects seemingly disparate purpose areas to facilitate thinking logically about all the work supported by VAWA-authorized grants. This article seeks to examine the array of mandated purposes to develop a conceptual model that usefully aligns the individual purposes of various grants with the overall VAWA goals of victim safety and perpetrator accountability.

Method

The purpose of this article is to generate a model describing the ways in which work to eliminate violence against women is conducted. The scope of initiatives funded by OVW is so vast that the intricacies of their work can be difficult to comprehend. Grounded theory was used specifically to examine the diversity of purposes within the scope of OVW-funded activities and develop a schema for detailing the potential for communities and organizations to work together to reduce violence against women (Charmaz, 2006).

The resulting model was generated from statutes obtained from VAWA legislation. With the help of an OVW staff member, we obtained copies of the statutes for 14 grant programs from Statutes on Westlaw (n.d.) (lawschool.westlaw.com) containing an annotated version of each federal law that has been codified into the United States Code (USC). Grant programs included in this analysis were for arrest, legal assistance to victims, elder abuse, disabilities, rural, culturally specific, underserved, transitional housing, STOP (Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecutors), tribal coalitions, tribal governments, youth, and campus programs. We identified each individual mandated purpose, resulting in 102 unique purposes (131 total purpose statements, including redundancies).[2]

Utilizing grounded theory, we examined 102 individual purpose areas (the smallest unit of analysis) to generate a generalizable theory. From specific purpose areas, we organized the data to generate larger themes and subthemes. We identified subthemes by sorting the purposes into categories that reflected similar intent. A further sort of these microcategories linked them into higher order themes that would serve as the basis for creating a conceptual model of how the field of violence against women approaches victim safety and perpetrator accountability. To do so, we engaged in the following process. After identifying and separating the purpose areas for each grant-funded program into individual statements, two coders (the authors) independently sorted them into subcategories reflecting common themes. The two coders then compared their subcategories; any differences in coding were discussed and resolved, resulting in both coders agreeing upon a set of named subcategories. Subsequently, these subcategories were grouped to identify higher order categories. At this point in our analysis, it became apparent that implementation of various purposes would occur at different points along a time line, for

[2] We used purposes that were available in January 2014, when this project commenced. This project was part of a larger project for the Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) that was conducted during 2014-2016.

example, from preparation and training of responders before or independent of any act of violence to crisis intervention at the time of a reported assault to law enforcement and judicial processes subsequent to the incident. That is, many services and interventions occur in a chronological order and one must precede the other and that what happens at one point in time has an impact on subsequent services and responses. Indeed, some of the purpose areas and subcategories did imply the time-ordered nature of services, such as with first responders and crisis intervention. Thus, we added time to our model to recognize possible chronosystem effects (see Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009, for discussion of chronosystem effects).

Table 1. Categories of Purposes by Grant Programs.

Overarching category	Subcategories	Special populations named in the purpose area	Grant programs
Community Readiness	1. Public awareness, outreach, prevention	Tribal, disabled, underserved, youth, men, campuses	Tribal coalitions, tribal governments, disabled, underserved, STOP, engaging men, campus
	2. Training: Responders, providers, advocates	Underserved, disabled, elderly, immigrants, youth, campuses	Underserved, disabled, arrest, elderly, STOP, arrest, SASP, children and youth, campus
	3. Infrastructure support: Policies, procedures, facilities, equipment	Tribal, disabled, underserved, immigrants, elderly, youth, campuses	Arrest, tribal government, tribal council, disabled, underserved, STOP, children and youth, campus
Coordinated Community Responses	4. Coordinated Community Responses	Elderly, rural, disabled, tribal, campuses	STOP, arrest, elderly, rural, LAV, tribal government, disabled, campus
Victim Services	5. Immediate victim safety: Hotlines, shelters, RCCs, first responders: SART, DART, SANE	Rural, disabled, underserved, tribal, elderly, homeless, immigrants, youth	Rural, arrest, disabled, underserved, tribal governmental, STOP, culturally specific, elderly, transitional housing, SASP, children and youth
	6. Need-fulfilling victim resources: Safety planning, LAV, housing, transportation, health	Youth, men, LGBT	Arrest, transitional housing, culturally specific, tribal government, STOP, LAV, government
Justice Responses	7. Perpetrator accountability: Investigation, arrest, prosecution	Disabled	Arrest, tribal coalitions, tribal government, STOP, arrest
	8. Restitution and retribution: POs, probation, incarceration	Tribal, disabled	Arrest, STOP
	9. Reduced recidivism: BIPs, no contact	Tribal, disabled	Arrest, STOP
Cultural Relevance	10. Culturally relevant and appropriate services		

Note. SART = Sexual Assault Response Team; DART = Domestic Abuse Response Team; SANE = Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner; LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender; BIP = Batterer Intervention Program; SASP = Sexual Assault Services Program; LAV = Legal Assistance to Victims; STOP = Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecutors; PO = Protective Orders; RCC = Rape Crisis Centers.

Results and Discussion

The 102 individual purposes were sorted into 30 categories of mandated purposes, which were subsequently reduced to 10 categories based on shared themes: (a) Public awareness, outreach, and prevention; (b) Training for responders, providers, and advocates; (c) Infrastructure support (policies, procedures, facilities, and equipment); (d) Coordinated Community Responses (CCRs) and collaborations; (e) Immediate victim safety (hotlines, shelters, rape crisis centers, Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners [SANEs], first responders, Sexual Assault Response Teams [SARTs], Domestic Abuse Response Teams [DARTs]); (f) Victim resources (safety planning, housing, transportation, health, legal assistance); (g) Legal perpetrator accountability (investigation, arrest, prosecution); (h) Restitution and retribution (protection orders [POs], probation, incarceration); (i) Reduced recidivism (Batterer Intervention Programs, no contact orders); and (j) Cultural relevance. Table 1 lists these categories, as well as types of interventions included (e. g., outreach and training, legal assistance to victims, batterer interventions). Table 1 also identifies specific populations targeted and particular grant programs associated with each. Further categorization of the 10 purpose areas resulted in five overarching and interconnected themes (column 1, Table 1) which are visually presented in Figure 1: Community Readiness, Victim Services, Justice Responses, CCRs, and Cultural Relevance.

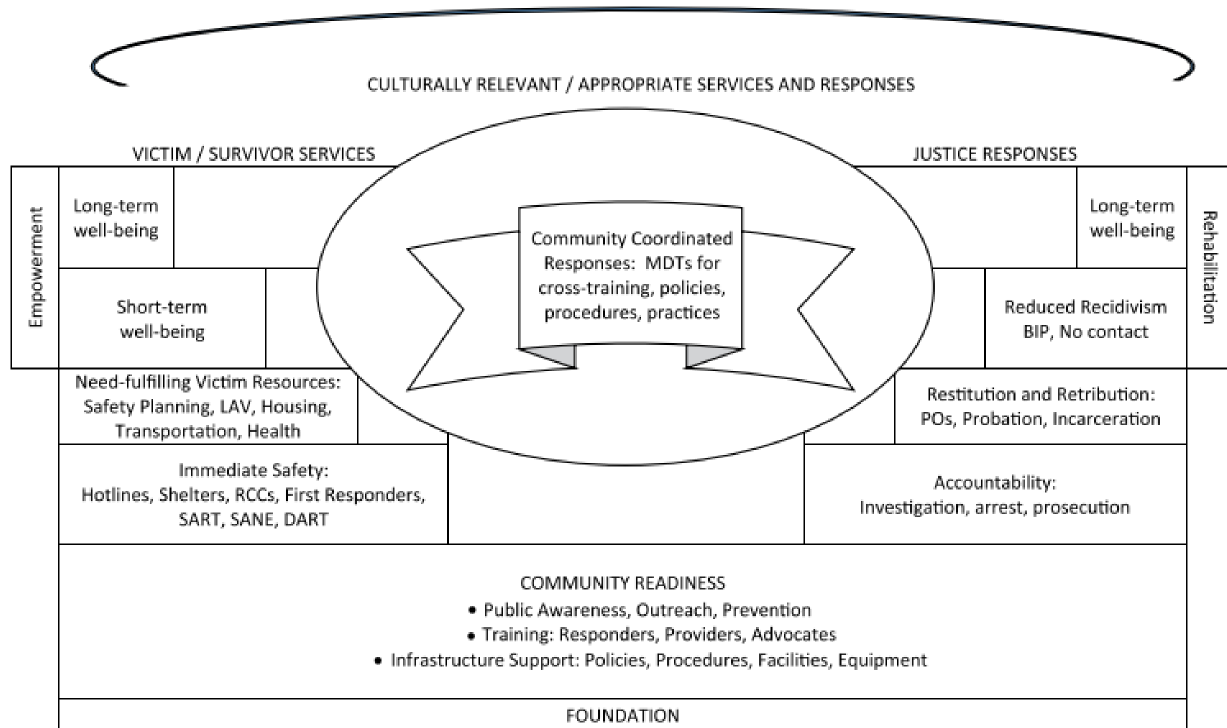

Figure 1. Victim Empowerment, Safety, and Perpetrator Accountability through Collaboration (VESPAC) conceptual model.

Note. BIP = Batterer Intervention Program; SART = Sexual Assault Response Team; SANE = Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner; DART = Domestic Abuse Response Team; MDTs = Multi-disciplinary Training; LAV = Legal Assistance to Victims; PO = Protective Orders; RCC = Rape Crisis Centers.

We refer to this model as Victim Empowerment, Safety, and Perpetrator Accountability through Collaboration (VESPAC). In this model, collaboration and cultural relevance are overarching themes that link and cut across the others. We emphasize collaboration because coordination

across victim and justice responses is necessary to achieve victim safety and perpetrator accountability. Failure to coordinate one set of actions with others at one point in time risks achievements of the desired outcomes at the next step. Furthermore, attention to the cultural relevance of each service and intervention for specific populations is central for success.

Although the purpose areas do not reference time-ordered relations between purposes, we opted to add a temporal perspective. A temporal perspective acknowledges that events relating to and involving victims and perpetrators are likely to take place both simultaneously (e.g., first responders offering crisis services to the victim as the offender is being arrested) and across time. The model is neither prescriptive nor restrictive and acknowledges that for individual cases the order of events may not, and indeed need not, occur as reflected in the model and some victims may achieve positive outcomes without engaging all services described. Rather, the model provides a framework for how the various purposes of OVW grants "fit together." The vertical structure of the model reflects time. The model should be read from the bottom, beginning with the community readiness component, to the top which reflects the long-term goals of victim empowerment and perpetrator rehabilitation, represented as parallel components linked by CCRs. Focus on cultural relevance overlays the entire model, calling attention to the necessity of cultural competence to best meet the needs of specific populations, especially underserved and unserved marginalized groups. In the subsequent sections, we discuss community readiness as foundational, followed by victim services and justice responses as they relate to perpetrator accountability. Then, we discuss the role of CCRs and the centrality of culturally appropriate services.

Community Readiness as the Foundation

VAWA recognizes that community awareness, appropriate training, and equipment and infrastructure all contribute to a community's readiness and ability to prevent and reduce violence.[3] Because VAWA-funded programs offer support to build capacity as the foundation for community readiness, we identified this component as the starting point of our model, a perspective consistent with other violence prevention efforts, such as the rape prevention and education model developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Niolon, Kearns, Dills, Rambo, Irving, Armstead, Gilbert, 2017; see also Cox, Lang, Townsend, & Campbell, 2010).

A strong foundation is necessary to implement effective programming to support victims of violence and hold perpetrators accountable. Communities must have the appropriate attitudes, knowledge, resources, and skills to successfully offer interventions for victims and perpetrators. Communities need to be aware that violence against women continues to be a problem, and victims need to be cognizant of community resources to help and support them through this difficult time. Training is also a key component of community readiness. Those responding to calls (i.e., police, emergency medical technicians (EMTs), nurses, and physicians), providers assisting victims, and advocates need formal training so that they can interact appropriately with and best help victims of violence and not traumatize them further.

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[3] In this context, community refers broadly to all who may interact with victims and perpetrators, from the general public to service providers to police officers and those in the judiciary to advocates.

Victim/Survivor Services and Justice Responses

Victimization experiences often are accompanied by ongoing risk of further harm and can result in a loss of resources (Hobfoll et al., 2007), creating a cascade of additional problems that interfere with victims seeking and attaining help. Victims often experience feelings of hopelessness, powerlessness, and isolation, in addition to facing tangible resource challenges, such as transportation difficulties, lack of child care, inadequate or no housing, and income loss (Goodman & Smyth, 2011). VAWA-supported programs recognize these problems, and thus many purposes focus on victim services and justice responses. We discuss these together because they are intertwined. Ensuring victim safety and providing victims with needed resources, while addressing perpetrator accountability, rely on mutually supportive responses by different community agencies and organizations. Given VAWA's goal of improving criminal justice responses, it is not surprising that a substantial number of purpose areas, as well as funds, have been focused on victim services and criminal justice responses. This is reflected in how legislation specifies funds are to be distributed. For example, in the STOP grants a statutorily created formula directs 30% of funding toward victim service programs and 55% for criminal justice responses (25% for law enforcement, 25% for prosecution, 5% for courts). Only 15% can be used for discretionary projects or other service categories and 10% for administrative management of the grant program (Aday, 2015). As described below, the various purposes include services and interventions that may occur immediately or long after a specific violent incident occurred and is reported.[4]

On the victim side, immediate responses to a reported assault focus on victim safety and may include responding to a victim's use of a hotline, call to the police, and/or arrival at a domestic violence shelter, rape crisis center, or Family Justice Center. At the time of crisis, the victim ideally should receive immediate services from trained police officers or other first responders, such as those who are a part of a Domestic Abuse Response Team (DART) or Sexual Assault Response Team (SART). Sexual assault victims may also receive the services of a Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) to address their health care needs and to consider having a medical forensic exam and sexual assault kit to collect evidence. At the same time, it is assumed that police are addressing immediate victim safety by dealing with the offender, holding the offender accountable through at least temporary restraint, investigation, and possible arrest. Ideally, police and first responders are trained in providing support to victims and are knowledgeable of each other's strengths in providing available community resources.

Follow-up to initial responses to both victim and offender may ensue. At this point, victims' various needs may be assessed and provided for, including safety planning (risk assessment), temporary housing, microloans, physical and mental health needs, transportation, and legal assistance. Simultaneously on the perpetrator side, accountability and victim safety are addressed through various criminal and civil justice responses which may include issuance of protective orders, prosecution, probation, and incarceration. The third phase in the model acknowledges the opportunity for short-term well-being for victims and the beginning of rehabilitation for perpetrators. At this point, rehabilitation trainings, such as BIPs or Sex Offender Treatment

[4] VAWA services can be delivered only to victims who report an assault, and most victims never report their victimization (McCart, Smith, & Sawyer, 2010) creating a limitation of VAWA-supported services (Koss, White, & Lopez, 2017).

Programs (SOTPs), may be recommended or mandated. Lastly, the model acknowledges the possibility of long-term well-being for both victims and perpetrators. Although no intervention or program guarantees the long-term well-being for a victim, this last phase acknowledges that survivors can become empowered by their experiences and cease to be victims of circumstance (Davies & Lyon, 2014). Perpetrators may be rehabilitated (although no program or intervention guarantees this), thus contributing to their long-term well-being and reduced risk of recidivism. Within this model, victims progress from crisis to healing, while perpetrators move toward an improved quality of life through being held accountable and engaging in rehabilitation programs.

Despite VAWA's focus on victim safety and perpetrator accountability, there is adequate flexibility in the statement of purpose areas and charge to OVW to address the emerging body of research that suggests that involvement with the criminal justice system may not lead to the best outcomes for victims (Bumiller, 2008). Research documents that victims/survivors may have needs and priorities that are not consistent with the goals of the criminal justice system. Many victims never report their victimization to the police (McCart, Smith, & Sawyer, 2010). Various factors may limit willingness or ability to seek help, such as mistrust of the system, prior negative experiences with the criminal justice system, and cultural values that emphasize the role of family and community in addressing problems, as well as lack of resources (e.g., transportation) (Koss, White, & Lopez, 2017). Some critics note that a primary reliance on interaction with the criminal justice system detracts from the possibility of civil remedies (Seidman & Pokorak, 2011) or innovative approaches such as restorative justice (Koss, 2014). It is important to emphasize that neither the VAWA grant-funded purpose areas nor the VESPAC model precludes the option of exploring alternative approaches. Hanson (2017) stated, "OVW stakeholders have expressed an interest in alternative options to pursue safety, accountability and well-being and to increase community engagement in these efforts." For example, OVW issued a 2017 solicitation pertaining to restorative justice acknowledging that

> the implementation of a restorative justice framework or the infusion of restorative justice practices into existing processes may be a viable option to repair the harm and open the doors for continued education. . . . RJ is intended to promote victim autonomy and change offender behavior through a process that is designed to provide meaningful accountability for the person who has inflicted the harm.[5]

CCRs as the Critical Link

The fourth aspect of the model consists of CCRs, with purpose areas including cross-training and development of policies, procedures, and practices, that link the work of victim service provision and justice responses. CCRs usually reflect coordination across advocacy groups, the criminal justice system, child services, health care, counseling, vocational services, and educational and media interventions (Shorey, Tirone, & Stuart, 2014). Carbon (2011) states that "the concept of a CCR is one of the most critical and visible achievements of VAWA" (https://www.justice.gov/archives/opa/blog/celebrating-17-years-violence-against-women-act). Furthermore,

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[5] This solicitation had eight mandated purpose areas which, although not included in the data used to develop the Victim Empowerment, Safety, and Perpetrator Accountability through Collaboration (VESPAC) model, would fit into the Community Readiness category because of their focus on building capacity and infrastructure.

> by requiring and supporting grantees' participation in a coordinated community response to violence against women, OVW ensures that its funded programs can serve as models for other agencies and programs addressing violence against women in their jurisdiction, thus improving the quality of victim services and the criminal and civil justice response, and potentially changing the attitudes of their partners and their communities as a whole. (Carbon, 2011)

Coordinated collaboration by the numerous service agencies involved is critical for an effective response to crimes involving domestic violence and sexual assault. The Blueprint for Safety report noted that

> processing a single domestic violence related case involves five levels of government and over a dozen intervening agencies. Hundreds of practitioners might touch these cases every day. An effective response, meaning one that leads to an end to the violence, requires solid coordination across and among the many practitioners involved, as well as a strong system of accountability. (Praxis International, 2013, p. 2)

Similarly, processing a sexual assault case involves many different agencies, including medical, criminal justice, and other service providers, as reflected in the elements of SART programs (Campbell, Greeson, Bybee, & Neal, 2013; Moylan, Lindhorst, & Tajima, 2015), a specific example of a CCR. Across various forms of violence, CCRs are essential for victim safety and perpetrator accountability to be actualized. Collaborations may include multidisciplinary teams for cross-training and the development of policies, procedures, and practices. The VESPAC model could prove helpful by providing an explicit map for each partner to see the unique strengths of each other and help mitigate challenges that may arise when working together. This could also encourage focus on systemic change as well as on prevention through community education.

Cultural Relevance

In VESPAC, culturally specific services are the fifth component and the umbrella under which all other activities must be considered. Advocates of VAWA are cognizant of the unmet needs of victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking who are members of multiple specific populations, including LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisesxual, transgender, queer), older adults, those with disabilities, members of various ethnic and racial groups, tribal groups, and immigrants. In general, members of these communities are more likely to be victimized, are less likely to report incidents, and experience multiple barriers to accessing services. It is beyond the scope of this article to systematically review rates of victimization for underrepresented groups, but some examples are in order (see Abbey, Jacques-Tiura, & Parkhill, 2010; Black et al., 2011; Perilla, Lippy, Rosales, & Serrata, 2011). American Indian women experience more rape by both strangers and intimate partners than other U.S. racial and ethnic groups. More than one third of American Indians report rape compared with 7-24% of other racial groups (Hamby, 2008). One study estimated a domestic violence prevalence rate of 80-90% among seven tribes studied (Jones, 2008). Rates for other groups include a lifetime victimization prevalence of 52% among African American women (Black et al., 2011). Raj and Silverman (2002) report that intimate

partner violence against immigrant women is at pandemic levels, and the LGBTQ community is also affected disproportionately by violence (Gentlewarrior, 2009). Rates of victimization are also elevated for women who live in poverty (Hetling & Zhang, 2010), bear various disabilities (Hughes, Lund, Gabrielli, Powers, & Curry, 2011), or are elderly (Acierno et al., 2010). Most victims never report their victimization or delay reporting (Monroe et al., 2005). If they disclose, they are more likely to turn to family and friends than to formal service providers (Ullman, 2010). Seeking medical and legal assistance is also less likely to occur (Monroe et al., 2005). Thus, it is logical that culturally specific services should cut across the mandated purposes of VAWA-funded grants. For example, OVW grants to enhance culturally specific services support the development of innovative culturally specific strategies and projects to enhance access to resources for victims and address the sustainability of services provided by organizations serving underrepresented populations. Marginalized communities may be more reluctant to seek services due to service providers' lack of sensitivity to a community's needs and experiences. Barriers that underrepresented populations may experience when accessing services may include immigration status, fear of shaming the family, or sharing the same social circles of the perpetrator. To be culturally sensitive, an intervention must have content that is welcoming, relevant, and not offensive to the target population. In addition, it must "be familiar and endorsed by the target culture" (Bell, 2005).

The focus on cultural relevancy as part of the work of CCRs encourages adopting intersectionality as a strategic approach (Crenshaw, 1989), one that embraces a diversity of voices at the planning table. This approach acknowledges the role of local communities which can offer insights into local cultural values and practices to expand options for meeting the safety and empowerment needs of victims. Culturally sensitive services are an important way of increasing access and comfort when seeking services. "The failure to address the multiple oppressions of poor women of color (race and class) jeopardizes the validity and legitimacy of the antiviolence movement" (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005, p. 41).

Next Steps: Implications of VESPAC

This article offers a road map to guide continued efforts to improve community responses to domestic violence and sexual assault based on an analysis of congressionally mandated purpose areas of VAWA-funded grant programs. The proposed VESPAC model suggests one way to make explicit the "big picture" that undergirds VAWA. Since first enacted, VAWA has resulted in OVW administering over nine billion dollars through grant and technical assistance programs to reduce violence against women (Aday, 2015) with evidence supporting effectiveness (OVW, 2017b; VAWA MEI [Measuring Effectiveness Initiative], 2017). Authorized programs reflect a diversity of goals indicative of the breadth of needs reflected in five categories of purposes: Community Readiness, Victim Services, Justice Responses, CCRs, and Cultural Specificity. The model is descriptive and is not intended to prescribe a specific order of events or restrict one's experience to its chronological flow. We contend that the model holds promise as a mechanism to foster collaboration and coordinated responses to better serve victims of violence and holds perpetrators accountable in culturally appropriate ways. Because the purpose areas were based on the insights of advocates and service providers, they reflect the day-to-day realities of working with victims and perpetrators, and are rooted in the on-the-ground priorities of those committed to reducing violence against women, and indeed, all those who are victims (National

Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence, 2017). On a practical level, the model could help agencies, coalitions, and others seeking OVW funds determine which grants might best fit their needs (see Table 1, last column). The model also may help agencies, coalitions, and communities think "big" and consider more strategically where their strengths best fit in the vast scope of victim needs necessary to meet safety goals and where they might benefit most from the expertise of partners. For example, DePrince, Belknap, Labus, Buckingham, and Gover (2012) described a victim-focused, community-coordinated outreach intervention that was particularly effective for domestic violence victims who were marginalized by ethnicity and class and still resided with the perpetrator. The approach took the burden of initiating contact with relevant community services off victims using community-based advocates. The project also took advantage of geo-coded data to identify a diverse sample of victims. The outreach involved contacting women individually, providing transportation and child care, as well as compensation for participation in the program; follow-up information was also provided via newsletters. They noted,

> Unsolicited outreach by a community-based advocate who communicates interest in the women's well-being may buffer against beliefs and/or past experiences of invalidation in the system. Thus, future research should evaluate whether outreach from community-based agencies helps ethnic minority women feel more connected and valued in the system. (DePrince et al., 2012, p. 867).

CCRs were originally designed to integrate criminal justice responses with other victim services. However, it is possible to reconceptualize CCRs to include additional community partners and to focus on remedies outside the criminal justice system (Seidman & Pokorak, 2011). Indeed, scholars have called for a broader conceptualization of community in CCRs to be inclusive of more partners (Ingram et al., 2010; Pennington-Zoellner, 2009; Shepard, 1999; Stewart, 2013). For example, Fleming and Heisterkamp (2015) describe an innovative CCR to address campus sexual assault that involved moving beyond the campus to include the community partners. A comprehensive model can help various groups plan interventions that are holistic and meet the needs of all affected by violence, a clarion call of many doing work on CCRs (Mancini, Nelson, Bowen, & Martin, 2006; Nowell & Foster-Fishman, 2011; Shorey et al., 2014), including the call for more survivor-led programs that acknowledge survivors are more than their experience of abuse and exploitation and are experts who can lead and make changes (Lloyd, 2008).

There is already strong evidence that CCRs work for the victims they reach. The goal is to serve even more. Evaluations of CCRs suggest that interagency responses to domestic violence are effective in increasing arrests and successful prosecutions (Allen et al., 2009; Gamache, Edleson, & Schock, 1988; Hirschel & Dawson, 2000; Moore, 2009; Murphy, Musser, & Maton, 1998; Salazar, Emshoff, Baker, & Crowley, 2007; Shepard, 1999; Shepard & Pence, 1999; Warshaw & Moroney, 2002), as well as reducing recidivism (Klein & Crowe, & 2008; Saunders & Hamill, 2003). Similarly, evaluations have shown that CCRs are effective in addressing the needs of sexual assault victims (Greeson & Campbell, 2013; Greeson & Campbell, 2015; Greeson, Campbell, Bybee, & Kennedy, 2016). In addition, CCRs can improve outreach to victims, especially when coupled with bringing forth proper charges against abusers, rigorous prosecution, and the implementations of safeguards for victims/survivors and their children (DePrince et al., 2012; Wooldredge & Thistlethwaite, 2005).

The provision of technical assistance on effective collaborative practices also helps CCRs to succeed (Roussos & Fawcett, 2000); however, challenges to implementing CCRs persist. These include limited organizational capacity and difficulty maintaining partner relationships when faced with stressors such as systemic change (Praxis International, 2013) and funding cuts (National Network to End Domestic Violence, 2017; Nonprofit Financial Fund, 2014). Further difficulties include a lack of genuine willingness to collaborate due to a combination of turfism, leadership conflicts, organizational obstacles, the absence of key leaders, and the marginalization of representatives of nonlaw enforcement agencies (Giacomazzi & Smithey, 2004; Worden, 2001). The VESPAC model may be helpful in guiding groups to discuss approaches to collaboration that might ameliorate such tensions. Also, commitment to adoption of community-based participatory approaches and to principles that acknowledge the expertise of each partner could also ease some of these tensions. These principles include acknowledging the community as a unit of identity, adopting a strengths-based approach, and recognizing that partners are equitable—each bringing unique strengths to the partnership while reliant on the unique expertise of other partners (Israel, Eng, Schultz, & Parker, 2012). The power shared by partners can result in enhanced co-learning, increased capacity building, and cyclical and iterative systems development. Such partnerships would focus on the local relevance of the work they do, acknowledging that one size does not fit all and would also acknowledge potential ongoing challenges related to balancing expertise and long-term time commitments.

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