A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN A MILITARY COMMUNITY

by

SARA EWING SKINNER

(Under the Direction of Larry Nackerud)

ABSTRACT

There are approximately two million military connected children in the United States (Department of Defense [DoD], 2015a). In order to practice competently with this population, social workers need to understand how the unique characteristics of military life shape their experiences and their access to services. While research has noted the importance of cultural competence to understanding and practice in cases of child sexual abuse cases, there currently are no studies that specifically examine child sexual abuse cases in the cultural context of the military. The purpose of this exploratory qualitative case study is to fill this gap in the literature by describing the processes for responding to child sexual abuse cases in military communities and identifying characteristics of military life that impact the experience of child sexual abuse for military children and families as well as the community response to these cases. Civil-military relations theory is the lens used to examine the coordinated community response. Data were collected in the form of in-depth interviews with 15 experienced military and civilian professionals and supplemented by data from observations and documents. Based on a thematic analysis of the data, the findings of this study suggest that frequent moving of military

personnel and families has an impact on the disclosure, reporting, and investigation of child sexual abuse cases as well as the continuity of services and collaboration. The discipline and control that characterizes military culture also impacts the course of these cases. Findings also suggest that the civil-military cultural gap impacts interagency collaboration . Implications for social work practice, education, and future research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Child sexual abuse, military, social work, case study, civil-military divide

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by

SARA EWING SKINNER

BS, United States Military Academy, 2002

MSW, University of South Carolina, 2012

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SARA EWING SKINNER

Major Professor:	Larry Nackerud
Committee:	Y. Joon Choi
	Llewellyn Cornelius

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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DEDICATION

Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more…

- Shakespeare

This study is dedicated to the men and women who commit their lives to caring for the victims of child sexual abuse. When someone casually asks me about my research or my social work practice, there's a moment of revulsion. Sometimes I smile at the predictability. Understandably most people do not want to think about this heinous crime. They look away. But there are special individuals who do not look away. They take the hand of the child and bear up under the weight of the stories over and over again. My experience practicing in this field was one of hope and fellowship, because I was never alone. When I needed to cry, I did not cry alone. When I was consumed with righteous anger, I was not angry alone. We celebrated every small victory that brought a child closer to justice and healing. This dissertation marks the beginning of my research journey and I dedicate it to you, dear friends: the investigators, the caseworkers, the therapists, the doctors and nurses, the advocates, the lawyers, and especially the social workers. Thank you for not looking away, day after day without flinching. You are not alone.

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A final thanks goes out to my family. My father, William Ewing, never answered a question directly, but instead sent me to the Encyclopedia Britannica to look up answers for myself. My mother who was always proud of me no matter what. I miss her. My sisters, who were with me throughout this project. My husband, Bruce Skinner, who sacrificed and encouraged me to pursue this dream. A final thanks to my children, Timothy and Franklin, who inspired me to persevere.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAC	Children's Advocacy Center
CCSM	Clinical Case Staff Meeting
CRC	Case Review Committee
DA	Department of the Army
DFCS	Division of Family and Children's Services
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services
DoD	Department of Defense
FAP	Family Advocacy Program
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
IDC	Incident Determination Committee
MDT	Multi-disciplinary team
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SHARP	Sexual Harassment and Assault Response and Prevention
UCMJ	Uniform Code of Military Justice

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way in which it treats its children.
>
> -Nelson Mandela

There are approximately two million military connected children in the United States (Department of Defense [DoD], 2015a). If the children of veterans are included, this number grows to 15 million (Wertsch, 2006). Given that one in 12 children will experience sexual victimization, (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner & Hamby, 2005), many social workers will encounter military children who have experienced child sexual abuse. There is a large body of multidisciplinary research on child maltreatment in the military (Chandra et al., 2010; McCarthy et al., 2015; Rentz et al., 2008; Wood et al., 2017). This research has found that military families experience unique stressors that impact the rates and experience of child maltreatment. However, research on child maltreatment in the military has been focused on physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect. There are no studies to date that have explored how the experience of or response to child sexual abuse may be impacted by military life. This conclusion is based on a multi-search via the Georgia Library Learning Online database (2014) and Google Scholar using a combination of search terms including: *child, children, sexual, abuse, sexual victimization, incest, molestation, military, armed forces, army, navy, air force,* and *marines*. In addition, I consulted with the librarian for the National Children's Advocacy

Center's Child Abuse Library Online, who confirmed that there were no studies of child sexual abuse in the military. In order to identify, intervene, and craft policy and programs that effectively meet the needs of sexually abused children, it is critical that we understand the problem in its cultural context. Research has found that culture has a significant impact on how sexual abuse is experienced (Fontes & Plummer, 2010). For this study, I examined child sexual abuse in a military community using a civil-military relations perspective. In this chapter, I elaborate on the background of the problem, the relevance of civil-military relations theory, and then present the study's purpose and research questions.

Background of the Problem

In this section, I provide an overview of the problem of child sexual abuse and the relevance of understanding how culture relates to the problem. I also introduce the military cultural context and how it shapes the experiences of military families and children.

Child Sexual Abuse

While specific legal definitions may vary, child sexual abuse is generally defined as "any sexual activity involving a child for which permission is not or cannot be granted, regardless of the kind of sexual encounter or the degree of force" (Berliner, 2011, p. 56). Child sexual abuse is a significant problem of both public health (Whitaker, Lutzker, & Shelley, 2005) and public safety (Lanning, 2010). Responding to this problem includes developing effective programs and policies that address prevention and intervention for victims, families, and perpetrators, as well as providing for just legal consequences for the perpetrators of the abuse. The public and professional awareness, understanding, and

response to child sexual abuse cases has improved dramatically (Berliner, 2011). Starting in the late 1970's, there was a growing awareness of the extent of the problem and the negative impact of child sexual abuse on victims, families, and communities. This awareness gradually led to a proliferation of academic interest and research (Berliner, 2011).

Child sexual abuse is a crime and there is an expectation from the public that perpetrators will be identified and prosecuted (Jones, et al., 2010). For the victims, child sexual abuse constitutes a significant traumatic experience with short- and long-term impacts that are often difficult to treat (Norman et al., 2012). Studies of adults who reported sexual victimization as children find significant negative health, behavioral, and social outcomes including increased risk of psychiatric disorders, high-risk behavior, substance abuse, academic problems, and relational problems (Dube et al., 2005). Child sexual abuse also poses a heavy economic cost to society due to healthcare, criminal justice, child welfare, special education, and productivity losses (Fang, Brown, Florence & Mercy, 2012).

The dynamics of child sexual abuse complicate the community responses from both a criminal justice and an intervention standpoint. Child sexual abuse is a crime committed in private for which there are rarely eyewitnesses. The primary source of information about what happened comes from the child victim's testimony, which can be impeded by developmental limitations to their ability to remember and communicate in a way that is convincing within the criminal justice system. There is often reluctance to disclose or report the abuse due to the relationship of the child and offender, as well as issues of shame, stigma, and denial (Walsh, Jones, Cross, & Lippert, 2010). The criminal

court process is also lengthy compared to other types of criminal offenses (Walsh, Lippert, Cross, Maurice, & Davison, 2008).

Child sexual abuse has not always been widely acknowledged by professionals or the public as an issue of significant concern (Renvoize, 2017). There is evidence that sexually abusive practices involving children were common and often normalized throughout history and in various cultures (Kennedy, 1985; Renvoize, 2017; Whittier, 2009). Prior to the feminist movement and the child protection movement of the 1970's, there was very little public attention to child sexual abuse. Professionals who did acknowledge these cases often viewed children as responsible for their own sexual abuse. Accounts of child sexual abuse for the better part of the 20th century described the child as fantasizing their abuse out of Oedipal desires or acting as the seducer of their abuser (Renvoize, 2017; Whittier, 2009). When child sexual abuse was acknowledged as existing, it was dismissed as being so rare that it was negligible and, except in rare cases of violent sexual abuse, not harmful to the child.

Starting in the late 1970's, academic researchers began investigating the problem of child sexual abuse in earnest and discovered the significant extent of the problem (Saunders, Berliner, & Hanson, 2004). While research has indicated a slight decline (1-2%) of child sexual abuse in recent years (Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck & Hamby, 2013), the overall prevalence remains very high. A review of meta-analyses of prevalence rates indicates that between 18-31% of girls and 8-17% of boys are sexually abused as children (Stoltenborgh, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Alink, & Ijzendoorn, 2015). The most consistent characteristic of child sexual abuse victims is gender. Between 78% and 89% of victims of child sexual abuse are girls (Snyder, 2000). There is evidence that the sexual abuse of

boys is less likely to be disclosed due to stigma (Preston, 2016). Though children are at risk of sexual abuse throughout their childhood, children aged 7-13 are most likely to have reported cases of abuse (Finkelhor, Hammer, & Sedlack, 2008). Children in families with lower socioeconomic status are more likely to have reports of child sexual abuse (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [DHHS], 2013). However, retrospective studies have indicated that abuse rates are similar across socioeconomic statuses, but the increased surveillance of lower-SES families and increased stigma of reporting in higher-SES families skew reporting (Finkelhor, 2009).

Child sexual abuse and culture. Community norms, values, policies, and resources all contribute to the incidence of abuse, the disclosure and reporting of abuse, the criminal justice response to the case, and the modes of intervention provided to victims and families (Alaggia, Collin-Vézina, & Lateef, 2017; Fontes & Plummer, 2010; Lanning, 2010). In cultures where there is silence about sexuality, children are often unable to discuss the abuse, because they do not understand what is happening or they fear getting in trouble for speaking about an off-limits topic. Likewise, in cultures that emphasize filial piety or the submissiveness, obedience, and loyalty of children, disclosing abuse is considered an act of betrayal. The shame and stigma of sexual abuse is higher for children and families in cultures that value the purity, virginity, and innocence of children, decreasing the likelihood that abuse will be reported (Paine & Hansen, 2002). Similarly, in cultures that have an idealized identity, the internalization of that identity can lead to masking circumstances that would shame the family or community (Kanukollu & Malingham, 2011). Cultural norms that discourage disclosure

and reporting, encourage offenders by shielding them from exposure and consequences (Ullman, 2003).

Military Cultural Context

Understanding military culture and how it impacts military families has been a subject of interest to policymakers, academic researchers, and care-giving professionals for decades (DeGraff, O'Neal, & Mancini, 2016; Park, 2011; Segal & Segal, 2006). The involvement of the United States in a protracted period of war post-9/11 has brought a renewed public awareness of the unique experiences and needs of veterans, military members, and their families (Huebner, Mancini, Bowen, & Orthner, 2009). Military culture has been researched and found relevant to various social problems including mental health (Coll, Weiss, & Yarvis, 2011; Langston, Gould, & Greenberg, 2007), substance abuse, (Ames, Cunradi, Moore, & Stern, 2007; McFarling, D'Angelo, Drain, Gibbs, & Olmsted, 2011; Weiss, et al., 2012), the well-being of children and families (Lincoln, Swift, & Shorteno-Fraser, 2008), domestic violence, (Erez, & Bach, 2003; Harrison, 2006), and sexual assault (Turchik & Wilson, 2010).

Military children are civilians, but their lives are uniquely shaped by growing up in the military. Surveys of military children found that the majority perceive military culture to be their primary culture and see it as significantly different from civilian culture (Wertsch, 2006). Their childhood experiences are defined by frequent moves over long distances that result in the constant loss of friendships and extra-familial support structures (Ender, 2000). They must also endure long periods of separation, during which they may be raised by a single parent, or in some cases, other family members, followed by the challenges of reintegration. Military children may also

experience the threat of parental loss, and in some cases the death or disability of a parent (Park, 2011). Not all military families have the ability to cope with these stressors and in some cases the challenges may result in negative responses including child maltreatment.

Researchers have examined how military children are impacted by the military lifestyle (Wertsch, 2006; Ender, 2002), including the combat deployment of a parent (McCarthy, et al, 2015; Walsh, et al., 2014). In particular, researchers have been interested in how being in a military family impacts a child's risk for maltreatment (Gibbs, Martin, Clinton-Sherrod, Walters & Johnson, 2011; Milner, 2015). Reported rates of child maltreatment in the military are approximately half those reported among civilians (DoD, 2018). In the case of physical abuse, abusers are more often male, and the targets are more often male children (McCarroll, Fan, Newby & Ursano, 2008; Rentz, et al., 2008). Rates of child maltreatment, especially neglect spike before and after the deployment of the military member (Chandra et al., 2010).

Existing research describes the unique challenges of military families and its relationship to social problems including child maltreatment. Current research does not specifically address child sexual abuse relative to the challenges of military life. However, the stressors that military families and children experience may also affect their ability to cope with and access resources in cases of child sexual abuse.

Relevance to Social Work Practice

Military members, veterans and their families live throughout the country, and many will require social work services. Social workers are likely to encounter military connected clients whether or not they are purposely practicing with military or veteran populations. Social workers practice according to core principles that emphasize service

and competence. In order to competently serve this population, social workers should acknowledge the factors that impact the well-being of military and veteran families in order to integrate this knowledge into their practice. In recognition of the need for culturally competent social work services for the military population, the National Association of Social Workers created standards for advanced practice in military social work in 2012. In recognition of the growing need for social workers to serve military and veteran populations, the Council on Social Work Education created advanced practice standards for military social work education in 2010.

Civil-Military Relations Theory

Child sexual abuse cases often straddle military and civilian systems so that children are receiving some or all their services in the civilian community. Given the importance of interagency collaboration and the cultural differences of the military from the mainstream civilian society, civil-military relations theory provides a useful theoretical framework for examining the impact of military culture on child sexual abuse cases.

Civil-military relations theory is concerned with how a civilian government can control and remain safe from the military institution it created for its own protection (Owens, 2012). Civil military relations are defined as “interactions among the people of the state, the institutions of that state, and the military of that state” (Owens, 2012). Some of the questions addressed by civil-military relations theory are: Who controls the military? What level of influence by the military is acceptable in a liberal society such as the United States? What is the appropriate role of the military? What pattern of civil-

military relations best serves the interest of the effectiveness of the military instrument? Who serves in the military?

The civil-military culture gap is an important aspect of civil-military relations theory. The civil-military culture gap, also commonly referred to as the civil-military gap or civil-military divide, is a theoretical construct used to examine civil-military relations. The civil-military culture gap is primarily concerned with cultural differences between the military and civilian society and the impacts of those cultural differences on different aspects of society. There are two central concepts related to the civil-military culture gap: 1) the assumption that there are significant differences in the culture, norms, and values of the military and civilian worlds, 2) the assumption of a connectivity gap or lack of contact and understanding between the military and civilian society (Cohn, 1999). Civil-military cultural gap research tends to focus on the following four questions: 1) does the gap exist in the first place? 2) what is the nature of the gap? 3) does the gap matter? 4) if it does matter, what is causing it? 5) what changes in policy might be required to mitigate negative effects? (Owens, 2012).

Given the increasing distances between the military and civilian culture, the civil-military cultural gap may impact the ability of civilian and military agencies to mount an effective collaborative community response that successfully serves victims and their families. An environment in which members of the military mistrust civilians and civilians do not understand the military is not a recipe for good professional relationships and the easy flow of information.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to examine child sexual abuse cases in the context of a military community. Research demonstrates the importance of taking culture into consideration when attempting to understand and address child maltreatment. We know that military connected children have unique experiences and stressors shaped by military culture. Given that military culture has been linked to a myriad of social problems including sexual crimes in military communities, it would be useful to know how child sexual abuse cases are shaped by the cultural context of the military. Furthermore, civil-military relations theory posits that there is a cultural gap between the military and civilians. Given the importance of interagency collaboration to the effective community response to child sexual abuse, it would also be important to understand how this cultural gap might impact the military community response to these cases. There is currently no published peer reviewed studies that specifically address the problem of child sexual abuse in the military. This study will address that gap in the existing literature. Bringing attention to the experience of child sexual abuse in the military and situating that experience within the social, cultural, and structural context of the military, may contribute to knowledge of this population, and inform specific recommendations to improve the community response to these cases.

This study was conducted using a qualitative case study research design. As such, this case focuses on the experiences of a single military community dubbed the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community. This community consists of an Army installation (Fort Askew) and the civilian community that surrounds the installation

(Charlesville). In order to protect the confidentiality of participants, pseudonyms are used throughout.

Research Questions

Using civil-military relations theory and a qualitative case study research design, the following three research questions were developed:

1) How do military and civilian systems of community response serve victims and families of child sexual abuse in the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community?

2) What are military and civilian professionals' perceptions of child sexual abuse cases that originate from military communities?

3) How do military and civilian professionals perceive the coordinated community response?

The intent of the first research question is to understand what happens when a case of child sexual abuse is reported in the Fort Askew/Charlesville community. This encompasses what is supposed to happen according to any applicable laws, regulations, or policies and how this compares to the processes described by the data. In the second question, I am interested in the characteristics of military-connected cases of child sexual abuse as they compare to civilian cases based on the experience and perspective of the professionals in the community who respond to these cases. The final question is concerned with the collaborative nature of the community response to child sexual abuse. I am interested in the experiences and perceptions of professional's in military and civilian agencies with collaboration.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided a general overview of the problem of child sexual abuse and the impact of culture on child abuse and child abuse intervention. I then provided an overview of the cultural experience of military children and its relevance to competent practice with this population. Civil-military relations theory was introduced as the theoretical framework for this study. In the next chapter, I will present a review of the literature that informed the design and execution of this case study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I provide an overview of the experiences, literature, and theory that have combined to shape the conceptual framework of this research project. I begin by describing my own personal and professional experiential knowledge of both the military and child sexual abuse. In qualitative research, the researcher is regarded as the primary tool for collecting and analyzing data, and therefore, the researcher's experiences and beliefs are part of the context of the research and relevant to the evaluation of research quality and credibility (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). After reviewing my experiential knowledge, I survey the published literature used to inform the design of this project. I begin by describing best practices for community inter-agency response to child sexual abuse cases as well as the role of culture in understanding child sexual abuse cases. From there, I describe what is known regarding military culture and its relevance to the topic at hand. I then review what is known about child sexual abuse in the military. Because of the paucity of research that specifically examines child sexual abuse, I review what is known about child maltreatment in military communities. Finally, I conclude this section by reviewing the theory of the cultural civil-military divide, the theoretical lens used to form my research questions and interpret my findings.

My Experiential Knowledge

In understanding and evaluating research, knowing where the researcher has been is important because it informs his/her perspective and allows the reader to understand the potential biases and subjectivities the researcher brings to the work (Holosko, 2006).While biases and subjectivities have a negative connotation, in qualitative research, there is an understanding that although researchers should take steps to develop a critical self-awareness of their biases and take steps to eliminate offensive biases (Scriven, 1998), it is impossible for us to be completely neutral observers (Stake, 2013), nor is such neutrality desirable. Researchers bring their diverse experiences to their work and, according to Stake (2013), these "idiosyncratic, irreproducible interpretations are a contribution to understanding and action" (p. 87). For that purpose, I provide a description of the personal experiences and beliefs that I believe are relevant to understanding my personal motivations for engaging in this research project and the decisions that I have made that have shaped the conceptualization, design, and interpretation of findings.

This research project is significant to me because it combines aspects of two of my personal and professional identities: the military and social work. Most of my life has been lived within the military. I grew up a military child, joined the Army at the age of 18 and served at various ranks, from the lowest enlisted rank (E1/PVT) (See Appendix A for a list of military ranks by service) to a junior commissioned officer (O3/CPT), married a fellow servicemember, and I now have veteran status. After separating from the military, I eventually made the career change to social work by pursuing my MSW. My post-MSW practice experience was as a child forensic interviewer in a Children's

Advocacy Center (CAC). Taken together, these two identities have uniquely positioned me to critically examine my research questions.

My Military Experience

I was born into a multi-generational military family. My father enlisted in the Army during the Vietnam War and served until his retirement 22 years later. His father served in World War II, along with all my paternal great-uncles. My family genealogy, lovingly researched, compiled, and disseminated by aunts, prominently features the service of prior generations dating back to the Michigan-Ohio War of 1835. Military service continues to be recognized and celebrated at family reunions and in family newsletters. My childhood was spent living in and moving from military community to military community throughout the United States and Germany. When I became an adult, enlisting in the Army was a comfortable choice. Military culture was my first culture and central to my development.

My professional interest in the subject of child sexual abuse in the military stems from experiences dating back to when I first joined the Army as a Military Police soldier. I remember that child abuse was a topic covered in an afternoon during basic law enforcement training. The training was brief and emphasized handling these types of cases very carefully, because they could be particularly damaging to a soldier's career. After a few years, I was assigned to a Military Police Investigations unit stationed in Hawaii, where one of my duties was to attend meetings of the installation Case Review Committee (CRC) as the designated law enforcement representative. Attending the CRC was considered an onerous additional duty, particularly for the active-duty members, who were often absent. As the lowest-ranking member of my unit, I viewed my assignment to

the committee as an indication that it was not a priority to my command. Nevertheless, I became familiar and interested in spouse and child abuse cases in the military community while performing my CRC duties.

Later in my career, I was commissioned as an officer in the Military Police Corps. After two combat assignments, I was assigned as a commander for a rear detachment company. As a commander, I had legal authority and responsibility for my unit. My highest-ranking and most experienced non-commissioned officer under my command was investigated for sexual harassment. With the benefit of perspective gained through time and distance, I know that the investigation and results were not handled in a way that prioritized impartial justice for the victims. In summary, my military training and enculturation resulted in a bias for supporting my non-commissioned officer by giving him the benefit of the doubt and holding the motivations of his accuser (also a member of my command) as suspect. Although he was ultimately found guilty of sexual harassment by an independent investigation, my support ultimately led to an insignificant consequence for the offender. The accuser consequently chose to leave the military shortly thereafter. At this point in my career, I hubristically believed that I was better trained and more sensitive to issues of sexual harassment than my peers were. My regret over how I handled this case is central to my current belief that commanders are not best suited to have legal authority over certain types of cases due to conflicts of interest that advantage offenders. My last assignment before separating from the Army was as the Provost Marshal for a small Army installation in Germany. In that role, I was responsible for all law enforcement operations on my installation, and amongst other responsibilities, I coordinated policing activities with local law enforcement agencies, regularly briefed

resident commanders on law enforcement investigations concerning members of their command, and served as a primary voting member of the installation CRC.

My Social Work Experience

After separating from the Army, I became a social worker and forensic interviewer in a military community, where I periodically conducted interviews of child victims on behalf of military criminal investigators. In this capacity, I had the occasion to observe certain problematic practices of military investigators that raised concerns about how these cases were being handled. On more than one occasion, a military investigator, not knowing my extensive experience with military law enforcement, provided me with misleading or outright false information regarding military investigatory procedures. An important part of my role as a member of the CAC multi-disciplinary team (MDT) was to develop professional relationships with investigators and agencies so that I could educate them about the services of the CAC and obtain timely updates as to the status of cases that were served by the CAC. I found that compared to other agencies that routinely participate in the MDT, I met with significant resistance from military agencies. I found it frustrating to obtain access and information from military agencies. This was the first time where I truly experienced my outsider status as no longer a member of the active military. I also found that many of my civilian colleagues lacked personal military experience and were unfamiliar with resources available in the military, as well as military legal and child protection processes.

Child Sexual Abuse and Cultural Context

A considerable body of literature on child sexual abuse has emerged since the late 1970's (Saunders, et al., 2004). A review of meta-analyses of prevalence rates indicates

that between 18-31% of girls and 8-17% of boys are sexually abused as children (Stoltenborgh, et al., 2015). Despite high prevalence rates, 1 in 3 children never disclose their abuse during childhood (Smith, et al., 2000). Disclosure is a complex process and is rarely a one-time clear statement (Tener & Murphy, 2014). Only 38% of cases of child sexual abuse are reported (London, Bruck, Ceci, & Shuman, 2003). Of cases accepted for prosecution, only 9% will go to trial (Cross, DeVos, & Whitcomb, 1994). When child sexual abuse cases go undisclosed, unreported, and unprosecuted, perpetrators go unpunished, and victims go untreated.

Child sexual abuse occurs in all types of families and across all racial, cultural, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups (Berliner, 2011; Kenny & McEachern, 2000). The literature examining contextual factors such as race, ethnicity, and culture as they relate to child sexual abuse is more recent and growing (Fontes, Cruz, & Tabachnick, 2001; Korbin, 2002). Researchers are increasingly interested in how cultural factors influence the disclosure and reporting of child sexual abuse, as well as understanding aspects of culture that can support or hinder intervention and treatment efforts (Fontes, et al., 2001; Futa, Hsu, & Hansen, 2001; Kenny & McEachern, 2000; Korbin, 2002). Community norms, values, policies, and resources all contribute to the incidence of abuse, the disclosure and reporting of abuse, the criminal justice response to the case, and the modes of intervention provided to victims and families (Alaggia et al., 2017; Fontes & Plummer, 2010; Lanning, 2010).

While child sexual abuse exists in every socioeconomic and ethnic group, the dynamics and impact of child sexual abuse vary based on contextual factors. Race, ethnicity, culture, and community impact how children experience sexual abuse (Ards,

Chung, & Myers, 1998; Fontes, 1993; Fontes et al., 2001; Huston, Parra, Prihoda, & Foulds, 1995; Thompson & West Smith, 1993). Professionals can misunderstand or overlook clues to child sexual abuse in different minority populations due to cultural or linguistic differences, racism, or homophobia (Fontes, 1995). Ethnicity and religion can impact children's disclosure rates and the manner and rates at which families choose to report abuse (Ards et al., 1998; Fontes & Plummer, 2010). Internalized cultural norms may affect the traumatic impact of the sexual abuse and, consequently, impact the effectiveness of intervention and prevention efforts (Fontes, 2005). The cultural norms that are particularly problematic are those that emphasize traditional gender constructions in which men have authority over women and children, and children have value based on their sexual purity (Fontes & Plummer, 2010).

Child Sexual Abuse and Patriarchal Cultural Norms

MacLeod and Saraga (1988) concluded that instead of understanding child sexual abuse as a problem of family dysfunction or psychopathology, child sexual abuse should be placed on the spectrum of male violence against women and could best be understood within the feminist conceptualization of patriarchy. Indeed, patriarchal family systems and patriarchal communities are risk factors for child sexual abuse (Tharp et al., 2013; Lanning, 2010) and child commercial sexual exploitation (CSEC: Development Services Group, Inc., 2014). In a patriarchal community, men are dominant and masculine traits are valued over feminine traits. Within the family, the father has authority and power over women and children. Women and children are often viewed and treated like property, making them particularly vulnerable targets of victimization. Women and children who live in these communities internalize traditional gender roles. People who

adhere to or espouse more traditional gender roles are less likely to believe child sexual abuse disclosure (Becker, 1997).

Cultural Competence

Understanding of, and respect for, different cultures underscores ethical social work practice (National Association of Social Workers, 2008). Social workers are particularly aware of the critical role that institutions and context play in shaping client life experiences (Sheafor & Horejsi, 2003). Cultural competence is the set of behaviors, attitudes, and policies of a system or among professionals that enables them to work effectively in cross-cultural situations (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Ananeh-Firempong, 2003; National Association of Social Workers, 2001). Cultural competence, as it relates to practice in the area of child sexual abuse, includes the social worker's awareness of their own personal attitudes towards a different culture as well as their understanding of how that culture may potentially influence the disclosure, reporting, assessment, and intervention with clients affected by child sexual abuse. Social workers already practice within military communities, and research has indicated that understanding military culture is important for effective practice with this population (DeGraff et al., 2016; Savitsky, Illingworth, & DuLaney, 2009; Sherman, 2014).

Cultural Competence and CACs

Cultural competence is also a criterion for CAC accreditation. The National Children's Alliance is the accrediting body for CACs. Included in the accreditation standards is the expectation that "culturally competent services are routinely made available to all CAC clients and coordinated with the multidisciplinary team response" (Pape & Murray, 2006, p. 2). Significantly, the standards for cultural competence apply

not only to CAC personnel but also to MDT members. While CACs do not usually have a hand in selecting who is included on the MDT—those representatives are typically appointed by the agencies—CACs are expected to facilitate discussions of client culture as they apply during case reviews and provide opportunities for trainings on cultural competency (Pape & Murray, 2016, p. 12). Cultural competence is especially significant in the forensic interview process because rapport is a critical element to an effective interview, and a lack of cultural awareness may be a barrier to rapport building.

Additionally, as previously described, cultural factors may impact disclosure, reporting and the willingness of families to engage in follow-on services (Benuto & Casas, 2016). The National Children's Advocacy Center provides a curated annotated bibliography of literature related to cultural competence aimed at CAC personnel and MDT members. However, while the bibliography includes research related to practice with children who represent varying ethnic, racial, religious, sexual minorities, immigration status, and abilities, it does not include information for culturally competent practice with military children or families (National Children's Advocacy Center, 2013). In a conversation with the Digital Information Librarian for the Child Abuse Library Online, the online resource library for child maltreatment professionals sponsored by the National Children's Advocacy Center, the librarian confirmed that while the library contains resources related to child maltreatment and the military, there are no resources that specifically address child sexual abuse in the military despite frequent requests for those specific resources by child maltreatment professionals (M. Wells, personal communication, June 2, 2017).

Children's Advocacy Centers and Multidisciplinary Teams

Before reviewing military culture and the extant literature on child maltreatment generally and child sexual abuse in the military specifically, I will describe the Children's Advocacy Center Model for community response to child sexual abuse and the multi-disciplinary team as a critical component of that model. I will then review the literature related to inter-agency collaboration as represented by the CAC MDT as it relates to effective child sexual abuse community response.

An ideal practice model for a community response to child sexual abuse would be one that prioritizes prevention, encourages forensically sound disclosure and reporting, and increases rates of prosecution of guilty offenders. Increasing the rate of prosecution of child sexual abuse cases is a primary goal of MDTs (Cross, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2005; Ells, 2000; National Center for Prosecution of Child Abuse, 2004). Finding innovative and effective interventions to overcome barriers to prosecution is important. Successful prosecution of child sexual abuse cases increases the safety of communities by incarcerating offenders, many of whom abuse multiple victims over several years (Lanning, 2010). Additionally, it empowers victims and provides them a sense of justice and safety. Prosecutions communicate that the community values children, believes them when they disclose abuse, and will not tolerate child sexual abuse. Ideally, in addition to contributing to better investigations and prosecutions, an effective community response to child sexual abuse would include prevention, education, and treatment components all geared towards reducing stress on the victim and the family.

Children's advocacy centers. Prior to the feminist movement and the child protection movement of the 1970's, there was very little public attention to child sexual

abuse. Starting in the late 1970's, academic researchers began investigating the problem of child sexual abuse in earnest and discovered that the extent of the problem was much greater than expected (Saunders et al., 2004). Concurrently, public awareness of child sexual abuse increased, and rates of disclosure and reporting ticked up. For example, in Huntsville, Alabama, and other communities in the 1980's, the number of reported cases of child sexual abuse was increasing, and the community response to child sexual abuse was uncoordinated, inconsistent and unfriendly to the child. Law enforcement, medical personnel, and child protection workers had little training in how best to handle these cases. The district attorney's office was rarely able to successfully prosecute these cases. Children who reported abuse or were suspected of being abused underwent questioning multiple times by untrained professionals, resulting in incomplete or conflicting disclosures (Anderson & McMaken, 1990). Robert E. "Bud" Cramer, District Attorney in Huntsville, Alabama, founded the first CAC in 1985 in order to improve the community response to child sexual abuse cases (Chandler, 2006).

The CAC was designed as a child-friendly environment where children can be interviewed once about the details of their abuse by someone specifically trained in child development and the forensic interviewing of children while representatives of child protection, law enforcement, and the prosecution observe (Chandler, 2006). Children and families can access medical exams, therapy, and advocacy services from the CAC either on site or through community partnerships. Subsequently, the CAC model expanded nationally, and now there are more than 750 CACs nationwide (National Children's Alliance, 2013a). The CAC model has been credited with increased rates of successful prosecution of child sexual abuse (Miller & Rubin, 2009) and is recognized by the U.S.

Department of Justice as the best practice for responding to child sexual abuse (Cross et al., 2008). In communities that employ the CAC model, children undergo fewer duplicative interviews, there is increased coordination on investigations, and children are more likely to be interviewed in child-friendly settings, thereby reducing stress and improving the quality of forensic interviews (Cross, Jones, Walsh, Simone, & Kolko, 2007).

Multi-disciplinary teams. The MDT is a key component of the CAC model. To achieve national accreditation (National Children's Alliance, 2013b), a CAC must have signed protocols with community agencies that have some role in the response to child sexual abuse. The agencies appoint representatives to attend regular meetings to review cases, discuss community response to cases, and participate in regular continuing education to stay up to date with best practices. The MDT standard is one of the most difficult accreditation standards for a CAC to attain, because it requires the participation, cooperation, and buy in of different agencies that each have finite resources and different agency priorities, organizational cultures, institutional knowledge and professional perspectives of child sexual abuse. Developing a successful MDT that meets national accreditation standards means creating a separate organization that has a common identity, common purpose, and allows for the easy transfer of knowledge. These MDT traits can only be developed with significant time and investment by both the agencies and the agency representatives.

Despite the challenges in implementing a successful MDT, communities continue to invest in MDTs, and the number of MDTs continue to increase (Lashley, 2005). This success is due to the benefits associated with the MDT approach, including reducing

trauma to children, increasing the effectiveness of interventions, reducing duplication of services, improving forensic evidence quality, and clarifying roles and expectations among the various disciplines responsible for responding to child sexual abuse cases (Kolbo & Strong, 1997). When cases are investigated in the context of the MDT, allegations are more likely to be perceived as credible, and families are more likely to receive services; several studies have found that when law enforcement and child protective services agencies worked collaboratively, they were more likely to obtain offender confessions, child disclosures, nonoffending caregiver support, and a greater likelihood that criminal charges would be filed (Cross et al., 2005; Faller & Henry, 2000). To reap the benefits of interagency collaboration, the MDT does not necessarily have to be housed within an accredited CAC. MDTs in nonaccredited CACs or that have characteristics like CAC MDTs, such as written protocols, regular case review meetings, and mechanisms for accountability, are also beneficial (Jackson, 2004; Wolfteich & Loggins, 2007).

Facilitators and barriers to interagency collaboration. Given the benefits of interagency collaboration for effectively responding to child sexual abuse cases, several research studies have examined the qualities of MDTs that facilitate collaboration. Chief among these facilitators is having informal (Romzek, LeRoux, Johnston, Kempf, & Piatak, 2013) and/or formal mechanisms for achieving accountability for the overall performance of the team and the performance of the individual team members (Lashley, 2005). Another frequently identified facilitator is good professional relationships. These relationships are characterized by mutual trust, respect, and communication that extends beyond MDT meetings into daily professional activities (Lashley, 2005; Newman &

Dannenfelser, 2005). These are the kinds of professional relationships developed over time through shared challenges and experiences (Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005). Positive informal relationships between MDT members serve to facilitate informal accountability (Romzek et al., 2013).

Other facilitators include burnout prevention, celebrations, clear roles and mutual purpose, consistent and total representation, strong leadership or facilitation, written protocols, strategies for handling conflict, agency support for participation (Lashley, 2005), shared norms (Romzek et al., 2013), cross-training, co-location, and the CAC itself acting as a hub for collaboration (Newnan & Dannenfelser, 2005).

Many of the barriers to effective interagency collaboration can be understood in contrast to the facilitators. For example, in contrast to the facilitating effect of professional relationships, when members are unable to get to know one another because of factors such as inconsistent participation or frequent turnover, developing quality relationships is hindered and collaboration suffers (Newnan & Dannenfelser, 2005).

Some MDTs struggle to collaborate effectively due to members disagreeing on the purpose or utility of the MDT (Jackson, 2012). When there is conflict between their role as a member of the MDT and the priorities or role expectations of their agencies, MDT members will often prioritize their agency needs in the absence of support. This is one of the four “formidable barriers” to interagency collaboration identified by Beatrice (1990). The other three “formidable barriers” include turf conflicts, limitations of intake requirements, and different financial or management systems. In addition to interprofessional and interagency barriers, some MDT failures can be attributed to internal organizational structures that do not permit the MDT member representative of

that organization to effectively fulfill his/her tracking and advocacy requirements as an MDT member (Sedlak et al., 2006). Additional barriers include lack of resources and training (Sheppard & Zagrillo, 1996).

Interagency collaboration and culture. Organizational culture refers to a system of shared norms, values, attitudes, assumptions, and knowledge that can explain how members of an organization think and act (Schein, 1992) and has been succinctly described as the personality of the organization (Schraeder, Tears, & Jordan, 2005, p. 494). Because of its influence on the attitudes and actions of the organizational members, organizational culture is a primary factor influencing inter-agency collaboration (Kim & Lee, 2006; Weare, Lichterman, & Esparza, 2014). Many of the facilitators and barriers to collaboration described in the previous section can be explained by organizational culture. For example, turf conflicts, role conflicts, and conflicting organizational priorities can be understood in the context of organizational cultural values and norms regarding ideas of shared power and flexibility. Occupational culture is a type of organizational culture that is developed through social interaction, shared experience, common training, mutual support, associated norms and values, and similar personal characteristics among members of an occupational group (Hofstede, 1998; Johnson, Koh, & Killough, 2009). Military culture is an occupational culture that has developed over time to enable the organization and its members to perform core national security tasks.

Military Culture

> The military is, by necessity, a specialized society separate from civilian society.
>
> ——*Rehnquist, Parker v. Levy, 1974*

Military culture has been a subject of interest for researchers because (especially in democratic countries) it differs significantly from the mainstream civilian culture in which it is situated. The military has the great responsibility of protecting and defending the nation from "all enemies, foreign and domestic" (Department of the Army [DA], 1999), which sometimes requires the legitimate use of deadly force. In addition to being trained and prepared to kill in defense of the nation, servicemembers must willingly accept that they may have to sacrifice their own lives towards this end. Members of the military must work cohesively in teams to accomplish their mission, and to do so, they must trust that other members of the team will act predictably. Military culture is necessary and desirable in that it serves the purpose of shaping civilians into servicemembers.

Variation in Military Culture

It is important to acknowledge up front that military culture is not completely homogeneous, nor is it static. Within the military, there are distinct service cultures, subcultures, and micro-cultures that arise from the divisional organizational structure. Service culture refers to the differences between the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, or the Marine Corps. Subcultures can vary based on categories such as officers and non-commissioned officers or women and men, or such categories as different military installations (Fort Hood and the Pentagon) or military occupational specialties (tankers versus cooks). Microcultures can develop within individual units.

Further complicating the issue, military organizations are *Janusian* in character (Hunt & Phillips, 1991). Like the two-faced Roman god Janus, the military has two sides. One side is corporate in nature and is responsible for prevention, planning, preparation, and administration. This is the garrison military in peacetime or not actively deployed. The flip side is the "muddy boots" military that emerges during times of war or crisis. This bifurcation is also described as the "cold" and "hot" sides of the military, respectively (Soeters, Winslow, & Weibull, 2010). Military culture also changes over time in response to changes in society (Ricks, 2007; Moskos, 1977; Vogelaar & Kramer, 1997), changes in technology (Hajjar, 2014), changing military policies such as the move from the draft to an all-volunteer force (Soeters, et al., 2010), or changing missions such as moving to a multi-mission multi-front environment post-Cold War (Hajjar, 2014; Ricks, 2007; Segal & Segal, 2006).

Defining Aspects of Military Culture

Despite variation in military culture, there remain general defining aspects that exist uniformly throughout the services. This uniformity is intentional, and the military long ago mastered the art of socializing members into the system so that they can quickly transition from being a civilian to a servicemember. Servicemembers begin their socialization in basic training schools that function as what Goffman (1961) termed total institutions. In total institutions, people reside and work together, cut off from wider society for a considerable amount of time, and lead a formally administered life (Goffman, 1961). This training is designed to deconstruct members' civilian status via a process of degradation and then rebuild them with new values and a new military identity (Soeters, et al., 2010). This process has been described as a "total value system

transfusion," the completion of which displays the new servicemembers' commitment to the organization (Ricks, 1997). During training, socialization continues after training and is reinforced throughout military communities.

In describing military culture, researchers have homed in on different aspects as being central. There is significant overlap and general agreement on the descriptions of the central aspects of military culture. Lang (1965) identified three basic aspects of military organizations that shape the culture: communal character, hierarchy, and discipline and control. First, according to Lang, the communal character of uniform service refers to the degree to which the organization controls various aspects of personal life. The military is not "just another job" but instead requires 24-hour commitment. Much more than other organizations, the military has control over almost every aspect of a soldier. Second, military organizations emphasize an authoritarian hierarchy. This can refer to the bureaucratic nature of the military, especially during peacetime. Military bureaucracies are coercive, in that rules and regulations are well established by centralized power centers. The hierarchy of the military comprises a chain of command that functions to pass down orders to be executed, which requires discipline and control, the third basic aspect of military organizations. Discipline is necessary for accepting and complying with orders and authority. Military organizations use overt punishment to enforce discipline. Within the military chain of command, commanders are responsible for everything that their subordinate unit does or fails to do and are thus expected to be informed of the activities and movements of subordinates and subordinate units. This is a basic codified principle of leadership (DA, 2006). This type of leadership is particularly intrusive. It is legal and legitimate in so far as it is derived directly from

military law (10 U.S.C. §890 (c)(2)(a)(1)) and reinforced through culture. For example, haircut standards are dictated by regulations that are enforceable by orders of the commander. The reasons why servicemembers get regular haircuts is because they want to. Maintaining high grooming standards is an aspect of military bearing and character, as well as a physical display of the cultural value of meeting or exceeding standards.

Using the cultural web framework for evaluating organizational culture (Johnson, Choles, & Whittington, 2008), Dunivin (1994) identifies the Combat Masculine Warrior as the cultural paradigm for the military. A cultural paradigm is a "self-consistent set of ideas and beliefs which act as a filter, influencing how we perceive and make sense of things" (Johnson et al., 2008). The Combat Masculine Warrior paradigm is organized around three main features: the core activity, the core image, and traditional culture model. The core activity of the military is combat. Ultimately, everything that is essential to military culture is designed to prepare soldiers for combat or to increase the likelihood of success once in combat. The core image of the military is that of a masculine warrior. The emphasis on masculinity helps explain why gender equality and the status of homosexuals have historically been problematic—they contrast with the image of a good soldier embodied by the masculine warrior archetype. Finally, military culture is organized around a traditional culture model, which tends to be a conservative (not just politically), moralistic ideology similar to the chivalric military ethos (Linken, 2016). The traditional culture model is evident in military documents such as the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) and the Code of Conduct (DA, 1988). Military life and experiences are constructed to reinforce this paradigm. Dunivin (1994) acknowledges that there have been social changes within the military that are inconsistent

with this model, such as the integration of women and racial minorities; however, these changes were the result of actions forced on the military by civilian authority and were met with resistance because they contradicted or threatened this paradigm. It is through the demonstration of the masculine warrior archetypes traits that one is seen as truly exemplifying what it means to be a soldier, and groups or individuals, whether inside or outside of the military, that do not meet this paradigm are viewed negatively.

Masculine military culture. The military as an organization is highly gendered according to a hyper masculine or warrior ideal (Castro et al., 2015; Peters, Nason, & Turner, 2007; Soeters et al., 2010). In gendered organizations, the structure and culture of the organization privileges a gender (typically, male) to disadvantage people who cannot or do not conform to the desirable gender traits (Acker, 1990). The hierarchal power structure rewards adherence to masculine ideals and disadvantages women and children who do not or cannot conform to masculine cultural norms or enter the power structure. Masculinity and associated masculine traits, such as control, aggression, and rationality, are valued, and femininity is associated with negative traits such as irrationality, nurturing, accommodating, passivity, and weakness. These stereotypes are reinforced by a male-dominated rank structure and the restriction of women from job assignments that are the most desirable, respected, and crucial for the highest levels of advancement (Castro et al., 2015).

Positive and negative aspects of military culture. Military culture is necessary for the military to be able to accomplish its mission: fighting wars. Indeed, taking American civilians with contemporary cultural values prioritizing independence, individual expression, and achieving the American dream through material success and

expecting them to perform in combat is unrealistic and a recipe for disaster. Military cultural values such as teamwork, sacrifice, unit cohesion, discipline, loyalty, tradition, and authority can make the difference between mission success or failure and life or death. Time is of the essence and efficiency matters in combat. When bullets are flying, there is rarely time to deliberate or argue alternatives; servicemembers must be able to react predictably and obey unquestioningly. Uniformity is also critical. Military units have standard operating procedures for how gear must be worn, so, as an example, if a servicemember is injured, a team member knows exactly where to find the tourniquet or field dressing without having to lose time searching or even thinking about it (Weick & Roberts, 1993). A perusal of Congressional Medal of Honor citations reveals that many recipients demonstrating discipline and selflessness sacrificed their lives and in doing so saved lives and/or enabled their units to achieve strategic victories (Congressional Medal of Honor Society, n.d.). Masculine cultural values such as toughness and a propensity to violence make it possible for servicemembers to endure harsh conditions and overcome natural taboos against killing (Grossman, 2014).

Military cultural values are also highly desirable in society outside the military, as evidenced by the high regard in which the public holds the military and its members (Confidence in Institutions, 2016). Military veterans are considered by many employers to be desirable employees due to traits learned in the military, especially teamwork and discipline (Stone, Lengnick-Hall, & Muldoon, 2017).

While there are necessary and positive aspects of military culture, the bulk of the research and theorizing has focused on the negative aspects of military culture. While following orders can be necessary, it can also be disastrous. From Nuremberg to My Lai

to Abu Ghraib, war crimes have been committed under the banner of following orders (Doris & Murphy, 2007).

Another potentially negative impact of military culture is the development of a "siege" mentality wherein members of the military believe that civilians do not understand or care about them and that military values and culture are morally superior (Ricks, 2017). The "can-do" mission-oriented mentality of the military and its culture, especially in "hot" conditions, tends to lead to us-against-them classifications, in which "them" can be the enemy, the public, the media, and members of the "cold" military organizations (Soeters et al., 2010). This orientation against outsiders is a representation of what Jacobs (1992, p. 57) termed the "guardian moral syndrome." Guardian moral syndrome describes public organizations in which the organization wishes to be courageous, obedient, loyal, and traditional but also exclusive, vengeful, and ostentatious.

Masculine aspects of military culture have been implicated in several social problems. Problematic aspects of military culture include constructions that rigidly define masculinity as tough, controlling, and quick to use violence. While these traits may be desirable in certain combat situations, they lead to problems for servicemembers at home, including the victimization of women and children. Military culture can be a barrier to seeking treatment for mental health (Coll et al., 2011; Langston et al., 2007) and substance abuse problems (Ames et al., 2007; McFarling et al., 2011; Weiss et al., 2012). The psychological adjustment of children and families to deployment is impacted by military culture (Lincoln et al., 2008). Military culture is a contributing factor to the prevalence, reporting, investigation and prosecution of domestic violence in the military

(Erez & Bach, 2003; Harrison, 2006). Finally, military culture increases the rates of sexual assault, discourages reporting of sexual assaults, and negatively impacts the investigation and prosecution of sexual assault (Turchik & Wilson, 2010).

Military Communities

Through most of American history, the United States did not maintain a large standing military. The military grew in times of war through drafts and recruitment, and following the war, the military shrunk once more. Indeed, the founding fathers were opposed to standing armies, and there was public resistance to the same through most of the 1800's (Kohn, 1975). During times of war, the military would establish temporary camps or cantonments used for training and mobilization. In the case of the American Revolution, the Civil War and westward expansion, camps also were mobile or semi-permanent bases of operation. These camps attracted camp followers. Camp followers were largely women who sought to co-locate with husbands or sons for access to shelter, safety, and food. The camp followers provided important services to the military, including laundry, sewing, cooking, caring for the sick and injured, and even supporting combat operations by carrying water for soldiers and for cooling canons (Rees, 1996).

Over time, the camps evolved into more permanent military installations. This happened in earnest following WWI, as warfare became more technologically advanced, necessitating large areas of land away from population centers for training purposes. These military installations soon attracted more modern camp followers, and communities grew up around the bases. The military offers employment to civilian populations, and the community provides essential services. The DoD is responsible for injecting billions of dollars annually into state and local economies via military

installations (Schultz, 2018). Certain economies are so dependent on military installations at this point that the mere hint of a base closure results in a flurry of lobbying activity by state and local officials (Sorenson, 1998).

The military comprises five separate armed services branches, Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard, and falls under the purview of the executive branch of government. The military consists of 3.5 million personnel; 37.5% are active-duty military, 31.2% are members of the ready reserve component, and 24.5% are DoD civilian personnel (DoD, 2015a). These personnel are spread over 513 installations operating in over 150 countries (DoD, 2015b). In addition to active duty, reserve component, and DoD civilian members, these installations or military communities also include an additional 2,783,141 family members (DoD, 2015b).

In the military, there is a well-known aphorism, "If the Army wanted you to have a wife (or family), they would have issued you one." While this could have been the summation of official military policy regarding families for most of American history, in 1973, the military ended mandatory conscription and transitioned into the all-volunteer force. The post-Vietnam Cold War era of conflict necessitated a stable, large, standing military. This shift to a volunteer military resulted in a more professional, career-oriented, and older force (Moelker & van der Kloet, 2006). Increasingly, technological skill requirements, in conjunction with the changing demography of the force, meant that the military had to pay closer attention to retaining trained and experienced members.

Starting in the late 1970's and in earnest in the 1980's, the military began investing in programs and policies directed at supporting family members. Research has repeatedly shown that satisfaction of family members with military life is the number one

factor affecting servicemembers' decisions to re-enlist or separate from the military (Segal & Segal, 2006). Some of these programs were geared toward improving the quality of life for family members, such as on-base family housing, schools, recreational facilities, and shopping centers (Bourg & Segal, 1999). Other programs, like the Family Readiness Group, were created as a mechanism to provide support and official communication with families. The Family Readiness Group is an official command-sponsored organization that is intended to bring together family members to provide mutual support and assistance and to share information (Army OneSource, n.d.). The Family Readiness Group fulfils a secondary implicit role as a mechanism for socializing family members into military culture (Harrell, 2001).

The influx of family members onto military installations coincided with public awareness of issues of family violence (Rentz, et al., 2006), and pressure quickly came from the public and members of congress for the military to formally address the problem. Thus, the Family Advocacy Program (FAP) was established in 1976 for preventing, identifying, reporting, investigating and treating spouse and child abuse (DA, 2011).

Taken together, the significant investment in programs for families attests to the official recognition of the important support role family members provide for servicemembers. It is also necessary for the military to function as an all-volunteer force. Segal first described the military as a "greedy institution" (1986), meaning that the military relies on the commitment of its members and attempts to bind them to it by appealing to their total devotion. The institution of the family is likewise traditionally a greedy institution (Moelker & van der Kloet, 2006). To resolve the problem of two

institutions competing for the total loyalty of servicemembers, the military co-opted the family into its service (Moelker & van der Kloet, 2006). Private life is not separate from professional life, and the family is considered a part of the military (Moskos, 1977). Members of the military can focus on their mission without the distractions of home, knowing that their family is taken care of and are committed to the military member's service obligations. In fact, family well-being is considered a key component of a soldier's comprehensive fitness to serve (Peterson, Park, & Castro, 2011; Rohall, Segal, & Segal, 1999). Family members are an asset to servicemembers so long as they adhere to traditional cultural norms that prioritize the needs of the servicemember as the needs of the service (Harrell, 2001; Horn, 2010).

Military Children

Within the military population, children constitute a subculture shaped by their unique upbringing within military communities (Ender, 2002). As of 2015, there were approximately 1.2 million children of active-duty servicemembers and another 743,736 children of National Guard and Reserve component servicemembers (DoD, 2015a). These numbers include children currently listed as dependents. There are no agencies that track information about military children after the member separates from the service or the child achieves adulthood. The DoD estimates the total number of military children to be approximately 15 million (Wertsch, 2006).

The military child subculture is most significantly shaped by what has been described as a modern global nomadic existence (Ender, 2002) or their experience as "third-culture kids," children who do not assimilate to the birth culture of their parents but instead adopt a blend of cultures (Useem & Downie, 1976). Surveys of military

children found that the majority perceive military culture to be their primary culture and see it as significantly different from civilian culture (Wertsch, 2006). Military children experience frequent moves over long distances where they are exposed to different regional and international cultures, requiring them to constantly experience the loss of friendships and extra-familial support structures (Ender, 2000). Military children must also contend with the frequent absence of a parent, the threat of parental loss, and, in some cases, the death or disability of a parent (Park, 2011). Military cultural values are transmitted through the militarization of the family unit (Wertsch, 2006), where children are treated like "little warriors." Military parents tend toward authoritative and often authoritarian parenting styles that emphasize regimentation and discipline (Wertsch, 2006; Walsh et al., 2014; Hall, 2008; Speck & Riggs, 2016). Authoritarian military parents are described as rigid, inflexible, intolerant of dissent, disapproving of non-conforming behavior, insensitive to children's emotions, and not accepting of personal privacy (Wertsch, 2006).

Child Maltreatment in the Military

Child maltreatment is a significant public health concern in the military. In fiscal year (FY) 2016 there were 13,916 reports of suspected child maltreatment, of which 6,998 were substantiated according to DoD criteria (DoD, 2017). Child maltreatment is a collective term that includes child physical abuse, child psychological/emotional abuse, neglect, and child sexual abuse. Each branch of the military is mandated to have Family Advocacy Programs that are responsible for the prevention of and response to child maltreatment and domestic violence (DA, 2011). Reported cases of child maltreatment are tracked in a confidential central registry maintained and administered by the Family

Advocacy Program. Overall, cases of child maltreatment are reported and substantiated at rates that are lower than the national average (McCarroll et al., 2008). In fact, reported rates are approximately half that of civilian rates (DoD, 2017). Like national trends, the rates of reported abuse had been trending downward since the 1990's (McCarroll et al., 2008; Rentz et al., 2008), although reports have been increasing since 2007 (see Figure 1).

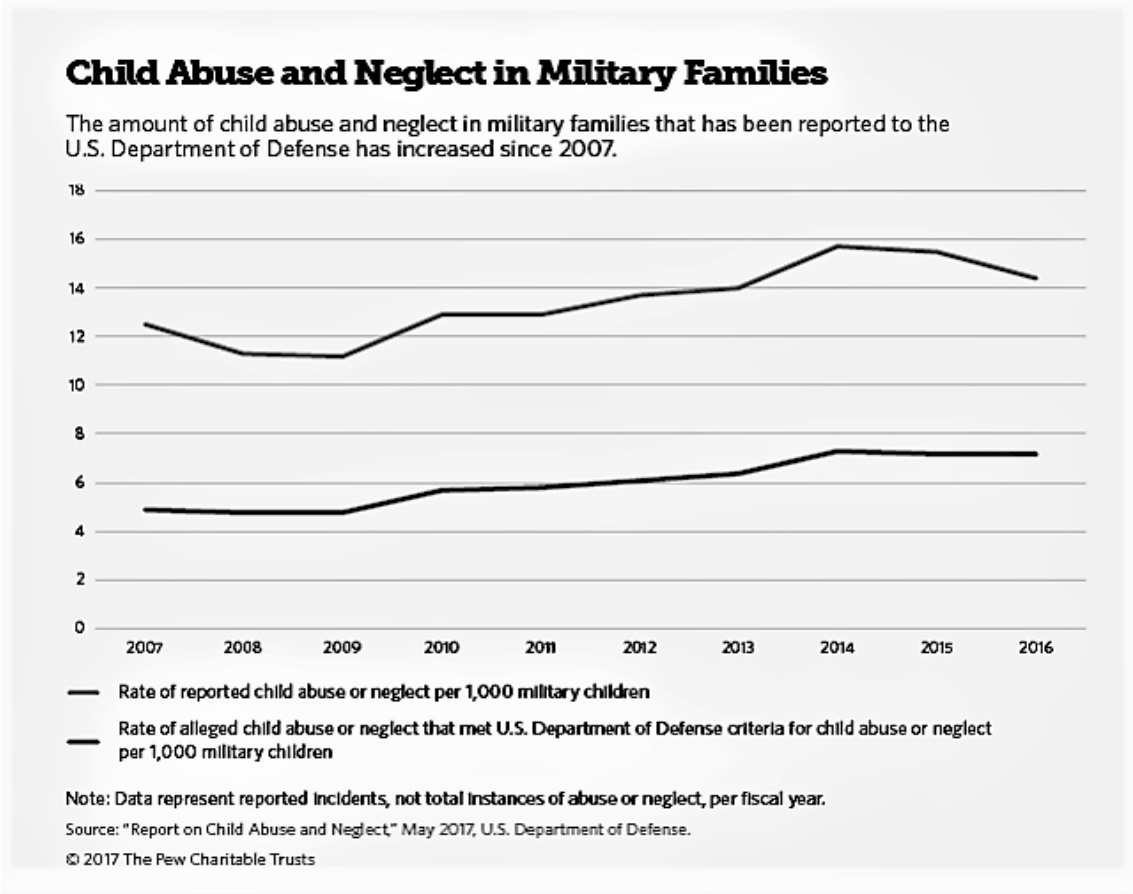

Figure 1. Trends in Child Maltreatment Reports in the Military. (Fifield, 2017)

It is important to note that reported rates of child maltreatment do not reflect the true extent of the actual problem of child maltreatment in any population for several reasons. In the case of civilian data, the rates are taken from the annual United States

Child Maltreatment report, which is compiled from state data. Not all states contribute their data each year, and the reported data from the states can be incomplete (Milner, 2015). Some of the military cases may be reported in the civilian data, because while Talia's Law passed in 2017 requires the military to report cases of child maltreatment to civilian authorities, there is no reciprocal requirement that state agencies report child maltreatment to the military (Fifield, 2017). Talia's Law is named for 5 year old Talia Williams who was beaten to death by her Army father, after military officials failed to report their suspicions that the child was being physically abused to state authorities (Gerber, 2017). The law requires mandated reporters in the Armed Forces to report suspected child maltreatment to the state's child welfare agencies in addition to the FAP (National Defense Authorization Act, 2016). A study of cases in which military children received a medical diagnosis of child maltreatment found that only 20.3% had a corresponding FAP report (Wood et al., 2017). In the case of military children with a diagnosis of sexual abuse, only 14.5% had corresponding FAP reports. Regardless of the problems related to information sharing between agencies, reported rates of child maltreatment will be lower than incident rates, because most children and families do not disclose or report abuse to authorities due to shame, stigma, or fear of the consequences to the child or the family (Myers, 2011).

There are significant differences between child maltreatment cases in civilian and military populations due to the unique characteristics of military families. Abusers in the military are more often male, which is the opposite of the civilian sector, and the targets of physical abuse in the military are more often male children (McCarroll et al., 2008; Rentz, et al., 2008). Additionally, the severity of physical abuse incidents in the military

is worse than in the civilian sector (McCarroll et al., 2008). The military has higher rates of shaken baby syndrome (Keenan et al., 2003) and child deaths due to maltreatment (Gibbs et al., 2011). Rates of child maltreatment, particularly neglect, spike before and during combat deployments (Chandra et al., 2010; McCarroll et al., 2008; McCarthy et al., 2015; Rentz et al., 2006). Additionally, cases of child maltreatment in military communities are more likely to be singular events and involve one type of maltreatment, whereas civilian cases of child maltreatment more often involve multiple types of abuse and multiple incidents reported over time (Gibbs et al., 2011). Military alleged victims and alleged offenders are significantly more likely to self-report child maltreatment than in the civilian population (Milner, 2015). Cases involving younger enlisted families were more likely to have their cases substantiated (Milner, 2015).

Military families have unique risk and resilience factors. The military lifestyle is challenging, including isolation from extended families, involuntary relocations, long and unpredictable work hours, and lengthy separations (Gibbs et al., 2011). Military families are also younger than the national average, with most children being younger than 7 years old (Clever & Segal, 2013). Rates of alcohol abuse and domestic violence are higher than in civilian populations (Bray & Marsden, 2000; Rentz et al., 2006). The findings that physical abusers in the military are more often male and more violent may be an indication of cultural norms related to the acceptable use of violence in the military (DuLaney, 2009; Erez & Bach, 2003; Savitsky et al., 2009), as well as a reaction to a culture where the real or perceived misbehavior of family members can have real career consequences for the servicemember. The expectation is that servicemembers' ability to

control their family members is a reflection on their leadership ability (Edwards, 2016; Walsh, et al., 2014).

Conversely, there are several aspects of military life that may reduce the risk of child maltreatment. In addition to having at least one fully employed parent, most military families (56.6%) are two-parent households (Clever & Segal, 2013). Military parents have a minimum of a high-school (or equivalent) education. People with criminal histories or prior mental health issues are generally not accepted into the military (Gibbs et al., 2011). Military families have access to free healthcare, mental health services, and legal assistance (McCarthy et al., 2015). Family advocacy programs offer preventative programs to the community free of charge, including new parent education and support groups, parenting classes, and public awareness campaigns (DA, 2011; Milner, 2015). The military also has ability to remove abusers from the home and to mandate treatment programs through non-judicial processes that do not require abuse substantiation (Gibbs et al., 2011).

Child Sexual Abuse in the Military

As is the case for physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect, both reported and substantiated cases of child sexual abuse are lower in the military than in the civilian sector (McCarroll et al., 2008; Rentz et al., 2006). The military has an average reported rate of sexual abuse of .8/1000 children versus the civilian average rate of 1.3/1000 (Rentz et al., 2006). As in the civilian population, most child sexual abuse cases (89%) involve a male offender and a female victim (McCarroll et al., 2008). Rates of sexual abuse for boys are highest at ages 3-5, whereas girls' rates of abuse increase as they get older, peaking at ages 12-14 (McCarroll et al., 2008). These rates are consistent with

trends in child sexual abuse in civilian populations (Finkelhor, 1999). Most perpetrators are male enlisted servicemembers in grades E-4 to E-6 (Lardner & Sullivan, 2015). These grades make sense demographically, because they comprise junior NCO ranks or servicemembers who have been in the military for at least a few years and are more likely to have families with small children.

Compared to the volume of research examining physical abuse, neglect or child maltreatment generally, there has been scant attention paid to child sexual abuse independent of other forms of maltreatment. Rates of reported child sexual abuse cases, along with demographic information such as gender and age of victims and gender, age, rank and relationship to victim, are often included in findings, but researchers largely ignore child sexual abuse in the discussion and recommendation sections of published studies (Gibbs et al., 2011; McCarroll et al., 2008; Milner, 2015; Rentz et al., 2006). This omission may be because the increase in academic interest in military child maltreatment coincided with the post-9/11 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Given that physical abuse, neglect, and emotional abuse are related to stress on the family, there is concern regarding how family separation, multiple deployments, combat experience, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) impacts families and, subsequently, child maltreatment in the military population. Child sexual abuse is not so directly related to stress on families as that caused by war. There are no published peer-reviewed studies that exclusively examine child sexual abuse separate from other forms of child maltreatment in the military.

Differentiating child sexual abuse from other forms of maltreatment.

Reporting child sexual abuse cases alongside other forms of child maltreatment is

problematic because it fails to account for the important differences in types of abuse. Child sexual and physical abuse cases differ in the age, gender, relationship of the child to the offender and offender motivations (Jason et al., 1995). In Table 1, I compare characteristics of child sexual abuse and child physical abuse. Understanding how these forms of abuse differ is critical for developing effective policies and interventions to address them. I caveat this list of characteristics and risk factors with the acknowledgment that there is great diversity when it comes to the details and circumstances of any individual case (Finkelhor et al., 2005). Abuse is not *caused* by the presence of one or even a few risk factors but by the cumulative effects of several different factors (Belsky, 1993; MacKenzie, Kotch, & Lee, 2011).

Oversimplified, physical abuse is what occurs when a parent or caregiver is under stress and does not have the parenting capabilities to handle the stress within a culture that condones at least some degree of violence against children. The characteristics in Table 1 tell this story. Mothers are more often perpetrators because they usually have the burden of caretaking and have the most opportunity to abuse (Belsky, 1993). Physical abuse declines as children age because they become more independent and less labor-intensive to parent (DHHS, 2013). Children with disabilities remain vulnerable as they age, however, because their disability may present unique parenting challenges as well as additional stress to the family life (DHHS, 2013). The family characteristics of dysfunction, poverty, or low socioeconomic status indicate a stressed family system, where substance abuse, mental health problems, and low education indicate a diminished parental capacity to handle the stress.

Child sexual abuse is very different. Perpetrators are not acting rashly out of anger, frustration, or a mistaken belief that their actions are appropriate discipline. There are different typologies of perpetrators, from those that prefer sexual contact with children to more opportunistic types (Lanning, 2010; Whitaker et al., 2008). Child sexual offenders generally do not abuse impulsively. Most plan the abuse. They take time to identify vulnerable children and to groom families, children, and communities (McAlinden, 2006). Perpetrators of child sexual abuse tend to have multiple victims (Lanning, 2010). While some of the characteristics of child sexual abuse cases align with physical abuse case characteristics, it is for different reasons. These characteristics are related to the opportunity of the perpetrator to access the child due to a lack of supervision or the emotional vulnerability of the child (Finkelhor, 1999). For example, single-parent households are a risk for both types of abuse. Being a single parent is stressful. The single parent may physically abuse his/her child because s/he is overwhelmed and unable to cope with the frustration, whereas in sexual abuse cases, the stress of being a single parent may lead to vulnerability due to a lack of quality supervision or an increased susceptibility to predator grooming techniques whereby the predator ingratiates themselves to the stressed child and family by offering support (Finkelhor, 1999).

Table 1

Different and Similar Characteristics of Physical and Sexual Abuse Cases

Case Characteristics	Physical Abuse	Sexual Abuse
Victim Age	Declines with age[a]	Peaks between ages 7-13[b]
Victim Gender	Equal risk for boys and girls[a]	Girls are 78-89% of victims[h]
Victim Ability	Increased risk for children with physical, mental, developmental disabilities[ai]	Increased risk for children with physical, mental, developmental disabilities[bi]
Victim Injuries	12% no findings[c]	90% no findings[d]
Perpetrator Gender	Female (Mother) 54%[a]	Male ≈90%[b]
Perpetrator Relationship	Parent 91.4%[a]	Intrafamilial ≈50% Extrafamilial ≈20% Juvenile ≈30%[b]
Family Income Characteristics	Poverty, Lower SES[a]	Poverty, Lower SES[b]
Other Family Characteristics	Dysfunction, single parent, younger, substance abuse, mental health problems, low education[a]	Dysfunction, divorce, single parent, long parental separations, stepparent, mental health, substance abuse[b]
Cultural Characteristics	Normative support for some violence against children[e,f]	Overwhelming negative public attitudes toward sexual interest in children[g]
Major Risk Factors	Stress, Lack of parenting skills[a]	Lack of supervision, Emotional vulnerability of child or family[b]

a. DHHS, 2013; b. Finkelhor, 1999; c. Jason et al., 1995; d. Alexander, 2011; e. Mackenzie et al., 2015; f. Child trends databank, 2015; g. Imhoff, 2015; h. Snyder, 2000; i. Sullivan & Knutson, 2000

Military Child Sexual Abuse in the Media

While child sexual abuse has been relatively unexplored by academic researchers, there have been several investigative journalist reports over the past few years that have shed light on child sexual abuse in the military. Investigative journalists at Scripps News conducted an exhaustive nine-month investigation into military sex offenders that painted a picture of a military protecting sexual offenders due to their reluctance to share information with civilian law enforcement agencies (Greenblatt, 2016). The reporters reviewed records obtained via Freedom of Information Act ([FOIA], 1996) requests for over 1,300 court-martial cases of child sexual offenders. Their findings included the discovery that over half of the inmates in military prison populations were convicted of sexual crimes against children (Lardner & Sullivan, 2015).

The Department of Defense central registry shares information regarding reported and substantiated cases of child maltreatment (after FOIA requests and lacking any identifiable information). The registry does not include information about whether the case resulted in prosecution or conviction, and there is no public record of prosecution or conviction rates in the military. The Scripps investigation also found that 20% of the convicted military sexual offenders released from military prisons failed to register with state sexual offender registries due to a loophole in federal law (Lardner, Sullivan, & Hoyer, 2016). Several of these convicted sex offenders went on to re-offend in civilian communities that were not made aware of their criminal history (Lardner et al., 2016). Investigators concluded that the military's lack of transparency when it comes to sharing information about child sex offenders is extensive. Unlike laws that require federal trial records to be publicly available, there is no centrally accessible repository for military

criminal records (Lardner & Sullivan, 2015). Records can only be obtained via FOIA requests, which take months or years to process and are frequently denied, claiming they violate the defendant's confidentiality. Even other law enforcement agencies, including the U.S. Marshalls and the Georgia Bureau of Investigations, describe military officials either denying or simply not responding to requests for assistance in the form of information (even photographs) of offenders (Lardner et al., 2016).

The result of the Scripps News investigation was the passing of federal legislation to close the military sex offender registry loophole (Greenblatt, 2016), as well as calls from congressional leaders for greater transparency when it comes to the handling of sexual assault cases in the military (Office of Senator Barbara Boxer, 2016). More recently, an Associate Press investigation found that the military is not equipped or inclined to handle child sexual abuse cases with juvenile offenders (Pritchard & Dunklin, 2018). The military does not have legal authority over juveniles living on the base and must rely on federal courts to handle cases that in the civilian community would be handled by juvenile rehabilitation and punishment programs.

Civil-Military Relations Theory

The civil-military culture gap is an aspect of civil-military relations theory. The civil-military culture gap, also commonly referred to as the civil-military gap or civil-military divide, is a theoretical construct used to examine civil-military relations. The civil-military culture gap is primarily concerned with cultural differences between the military and civilian society and the impacts of those cultural differences on different aspects of society. There are two central concepts related to the civil-military culture gap: 1) the assumption that there are significant differences in the culture, norms, and

values of the military and civilian worlds, and 2) the assumption of a connectivity gap or lack of contact and understanding between the military and civilian society (Cohn, 1999).

History of Civil-Military Relations Theory

Civil-military relations are defined as "interactions among the people of the state, the institutions of that state, and the military of that state" (Owens, 2012). At the center of civil-military relations is the problem of how a civilian government can control and remain safe from the military institution it created for its own protection. Owens (2012) articulated the questions addressed by civilian-military relations as: Who controls the military? What level of influence by the military is acceptable in a liberal society such as the United States? What is the appropriate role of the military? What pattern of civil-military relations best interest the effectiveness of the military instrument? Who serves in the military?

Throughout most of American history, the military was based on a citizen-soldier concept in which during times of conflict the citizenry was mobilized, then quickly and almost completely demobilized afterwards. George Washington based the Continental Army on the belief that "his virtuous citizen-soldiers would prove in combat superior, or at least equal, to the hireling invaders" (Flexner, 2017, p. 76). Because of their experiences with European militaries, many of the founding fathers are on record as being suspicious of the compatibility of a large standing military and a democracy (Klay, 2016). James Madison (1787), is credited with saying "the means of defense against foreign danger have been always the instruments of tyranny at home." This citizen-soldier mode of the military continued until the end of World War II and the beginning of

the Cold War. A large standing military that was well trained and equipped was deemed necessary for national security to counter the threat posed by the Soviet Union.

This shift was the impetus for deliberate theorizing regarding the proper role of the military in a democratic society and resulted in the institutional theory of civil-military relations that was primarily concerned with maintaining separate institutions under civilian control. The distinct military culture was considered necessary for military effectiveness. Convergence theory was proposed shortly after and largely agreed with the importance of civil control of the military but suggested that narrowing the cultural differences between civil and military society was better for maintaining that control. Concordance theory emerged as an exploration of the conditions that either encourage or discourage military coups, largely in response to the Vietnam War and the conflict between military and civilian leadership, as well as the anti-egalitarian draft. After the Vietnam War, the military transitioned to an all-volunteer force that moved the military even further away from the citizen-soldier model. Agency theory was developed to explain and predict civil-military friction.

Institutional theory. The two foundational works of civil-military relations are Huntington's *The Soldier and the State* (1957) and Janowitz's *The Professional Soldier* (1960). Huntington proposed that civil-military relations were shaped by a functional imperative, which is the external threat environment, and a societal imperative, which includes the constitutional structure of the United States and the ideology of the state. Because the societal imperative stays relatively constant, Huntington proposed that the functional imperative best explains change in the civilian control of the military.

Huntington (1957) describes two types of civilian control, subjective and objective, which are explained as:

> Objective civilian control is thus directly opposed to the subjective civilian control. Subjective civilian control achieves its end by civilianizing the military, making them the near state. Objective civilian control achieves its end by militarizing the military, making them a tool of the state. Subjective civilian control exists in a variety of forms, objective control in only one. (p. 80)

Huntington favored objective control, arguing that the best way to control the military was to professionalize the officer corps. From this perspective, a cultural gap between the military and civilian society was not problematic. Huntington's work was particularly influential in the professionalization of military officers and is indeed recommended reading for officer professional development. Military officers have become subject matter experts on all things military, encouraging civilian authorities to defer to their expertise (Nielsen, 2002). Huntington's argument for separation of the military from society, along with his emphasis on looking to the external threat situation to understand changes in civilian control of the military, became known as the *institutional* theory of civil military relations.

Convergence theory. Janowitz (1964) was similarly concerned with civilian control and the military's ability to meet the security needs of the state. Janowitz argued that it is inevitable for the military to be an active participant in decision-making about national security. Given the changing nature of international security threats, including the threat of nuclear war, Janowitz proposes a military that is more like a constabulary. Janowitz argued that shrinking the culture gap was necessary to maintain civilian control.

To do this, he suggested increased legislative oversight and greater involvement of civilians in officer professional education via the expansion of Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs. The argument for reducing the size of the culture gap is known as *convergence* theory.

Concordance Theory. While both Janowitz and Huntington were primarily concerned with civilian control and military effectiveness, subsequent researchers used civil military relations to explore military coups, the influence of the military, civil military conflict, and the compliance of the military (Nielsen, 2002). Schiff (1995), examined the case of coups and attempted to prescribe necessary conditions for preventing the military from intervening in domestic politics. This concept was called *concordance* theory because it required the military, political elites, and the citizenry to come to agree on 1) the social composition of the officer corps, 2) the political decision-making process, 3) the method of military recruitment, and 4) the style of the military. Domestic military intervention is less likely to occur when there is alignment regarding these four indicators.

Agency theory. *Agency theory* was put forth in the late 1990s. At this point, the end of the Cold War was necessitating a reassessment of national security threats and the role of the military. Additionally, the distancing effects of the transition to an all-volunteer force were being recognized. Agency theory is based on economic principles and focuses on explaining and predicting friction between civilians and the military. Feaver (1999) defines civil-military friction as "the degree to which the military is willing to display public opposition to announced civilian policy" (p. 220). The relationship between the government and the military is described as a principal-agent

relationship wherein the principal provides accountability and oversight through intrusive monitoring. Fever (1999) describes monitoring mechanisms as:

> Monitoring mechanisms include such activities as audits, investigations, rules of engagement; civilian staffs with expertise and oversight responsibilities; and such extra governmental institutions as the media and defense think tanks. Essentially, monitoring mechanisms enhance civilian control by bringing military conduct to the attention of responsible civilians. (p. 226)

While the United States has never been close to experiencing a military coup (Fever, 2015), the military can and sometimes does resist civilian control through shirking. According to agency theory, the likelihood of the military working or shirking is shaped by the degree of intrusive civilian monitoring of the military, the gap between civilian and military policy preferences or priorities, and the expectation of positive or negative consequences associated with working v. shirking (Feaver, 1999). Feaver (1999) defines working in this context as when the military, as the agent, "does what the civilian has asked for, how the civilian has asked for, with due diligence and skill, in such a way as to reinforce the civilian's superior role in making the decisions and drawing the lines of any delegation" (p. 409). Shirking, then, is "when the military, whether through laziness, insolence, or preventable incompetence, does not do what the civilian has requested, or not in the way the civilian wanted, or in such a way as to undermine the ability of the civilian to make future decisions" (Feaver, 1999, pp. 409-410). Based on this predictive model, the perceived high level of conflict between civil and military is characterized by high levels of intrusive monitoring and high levels of military shirking caused by the principals' low perceived cost of intrusive monitoring, the agents' low expectation of

punishment for shirking, and a large gap between the policies preferred by civilian authority and by the military (Feaver, 1999).

Civil-military cultural gap. Within Feaver's (1999) agency theory is the central hypothesis of the civil-military cultural gap: the increased distance between the wants of the civilian community and the wants of the military leads to civil-military friction. The extant civil-military cultural gap research tends to focus on the following four questions: 1) Does the gap exist in the first place? 2) What is the nature of the gap? 3) Does the gap matter? 4) If it does matter, what is causing it? What changes in policy might be required to mitigate negative effects? (Owens, 2012).

Most researchers accept that the cultural gap is real and increasing (Feaver, 2015), as do senior leaders in the military (Dempsey, 2013). To understand the nature of the gap, the Pew Research Center (2011) conducted two surveys: one of the general public and another of military veterans. According that research, both civilians (71%) and veterans (84%) believe that the public does not understand the problems faced by those in the military. Fifty-five percent of veterans describe themselves as more patriotic than other people in the country, as do a smaller percentage of civilians with military family members (42%).

Some argue that military culture is the cause of the gap and therefore needs to reform and become more like civilian culture, a viewpoint reminiscent of Janowitz's convergence theory (Sheppard & Grove, 2015). Others blame the gap on the deterioration of civilian culture in the United States that contrasts with the culture of integrity maintained in the military (Hajjar, 2014). Another argument suggests that

misunderstandings between military and civilian cultures are largely due to decreased interaction, which is the cause of the culture gap (Dempsey, 2013).

Ricks (2007) supports the view that the culture gap is related to misunderstandings between military and civilian cultures. He primarily points to the end of conscription as a primary factor in the increase of the gap because of the way it separates the military from civilians both geographically and through their life experiences. Multi-generational military families are becoming the norm in the all-volunteer military, such that 80% of those who serve come from a family in which a parent or sibling is also in the military (Pew Research Center, 2011). The drawing of servicemembers from a relatively small pool of Americans with historic family, cultural or geographic connections to the military is creating a "warrior class" (Morgan, 2003). Military and civilian societies are becoming geographically separated, with 49% of active-duty servicemembers concentrated in five states: California, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia. Even within those states, members of the military are increasingly concentrated on large installations that are largely off-limits to civilians. Additionally, the military is becoming more Republican (Pew Research Report, 2011). This real or perceived partisanship of the military is a threat to civilian control.

Civil-Military Relations and Child Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse is a societal problem. It is not a problem unique to the military, nor is the military immune to the problem. Culture matters when attempting to understand child sexual abuse cases as well as the community response to child sexual abuse. Cultural differences can also be a barrier to effective interagency collaboration,

which can impact the well-being of victims, their families, and the successful investigation and prosecution of child sexual abuse cases.

Military children occupy a gray area. They are civilians, but they are socialized into the military culture and are subject directly or indirectly to the rules and norms that shape military life. Child sexual abuse cases often straddle military and civilian systems so that children receive some or all of their services on the civilian community side, even as they are also members of the military community.

Given the gap between the military and civilian culture, the civil-military cultural gap may impact the ability of civilian and military agencies to mount an effective collaborative community response that successfully serves victims and their families. An environment in which members of the military mistrust civilians and civilians do not understand the military is not a recipe for good professional relationships and the easy flow of information.

According to Fevear's (1999) agency theory of civil-military relations, the likelihood that there will be civil-military friction is related to the perceived cost of intrusive monitoring, the expectation of punishment for shirking, and a large gap between policies preferred by civilian authority and the military. Currently, the level of intrusive monitoring of the military is high and the perceived costs of monitoring are low. Media investigative reports have shone a spotlight on the military's handling of child sexual abuse cases, drawing increased congressional scrutiny (Allen, 2015). This scrutiny, in turn, leads to more regulatory requirements such as Talia's Law, which occur in the context of the already very high intrusive monitoring due to the military's handling of sexual assault cases. The contrast between the military's perceived indifference or

incompetence in handling child sexual abuse cases and its chivalric cultural values means there is high public expectation that congressional leaders will provide oversight, thereby resulting in a low perceived cost of monitoring.

The issue of the distance between what the civilian authority wants and what the military wants can be assessed in different ways. Public and civilian leaders clearly have an expectation that the military will take necessary steps to address this issue. Supporting an assessment that the wants of the military regarding this subject are close to the wants of the civilians is the fact that child sexual abuse violates military cultural values of good order and discipline and chivalric values. Supporting this assertion are official DoD (2018) statements declaring family maltreatment as "incompatible with military values and ultimately impact[ing] mission readiness" (p. 1). Linking family maltreatment to military effectiveness aligns the functional imperative of maintaining readiness with the social imperative of protecting children (Huntington, 1957).

In contradiction, Strand, an expert on military sexual assault and a former military criminal investigator, observed (about the military's handling of juvenile-on-juvenile sexual assault) that "the military is designed to kill people and break things. The primary mission, it's not to deal with kids sexually assaulting kids" (2018). While this is but one anecdote, Strand is here directly addressing the functional imperative of military effectiveness, which members of the military may see as conflicting with the expenditure of time and resources on a social problem as complex as child sexual abuse that is only tangentially related to warfighting.

The final element, then, is the perceived cost of shirking. Punishment is something the military is familiar with. The high reliance on coercive physical

punishment to encourage obedience is a distinguishing characteristic of the military (Bucher, 2011). Regardless, civilian punishment mechanisms to encourage military compliance are problematic (Feaver, 2009). Not only does the military have the upper hand as far as access to coercive power, the military has tremendous political power based on its importance to the economy (Schultz, 2018) and extremely high public approval ratings (Pew Research Center, 2011). Punishment mechanisms include the withholding of rewards (i.e., reducing budgets), firing military leaders (such as when Truman fired MacArthur), and public rebukes of the military or military leaders. While civilian leaders have access to punishment mechanisms, the likelihood of them being wielded are low in this current political moment, especially when any shirking being done on the part of the military is ambiguous at best.

Taken together, the high levels of intrusive monitoring, the low perceived cost of shirking, and an ambiguous distance between the wants of the civilian and the wants of the military means that, according to agency theory, there is a probability of some shirking by the military on this issue and resulting civil-military friction.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the background on child sexual abuse in the military via the concepts that were incorporated into the conceptual framework of this study. The centrality of culture to the understanding of this research area was evidenced throughout the chapter. I began by examining my own subjectivity, including my cultural background, to provide insight into my approach to this subject. I then presented research indicating that culture plays an important role in all aspects of child sexual abuse cases, including the collaborative community response necessary that is established best

practice. From there, I presented literature regarding the culture of the military, the nature of military communities, and the state of research into child maltreatment in the military generally and child sexual abuse specifically. Finally, I presented the theory of civil-military relations and the concept of the civil-military cultural gap, which is an important construct within civil-military relations. Civil-military relations are useful for understanding how military and civilian systems work together to serve victims and families in cases of child sexual abuse. The dearth of peer-reviewed academic research that specifically addresses child sexual abuse in the military, taken together with investigative journalism that is uncovering significant problems with the military response to child sexual abuse, represents a gap in the literature. This research is not intended to fill that gap in knowledge but is hopefully a step in that direction. In the following chapter, I will present the conceptual framework used to design this research and the specific methods used to conduct it.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In this chapter, I present and discuss the methodology and specific research methods used to explore child sexual abuse cases in the context of a military community. The chapter begins with a detailed explanation of the epistemological assumptions that constitute the theoretical framework used to guide this research, namely, qualitative interpretive inquiry. I then describe qualitative case study methodology. Following that, I describe the design of the research and the details of case selection, data collection, and data analysis. I then present the ethical issues that I considered and encountered in the planning and execution of this research. Finally, I describe the strategies I employed to ensure the overall quality and trustworthiness of this study.

Qualitative Approach and Rationale

Child sexual abuse is a complex social problem with significant negative long-term and short-term consequences for the victim, the family, and the community. Research has demonstrated that the most effective response to this problem requires the coordinated efforts of many different agencies, including law enforcement, child protective services, mental health, medical, Child Advocacy Centers (CACs), and the justice system (Wolfteich & Loggins, 2007). This kind of interagency collaboration is difficult because of barriers such as occupational and organizational cultural differences. To add to this complexity, these cases involve separate systems of community response and the increasing cultural differences between the military and civilian society.

Researching child sexual abuse is likewise fraught with methodological and ethical challenges due to the complex dynamics of the problem. Developing a holistic understanding of a phenomenon that happens in childhood behind the veil of shame, stigma, secrecy, and trauma within a community that is increasingly isolated and culturally distant (Thompson, 2011) from civilian society justifies a methodology that allows for nuance and contradiction.

Qualitative researchers attempt to make sense of human or social problems according to the meanings that individuals or groups ascribe to them by studying the problem in its natural setting (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative research is an appropriate methodological approach when not much is known about a problem, the problem is complex, or when quantitative methods do not fit the problem (Creswell, 2007). Certain subjective experiences and social interactions do not lend themselves to being operationalized and measured. Given how little is known about child sexual abuse in the military, a qualitative study can be particularly useful for developing working theories about the problem that can be further developed and tested in subsequent research (Creswell, 2007). Additionally, the flexible and inductive nature of a qualitative research design allows for research questions and theories about the phenomenon to evolve and change as data is gathered and analyzed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative methods are also desirable when a detailed and nuanced understanding of a problem is desired.

Qualitative researchers do not assume that they can eliminate bias. In qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument, enabling him or her to be flexible and respond to interpersonal and environmental cues and attend to atypical or idiosyncratic data

(Creswell, 2007). The "validity" of the person as research instrument is based on his/her training, trustworthiness, experience, and transparency. Researchers engage in reflexive practice in order to develop an awareness of what their biases and preconceptions are and how they may be influencing their understanding and interpretations of the data (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). This reflexivity does not imply that qualitative research is merely the researcher's articulate opinion (Thomas, 1993). A systematic process of reflexive practice and emphasis placed on the perspectives of participants is used to minimize the researcher's impact on the findings (Rubin & Babbie, 2014). Findings are presented with the emic or insider perspective presented in the form of the participants' own words verbatim alongside the researcher's etic or scientific perspective interpreting the data (Creswell, 2007).

Interpretivist Paradigm

This study employs an interpretivist paradigm to understand the response to child sexual abuse cases from military communities. Ontology refers to philosophical questions regarding "what there is in the world to know and the nature of reality" (Thomas, 1993, p. 20). In an interpretivist paradigm, the ontological assumption is that reality is multiple and so, in order to learn about a subject, multiple perspectives must be included (Mason, 2002). The interpretive paradigm places emphasis on experience and interpretation because of an epistemological belief that reality is co-constructed (Creswell, 2007). This paradigm is concerned with meaning and seeks to uncover how members of society understand given situations in order to facilitate a deep understanding of social situations (Henning, Van Rensburg, & Smit, 2004).

Instead of attempting to discover the "truth" in their research, interpretivist researchers contend with and present multiple and contradictory perspectives in order to develop a richer understanding of the matter under investigation (Stake, 2000). While ontological assumptions answer the questions of what there is to know, epistemological questions deal with what counts as knowledge or evidence (Mason, 2002, p. 16; Thomas, 1993). Consistent with the ontological position of a constructed and multiple reality, in qualitative case study research, it is the subjective meanings of participants that count as evidence (Creswell, 2007). Knowledge is constructed between participants and researchers and evolves throughout the research process (Madison, 2012).

In designing a qualitative research study, there should be congruence between the philosophical paradigm, the theoretical perspective, the research strategy, the data collection and analysis methods and the personal history and views of the researcher (Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). Qualitative case study methodology is appropriate given the lens of the interpretivist paradigm and the complexity and nuance of the subject matter.

Case Study Methodology

The framework of qualitative interpretivist inquiry can inform a range of methodologies. In this study, I used a qualitative case study methodology. In the following sections, I describe the method, its purpose, and explain how this approach links to the specific methods used.

Case study methodology is a well-established research methodology used in many disciplines in addition to the social sciences. It is used to study the experience of real cases in real situations (Stake, 2013, p. 3). Therefore, it is a "naturalistic" as

opposed to experimental research design (Crowe et al., 2011). In a case study, the researcher purposively describes selected cases in depth by examining them holistically and within their social, political or other relevant context (Stake, 2000). Case studies share three features: (1) triangulating descriptions and interpretation using multiple sources of evidence, (2) collecting rich and detailed contextual and experiential data, and (3) research taking place within a single or multiple bounded cases (Yin, 2018).

Case studies use multiple qualitative and sometimes quantitative methods based on consideration of which approach will best explain the case and its issues (Lashua, 2015). Triangulation involves the collection of data from multiple sources using multiple methods, including some combination of observation, interviews, documents, archival data, or surveys. Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) prefer the word "crystallization" to describe this process. I discuss crystallization in greater context in relation to my study in the section of this chapter titled "Credibility." The use of multiple methods is congruent with the case study aim to develop a detailed and holistic understanding of the case, and it also increases the credibility of findings. Stake (2013) asserts that every important finding needs at least three or more confirmations for assurance that the interpretation is supported by the data and not misinterpreted.

Lashua (2015) states that "the beauty of case study research is in its potential for detailed attention to context" (p. 182). The context is crucial to binding the case, and all data collection and analysis is situated in the context of the case. Cases are complex entities and exist within particular historical, cultural, physical, social, economic, political, ethical and aesthetic contexts. Qualitative case study research is not used to create a causal explanation of events but to understand how activities and forces are

interrelated in order to shed light on the issue or phenomenon central to the case (Stake, 2013).

The third feature of case study methodology is that the research takes place *within* a particular case or multiple cases, which requires that the case be clearly defined. Yin (2018) refers to this as binding the case or clarifying what is inside the bounds of the case. The bounds of the case define what can be included in the research and what lies outside the case. Defining the case requires the researcher to select the key issues on which the study will pivot (Stake, 2000). Then, the researcher selects the type of case study that will be developed. Case studies can be single or multiple, and the purpose can be explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive (Yin, 2018). There are three main types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, or collective (Stake, 2013). *Intrinsic* case studies are used to learn about a phenomenon unique to the case. *Instrumental* case studies use a particular case to gain a broader appreciation of an issue or phenomenon. The *collective* case study involves studying multiple cases to generate an even broader understanding of a particular phenomenon (Crowe et al., 2011). My case study is a single, exploratory instrumental case study because the issues and outcomes related to child sexual abuse in military communities are largely unknown, and the examination of this case can facilitate an understanding of the phenomenon of child sexual abuse and military communities that extends beyond the bounds of the selected case.

Case study research is epistemologically compatible with an interpretivist theoretical framework. By focusing on direct and vicarious experiences from multiple perspectives, the researcher is able to develop a holistic understanding of how the multiple interpretations of similar experiences or circumstances relate to case outcomes

(Stake, 2000). By attending to the particular details of the cases, the researcher is careful to not oversimplify or impose his or her own interpretations over those of the participants.

Case Selection

The first step in conducting a case study is to identify what the "case" is. The case must be bounded by time and place, and the researcher must clearly state what lies inside the bounds. A bounded system can be a program, an event, an activity, or individuals (Creswell, 2007). In this research, I am interested in an activity, particularly the community response to child sexual abuse in a military community. The military community forms the geographical boundary of the case and consists of a military installation and its surrounding civilian community. By "response to child sexual abuse," I refer specifically to the broader system of agency or professional responses that offer services for victims and families in military child sexual abuse cases. The case is also bounded in time, in that I am interested in contemporary issues that these agencies encounter in these communities. Historical information is relevant to understanding the context of the case, but the data collected for this case is contemporary. Participants interviewed are currently working in their professional roles at the time of the interviews. Documents, especially in the form of regulations, manuals, and protocols, are the most current versions accessible.

The case selected for inclusion in this research was identified using a purposive sample (Stake, 2013). A purposive sample is selected based on the characteristics of the case and how well they serve the objective of the study. In selecting the case, I focused on communities with large military populations. A large population is more likely to

have a higher number of reported incidents of child sexual abuse, which increases the need for more frequent collaboration between response agencies and will also increase the expected experience level of the professionals within those communities. Large population centers are also most likely to have established CACs with multi-disciplinary teams (MDT).

I identified four military communities within the Southeast that were reasonably accessible by driving. For this reason, the sample of cases can also be described as a convenience sample. I identified military installations that house significant (>5000) populations of active-duty servicemembers. This criterion excludes smaller bases and offices, such as recruiting or military entrance processing stations, armories and outposts. The identified installations are primarily active component installations. Active duty status is emphasized because National Guard and Reserve units are, by definition, part-time and therefore are less likely to have a cohesive military culture that pervades the entire community. While the identified bases were all Army bases, they each include servicemembers from other branches of the Armed Forces, Department of Defense (DoD) civilian employees, and large populations of veterans and retirees. The four military communities are each served by a National Children's Alliance accredited CAC. The CACs provide forensic interviews, victim advocacy services, therapy and MDT coordination and facilitation. For the purpose of this research, the CAC also acted as a liaison to the agencies that are members of their MDTs. Of the four cases identified for inclusion in this study, two cases were ultimately included based on the availability and commitment of the CAC director in participating in the research study. Of those two

cases, one case was selected for inclusion in this study based on a greater accessibility to data in both the military and civilian community.

I refer to the included case as Fort Askew/Charlesville. Pseudonyms have been used for all names of people, places, and agencies. Fort Askew is a comparatively smaller military installation that includes a large number of trainees, highly specialized units, and a large population of DOD civilian employees and contractors. I am intentionally not providing specific demographic information such as the population size of Fort Askew or the surrounding civilian community in order to avoid identification of the community. The surrounding community of Charlesville is a large and growing metropolitan area with a variety of local industries. While I refer to the civilian community as Charlesville, it encompasses different cities and counties. However, the community is under a single judicial circuit and is served by one CAC.

Setting

The research began at the local CAC. The CAC offered the use of their office for interviewing. After the initial interviews at the CAC, research was also conducted in meetings held at the Charlesville offices of two mental health workers who serve sexually abused children from military families, the local sheriff's office, the local rape crisis center, and at the county courthouse. On Fort Askew, research was conducted at the Criminal Investigation Command (CID), Judge Advocate General (JAG), and Sexual Harassment/Assault Response & Prevention (SHARP) offices, as well as at an on post-Family Advocacy Program (FAP) event.

Sample

For this research, three types of data were collected and analyzed: interview data, documents, and observations. In the following section, I describe the criteria for inclusion in the study and describe characteristics of the data that was collected.

Participant Sample Description

A total of 15 agency professionals participated in this research. The sample was mostly female (67%), white (73%), and employed by civilian agencies (73%). In Table 2, I provide a table of participant characteristics. In addition to the professional experience of the participants, I was also interested in the military background of the participants because of how that might relate to their perspectives of civilian-military interagency collaboration. Military backgrounds include no military background, active military member, veteran, military spouse, or military child.

Table 2

Participant Characteristics by Community

Name	Fort Askew/ Charlesville (n=15)	%
Civilian or Military Agency		
Civilian	11	73
Military	4	27
Gender		
Female	10	67
Male	5	33
Race		
White	11	73
African American	4	27
Military Background		
Active Military	3	20
Veteran	1	7
Spouse	2	13
Child	1	7
No Military Background	8	53
Professional Experience		
CAC	3	20
Mental Health	4	27
Victim/Family Advocate	5	33
Law Enforcement	4	27
Legal	3	20
Medical	2	13
DFCS	1	7

Note: Five participants have more than one area of professional experience

Sample Selection

After identifying the potential cases (military communities) for this research, I set about the process of recruiting participants for inclusion. In this section, I describe the criteria for participant sample selection. For this research, I used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling is commonly used in case study research so that the researcher can include participants who are most able to provide

comprehensive information to answer the research questions (Yin, 2018). Snowball sampling is sometimes also referred to as chain sampling or chain referral. In snowball sampling, participants identify and refer to the researcher other potential participants (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). It is a recommended technique for recruiting hard-to-reach populations. *Hard-to-reach* populations are subgroups that can be difficult to reach because of fear of stigmatization or incrimination if they are exposed (Preston, Starks, & Cain, 2003). The military can be considered a hard-to-reach populations based on suspicion of outsiders and concern regarding the potential career impact of a breach of confidentiality. My sampling started with the CAC personnel. CAC personnel then referred MDT members to me for this research, and once I made contact with those members, they put me in touch with their relevant contacts within the military and civilian communities.

In order to understand how military and civilian agencies serve victims and families in child sexual abuse cases in military communities, I identified potential interview participants with relevant experience and knowledge of the problem. For the purposes of this research, I selected 15 individuals who have direct and current experience in working cases of child sexual abuse from the military community. I was interested in including their experiences in working collaboratively with other military and civilian agencies. I was also interested in their observations and experiences regarding how cases from the military community compare to cases without a military connection. Inclusion criteria for this group were that they have either at least three years of first-person experience in a professional capacity with a military child sexual abuse case or a role in shaping the context of the case. For example, agency directors and unit

commanders would be eligible for inclusion though they might not provide direct services, but are knowledgeable about the policies and procedures that are integral to the case context and in some cases have responsibility for those policies and procedures.

Civilian professionals include CAC personnel, victim advocates, mental health service providers, medical service providers, law enforcement investigators, child protective service workers, and prosecutors. CAC personnel are either directors, mental health service providers, forensic interviewers, or family advocates. All of the CAC personnel serve more than one role within the agency. Two other participants also have relevant experience in multiple categories, such as a mental health service provider with prior relevant experience as a child protective service worker. Military professionals included military law enforcement investigators (CID), prosecutors (JAG), one medical service provider, and a representative from the SHARP program.

Documents related to the case were collected for review. Documents fell into four categories: (1) the websites of the relevant agencies; (2) relevant publicly available manuals, regulations, and policies; (3) informational and promotional materials available at the agencies such as brochures, pamphlets, etc.; and (4) news articles. Document selection involved a purposive sample. Observations were also selected purposively, as they were conducted in the course of other research activities such as interviews and site visits.

Recruitment

CACs acted as intermediaries for recruiting participants in the beginning phases of recruitment. After identifying communities for case inclusion, I met with the directors of the CACs. All of the directors of the CACs initially agreed to participate, but two

directors dropped out due to scheduling conflicts. In order to participate, directors agreed in writing (see Appendix B) that they would assist with participant recruitment and also that their agency would provide advocacy and mental health support to any participants who might need it due to participation in the research.

For recruitment, the CAC was asked to identify potential participants who met inclusion criteria. I provided a professional participant recruitment letter (see Appendix C) that described the study and provided potential participants with the contact information for the researcher. The agency director passed out the recruitment letters and discussed the research at a regularly scheduled case review meeting of the MDT. I also created a website to assist with recruitment. The website can be accessed at the following url: www.csamilitary.wordpress.com. The first page of the recruitment website is included in Appendix D for review. A modification to the original Internal Review Board (IRB) was requested and approved (see Appendix E) in order to add the recruitment website to the research procedures. The purpose of the website was to have an online presence to which potential participants could be directed, either by the CAC or by previously recruited research participants. The website enabled potential participants to assess the purpose and legitimacy of the research prior to agreeing to participate and also contained contact information for the researcher. The website was not used to collect any data. Multiple participants mentioned visiting the site to learn more about the research or the researcher prior to attending scheduled interviews.

As previously described, snowball sampling was employed (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Following the interview, participants were asked to identify other potential participants whom they knew. I provided participants with business cards that

contained my contact information and the URL for the recruitment website, which they could provide to referrals. I did not request or obtain military approval or assistance in recruiting military members. I chose not to do so in order to preserve the independence of my research methods and findings.

Screening

Participants self-selected into the study after speaking to CAC personnel and reviewing recruitment materials. Participants initiated contact with me either via email or phone. After contact was made, I spoke to participants and explained the purposes and procedures of my research. I screened participants by asking them their current professional status, if they had experience with child sexual abuse cases that were connected to the military, and how long they had been in that position. If participants met inclusion criteria and were interested in participating, I scheduled an interview at a mutually agreed-upon time and location.

Consent Procedures

A key component to developing rapport and building trust with participants is open communication regarding the purpose of the research, potential risks and benefits to the participants, and the steps I take to maintain confidentiality. All participants were asked to sign an adult consent form (see Appendix F). Prior to conducting interviews, I reviewed the consent form with the participants and made sure to emphasize that they did not have to answer any questions, that they could withdraw at any time, and the limits of confidentiality. With military members, I also emphasized that I would not ask them for or want them to share with me any confidential or classified information.

Methods of Data Collection

The data used to answer my research questions were collected using multiple methods, multiple sites, and multiple sources to enhance the credibility of my findings (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). Table 3 below contains my research questions and the primary data collection methods I used to answer each of them.

Table 3

Primary Data Sources by Research Question

Primary Data Sources	RQ#1: How do military and civilian systems of community response serve victims and families of child sexual abuse in the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community?	RQ#2: What are military and civilian professionals' perceptions of child sexual abuse cases that originate from military communities?	RQ#3: How do military and civilian professionals perceive the coordinated community response?
Documents	X		
Interviews	X	X	X
Observation		X	X

Data were collected and analyzed simultaneously throughout the collection phase (Stake, 2013). Ongoing analysis helped me develop a better understanding of the cases and their contexts. Consequently, I was able to adjust data collection methods as I went, including the addition of the recruitment website and the focus of interviews. I began data collection by conducting a search for documents. Specifically, I looked for publicly available and current military documents relevant to my research topic, such as regulations, manuals, guides, and policies. I then searched for and examined the websites of the agencies and military installations that would be the setting for my research. In the following section, I provide a detailed description of my data collection methods.

Document Collection Methods

Documents for analysis fell into four categories: websites, official documents, informational materials, and news articles. The websites included in document collection were those for the various agencies within the military communities, including the CAC, mental health providers, the sheriff's office, visitor information websites for civilian communities, medical service providers, child protective services, the military installation, and specific military agencies (CID, JAG, FAP, and SHARP). These websites were found by conducting an internet web search using the agency titles as the search terms. I conducted a cursory review of the websites searching for information relevant to my research questions, such as information pertinent to the military, child sexual abuse, or interagency collaboration. I took a screen shot of relevant information. Official documents included military regulations, policies, manuals, and reports. Initially, I conducted an internet search to locate official documents. During interviews with participants, I asked them to provide copies of documents or refer me to publicly

available official documents related to the research questions. I did not obtain or include any documents that contained confidential or classified information. While visiting agencies on and off the installation, I collected informational materials that were freely given away, such as pamphlets and brochures. Analyzing the context as well as the content of the documents was particularly useful for understanding the structural context of the cases (Prior, 2003). Documents were also be used to verify and, in some cases, contradict specific information provided by participants. This process helped to clarify emerging concepts in order to support interpretations (Stake, 2000).

Interview Collection Procedures

I conducted in-depth qualitative interviews to explore the experiences and perspectives of research participants. In-depth interviews involve the use of open-ended and clarifying questions in order to elicit detailed descriptions of participants' experiences (Roulston, 2010). I interviewed each participant once. Follow-up phone calls to most participants were made during analysis and write up to clarify statements and obtain participants' opinion of conclusions. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and in person. Interviews were scheduled for approximately one hour at a location convenient to the participant that afforded appropriate privacy. The average length of an interview was 50 minutes. Most of the interviews occurred at the community CAC or in the office of the interviewee. One interview was conducted in a private study room at a public library.

The beginning of the interview was used to develop rapport, assess the participants' interest in participation, address any questions or concerns, and confirm consent. I created an interview guide that listed the major areas to be covered in the

interview, as well as specific topics and questions (Weiss, 1994) (see Appendix G). The interview guide was used as necessary to help focus the interview when a line of questioning was complete or the interviewee wandered too far afield from the topic (Patton, 2002). In conducting the actual interview, I changed the wording of questions in the interview guide and adopted a conversational style. The interview guide was primarily used in early interviews. I followed each interviewee's lead, so long as they were discussing information relevant to my research questions.

Interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the participant. Of the 15 participants, five did not consent to a recorded interview. For one of these participants, the opposition to recording was due to an agency policy prohibiting the use of recording devices in the building. The other three participants stated they were not comfortable with the interview being recorded but were willing to answer questions and signed the consent form accordingly. For those interviews, I took physical notes during the meeting and then, following the interview, made an audio recording of my recollections of the information provided by the interviewee. Interviews were recorded using a Sony ICD PX333 digital voice recorder. After I returned from the research sites, I transferred audio files onto the computer that I used for data storage and analysis. Once audio files had been created on the computer's hard drive and backed up onto an external hard drive, the audio was deleted from the recording device. Additionally, I audio recorded my observations and impressions of the interview, participant, and setting immediately following each interview (Roulston, 2010).

Observations. Throughout data collection, I conducted and recorded passive direct observations. The subjects of observations included research settings and

participants. Settings included the various agencies that I visited as well as overall observations of the communities of Charlesville and Fort Askew. For participants, I recorded observations before and after interviews of participants' demeanor, participants' interactions with others, and my overall reactions to the interview. I used a combination of head notes, jottings, and, where possible, audio to record my observations in real time. In ethnography, *headnotes* refers to mental notes and *jottings* refers to scratch notes, such as abbreviated words and phrases (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 44). After exiting the observation site, I expanded the jottings into full research memos (Emerson et al., 2011). Idea recordings were transcribed. The observations contributed to an understanding of the context of the cases. Memos were important for capturing insights into and emerging understanding of the cases. In addition to providing data for analysis, these memos served as preliminary data analysis tools (Emerson et al., 2011).

Data Analysis

I used a combination of inductive and deductive procedures to analyze my data. According to Creswell (2007), qualitative data analysis generally consists of "preparing and organizing the data…, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion" (p. 78). A case study analysis begins with a detailed description of the case context. Then, a within-case thematic analysis is conducted to identify themes present in the case. Finally, assertions and generalizations can be made about the research questions (Stake, 2013). Within the case, the data from interviews, documents, and observations was analyzed separately and then as a whole in order to develop a broad and holistic understanding of the issue being investigated. A combination of preliminary and

thematic data analysis was used for the observation and interview data, and discourse analysis was used for the documents. I used ATLAS.ti version 8 (2018), a qualitative data analysis software (QDAS) for archiving and organizing audio and text data, generating codes, and creating memos.

Preliminary Data Analysis

Data analysis is not a discrete step in the research process in case study research. The preliminary analysis is conducted at the same time as data collection (Rose, 2015). Researcher memos are not merely written records of events or interactions, they are also used to record the researcher's interpretation of the event and how the event relates to other themes, concepts, theory, sense or meaning making. Those interpretations or insights then inform subsequent decisions regarding data collection and data analysis so that meaning evolves as more data is collected (Emerson et al., 2011). In order to conduct preliminary data analysis, I created a researcher memo after each period of data collection. In the memo, I compared the data to my own experiences and to previous data collected. The research memos also included free-association writing in which I recorded insights into the data, the research process, and issues of reflexivity (Grbich, 2012, Roulston, 2010). As issues and potential themes emerged during data collection, they were collected in a summary document, so that at the end of data collection I was in an informed position to begin interpreting and conceptualizing the data as a whole.

Thematic Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was conducted on data from interviews and observation. Thematic analysis entails a review of the data, analytic coding, sorting of the data into categories, and finally the identification of themes.

Interviews. Following each interview, the audio file was uploaded into ATLAS.ti. A research memo was created and associated with the audio file in ATLAS.ti. Interviews were transcribed using a "parroting technique," a combination of Dragon Naturally Speaking 13 (Nuance, 2015) dictation software and f4transkript (2016) digital media transcription software. The dictation software helped to speed the process of transcribing, and the digital media transcription software was used to create a transcript synchronized with the audio. This process allowed me to easily revisit the original audio recording throughout the analytic process. In this way, rich audio data such as tone, pacing, and volume of speech were not lost (Paulus, Lester, & Dempster, 2014). I created a *gisted* transcription of each interview. A gisted transcription is a paraphrased version of the recorded speech that retains the essence of the conversation but does not include unrelated utterances or information not pertaining to the research topic (Paulus et al., 2014, p. 98). Retaining and analyzing audio files alongside the transcripts means that the data cannot be made anonymous for confidentiality purposes. Voices are potentially identifiable, and names and places mentioned in the interview cannot be redacted. The nature of this recording eliminates the possibility of storing participants' identifiable information separately from their data.

Thematic analysis begins by first re-listening to the interview in its entirety. After the first listen, I began the process of data reduction through open coding. Key segments of the interview were identified as quotations, and codes were applied to the key segments. Codes were used to refer to the content of the interview, including issues of setting/context, how the participant described a situation, the perspectives held by the participants, ways of thinking about people, objects, or processes, activities, events,

strategies employed by the participant, and relationships (Grbich, 2012). I also used codes to denote frequencies, magnitude, structure, processes, causes, consequences, and agency (Roulston, 2010). After the initial generation of codes, I refined the code list by combining, splitting and organizing the codes into categories. After refining the codes, I did another pass through the data using the new list of codes. Finally, I conceptualized the relationship between categories and with literature and theory (Grbich, 2012).

Observations. A thematic analysis of observations as recorded in researcher memos is similar in process to the analysis of interviews. After I completed an observation, I created a fieldnote. Observations were recorded in audio form or with pen and paper. Audio recordings were transcribed and then added as documents in ATLAS.ti. Physical notes were typed up and expanded into fieldnotes and then added as documents in ATLAS.ti. The first step in the thematic analysis was to read the memos in their entirety so I could see the evolution of the research and my thinking about the research over the course of data collection. For example, at the outset of the research, I was interested in examining issues of gender and power, but as the research progressed and I collected more data, I was commenting and making observations that pertained to interagency collaboration. I then wrote another memo identifying and refining earlier insights and lines of analysis, including my own reflections on the process and my reflexivity (Emerson et al., 2011).

After the initial reading, my insights into patterns in the data became clearer. With this in mind, I coded the data in the fieldnotes. The process of applying open codes to the data, refining the codes, and then applying focused codes to the data proceeded according to the same process as the thematic analysis of the interviews. During this

process, I used integrative memos to clarify and link themes and categories and eventually transitioned from writing researcher memos for myself to writing in an explanatory manner for a future audience (Emerson et al., 2011).

Discourse analysis. In order to review documents, I adapted a set of questions to be used as a document analysis guide (see Appendix H) (Fairclough, 2013). These questions were used to interrogate each document and identify themes and issues in the content of the document while also paying attention to the context in which the document was created (Prior, 2003). The guide includes questions as to the source of the document, the author/creator/originating agency, the purpose of the document (explicit and implicit), the intended audience of the document, the content topic, the relationship of the document to my topic of research, and the relationship between the document and other documents being reviewed (Prior, 2003) (see Appendix I for an example of an individual discourse analysis of a document). The guide was used to record the analysis of each document and was saved as a memo attached to the document in ATLAS.ti. After all documents were reviewed, the document guides were analyzed for common themes. Finally, the documents were analyzed in relation to data derived from interviews and observations.

Participant Collaboration in Analysis

In qualitative research, it is also appropriate to include the participants so that data analysis is a collaborative effort. During meetings with participants, I would ask clarifying questions in order to run my interpretations or theories by participants to see if they rang true with their lived experience and to solicit suggestions for alternate theories or themes (Rose, 2015). This questioning was conducted towards the end of the

interview or in follow-on calls so as not to bias the interviewee with overly leading or suggestive interview questions. As an example, here is a question I asked a participant about confidentiality:

> I: I've heard this before that there is not an expectation of privacy or confidentiality within the military community. Is that something that you've experienced or would you agree with that?
>
> Ella: I do. I do agree with that. There are areas that as a spouse and with our families as well where the command is very much involved in everything. They often even reach out to service providers on post. I don't know if it's written or unwritten regulation that they have. Not sure. But I've experienced that with my husband myself where the command can actually reach out to service providers like physicians and get some information.

In the preceding passage, I was running a concept by the participant to get her opinion. The concept of the military lacking an expectation of privacy had come up in other interviews and seemed relevant to my research questions. In this case, the participant agreed with me, but importantly, participants were also comfortable disagreeing with me. In this next example, I had a working theory that frequent moving complicates investigations, so I ran this theory by an investigator, and he disagreed with that premise:

> I: You brought up multiple jurisdictions and then with the military they could be stationed overseas in Korea or Germany, how does that complicate a case, or does it?

> Jonathan: From my end it doesn't, because those cases I turn it over to them. They can dig into more of that and verify background and where they were and time span and all that. I don't know how the military does it but they will get the interviews done very quickly. I love it.

The participant—in this case, a law enforcement investigator—did not agree with my premise that frequent moving, including overseas assignments, was a complicating factor and instead expressed admiration of the military's ability to handle these investigations.

Consulting with participants is another way that I attempted to ensure that my interpretation was consistent with the participants' meaning and not merely reflective of the researcher's bias (Thomas, 1993).

Ethical Considerations

Peled and Leichtentritt (2002) describe five assumptions that should guide ethical qualitative social work research:

> a) Research ethics are an integral aspect of the research act and of each of the phases of the research process; b) ethical research empowers participants, particularly those of vulnerable and disenfranchised groups; c) ethical research benefits participants; d) ethical research prevents harm for participants and involved others; and e) ethical research requires researchers' technical competence. (p. 148)

In this section, I address how I incorporated these assumptions into the design of this study and the steps I took to adhere to these guidelines throughout the research process.

Research ethics are congruent with social work values (Peled & Leichtentritt, 2002) and with a qualitative approach to research (Christians, 2000). Therefore, my

research design decisions, from my research questions to my theoretical framework to my methods of data collection and analysis, have occurred within a framework that prioritizes the respect of and care for the individual participants as well as their communities. Throughout the process of collecting and analyzing my data, I consulted with my committee chair regarding ethical procedures to ensure that I prioritized the well-being of my participants.

Participating in this study was an empowering experience for some participants. Thirteen of the participants expressed that participation was a positive experience because they were able to contribute to developing knowledge to help other people from the same community. For example, at the end of my interviews, I always asked the participants if they had anything to add, and one of the law enforcement investigators made the following statement:

> Warner: Women, the elderly, the disabled, and children are definitely the most vulnerable. So I think looking into services that are provided to children, how we can better assist children is definitely important because you are their voice. So I think it's a good thing to get into.

In the spirit of empowering my participants, I view them as potential collaborators rather than as subjects. All of my participants have an opportunity to have their voices and ideas expressed and reflected in the findings in a way that they likely otherwise would not be able to access. Another way I demonstrated respect for participants was to share sections of data analysis and writing with appropriate participants for their feedback. This process empowered the participants and also served as a member check on my work (Parry & Johnson, 2015).

Beneficence is a basic quality of ethical research (Peled & Leichtentritt, 2002). My participants will benefit from this research by contributing to knowledge that may lead to improvements in policy. Participants also directly benefited from their participation. Twelve participants expressed that they enjoyed being able to tell their story to an interested listener, and in the process, some developed insights that contributed to their own learning or personal growth on the topic. For example, Jonathan, a law enforcement investigator, was asked about whether he thought gender was ever a factor in these cases and in response, he described different ways he had noticed members of the military being more responsive or respectful to him as a man. He then stated:

> Jonathan: Time after time you know they're directing it towards me rather than her. Until you mentioned that I didn't pick up on it, but now thinking back on it. Yeah, I think probably because of the career and I'm a male maybe they relate to it better. I'll have to think about that more.

Because of his participation in the interview, Jonathan was able to reflect on his experiences and consequently developed insights into how his gender influences his interactions with members of the military.

Because the topic of my research is child sexual abuse, there are extra considerations that I addressed in order to prevent harm to my participants. My first concern with participants is that their participation be truly voluntary. In the informed consent procedures, I emphasized that they could withdraw at any time and were free not to answer my questions. In conducting forensic interviews, I adhered to what is called the *Child First Doctrine* (Ahlquist & Ryan, 2008), wherein the needs of the child take

precedence over the needs of the interviewer or the investigation. In the conduct of my research interviews, I adhered to a similar doctrine, in which the needs of the interviewee were my priority and came before the needs of the interview or my research. I emphasized the voluntary nature of participation in the informed consent procedure and also in meetings with agency directors.

According to Christians (2000), the single most likely source of harm in social inquiry is the "disclosure of private knowledge considered damaging by experimental subjects" (p. 145). Disclosure of their identity and their participation in this study could have potential negative impacts for participants, including harm to their career or reputation, embarrassment, or could even affect their relationship with other professionals or agencies and their ability to collaborate in the future. I use pseudonyms for people and places in reporting my findings in order to protect the identity of participants. I have also elected to not report any data that could potentially lead to the identification of participants, even though excluding that information in some cases reduces the rich detail of my findings that helps to establish credibility. Additionally, participants were informed that they could ask me not to include specific data in my logs and analysis. Finally, data is secured on a private password-protected computer designated for data storage and analysis for this project. This computer is only physically accessible to me and members of my committee upon request. Data is backed up on an external hard drive in password-protected folders. Physical documents and notes were secured in a private locked file cabinet until they could be digitized and the originals destroyed. Participants were informed that their information would be handled with confidentiality with certain exceptions. I explained that the exceptions to confidentiality were if I were to receive

information regarding pending threat of serious harm to the participants or involved others (Gondolf, 2000), if I am made aware of an unreported case of child abuse (Sieber, 2010), or in response to a court-issued subpoena (Palys & Lowman, 2012).

Another predictable source of harm for my participants is experiencing emotional distress during or after data collection. I focused my interviews on participants' experiences of interagency collaboration and interactions with clients regarding disclosure and reporting and not on the details of the abuse scenario. Most participants have been working professionally in this field for years and are comfortable discussing the subject matter. However, it is possible that talking about this highly painful and intimate subject could result in some level of distress. During informed consent, I made sure participants knew that they could stop the interview at any time or refuse to answer any particular question. During the interview, I looked out for signs of distress such as shutting down or going into a long detailed retelling of the events. During one interview, I recognized that the participant appeared to be experiencing some distress and was ruminating on particularly painful details of a specific case. I transitioned into a discussion about the impact this work can have on professionals, which allowed me to tactfully assess the participant's self-awareness and knowledge about and access to supportive resources. After that transition, I brought the interview to a respectful close.

The final guiding assumption for ethical qualitative social work research is that the research requires the researcher's technical competence. As I am the primary researcher for this study, my technical competence is in question. I am a new researcher, and this study constituted my first experience conducting a qualitative case study. However, I have successfully completed my doctoral coursework, including three courses

specifically on qualitative research. In addition to my academic preparation, my social work training was helpful for this study, in particular, my experience with conducting interviews and assessments, as well as my training and experience in crisis intervention. I have completed two forensic interviewing courses as well as continuing education trainings on topics related to forensic interviews and child sexual abuse. I have personally conducted approximately 250 forensic interviews of children.

Strategies for Ensuring Research Quality

Tracy (2010) proposes eight criteria that can be used to evaluate the quality of qualitative research regardless of methodology or paradigm. These criteria are a) worthy topic, b) rich rigor, c) sincerity, d) credibility, e) resonance, f) significant contribution, g) ethics, and h) meaningful coherence. In the introduction and literature review portions of this prospectus, I have endeavored to establish the worthiness of this topic by highlighting its relevance and significance. I endeavored to employ established standards for data collection and analysis. The prior section was devoted to explaining how I have incorporated ethical considerations into my research design. I anticipate that in the following chapters, my findings and discussions of findings will demonstrate the resonance, significant contribution, and meaningful coherence of the study. In this section, I detail the techniques and practices I employed to achieve the sincerity and credibility criteria of a high quality study.

Sincerity

A sincere study is characterized by the self-reflexivity of the researcher and transparency of the methods and challenges. The researcher engages in reflexive practice in order to develop an awareness of what their biases and preconceptions are and how

these may be influencing their understanding and interpretations of the data (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). I engaged in reflexive practice through memo writing and keeping a daily research journal that included not only what I worked on each day, but my thoughts and feelings about the topic and the research process. I used the memo writing process to critically reflect on my actions, motivations, and reactions to the research process. Throughout data collection and analysis, I created memos about my interactions and behaviors with participants and agencies, paying particular attention to power dynamics between myself and participants (Roulston, 2010). Researcher memos are stored in ATLAS.ti and were analyzed along with the data. By engaging in a systematic process of reflexive practice, I endeavored to emphasize the perspectives of participants and to minimize my impact on the findings (Rubin & Babbie, 2014).

Credibility

According to Richardson (2000), good qualitative writing "embodies a fleshed out sense of lived-experience that seems 'true'—a credible account of a cultural, social, individual, or communal sense of the "real" (p. 287). Creswell recommends qualitative researchers refer to the *credibility* of research in lieu of using the term *validity* in order to emphasize that the notion of validity as it is commonly understood in quantitative research does not directly apply within a qualitative research paradigm (2007, p. 212). Credible research employs established techniques to ensure that findings are "real" and not merely the researcher's articulate opinion (Thomas, 1993). In order to enhance the trustworthiness that my conclusions are grounded in the lived experiences of my participants, I employed the following strategies proposed by Tracy (2010): thick description, crystallization, multivocality, and member reflections.

Thick description requires a great quantity of detailed data that includes tacit knowledge of the participants that can only be achieved through adequate time in the field (Tracy, 2010). By spending time with my participants in their community, I was able to develop a sense for nuance in their meanings and interactions that can be conveyed in the presentation of data to *show* my conclusions as opposed to *telling* them. I used in-depth interview techniques such as open-ended and probing questions to elicit narrative details from interviewees. Throughout data collection, I maintained detailed records of my interactions. In Chapter 5, I provide concrete details and the context of behaviors or interactions so that readers can decide if the meanings I inferred from the interaction are justified given the circumstances.

Crystallization (Ellingson, 2008; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) is akin to triangulation. Triangulation is the use of multiple sources and types of data, theoretical constructs and methods of analysis in order to ensure that conclusions are corroborated and, ultimately, the truth (Creswell, 2007). This approach, however, assumes there is a single truth to be found and that multiple researchers looking at enough sources of data would arrive at the same point. Crystallization maintains the use of multiple sources and types of data, theoretical constructs and methods of analysis, but does so with the goal of achieving a complex in-depth understanding of the data while recognizing that it is still incomplete and there is no singular truth to be found. Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) describe the crystal imagery as apt because crystals grow and change, and their appearance depends on a variety of external and internal factors, including the angle of approach and the quality and quantity of light reflected (p. 963). Thus, different researchers may draw different conclusions. However, by using multiple types of data,

the scope of the research is increased so that a deeper understanding can be achieved. For my research, I use in-depth interviews and document analysis methods of data collection. I also interviewed multiple participants with various roles relevant to my research question and the case so that multiple perspectives of the topic are considered.

Multivocality and member reflections are in keeping with the social work and qualitative values of prioritizing the needs and benefits of the participants (Grbich, 2012; Madison, 2012). In my data analysis and presentation of findings, I included the multiple and contradicting voices of participants. Additionally, by seeking input from participants I received feedback, questions, and critiques of conclusions, which is also rich data and provided a check on the dominance of my perspective as the researcher.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described the methodology and specific research methods used to explore child sexual abuse cases in the context of a military community. I included a detailed explanation of qualitative interpretive inquiry, the epistemological assumption that provided the theoretical framework used to guide this research, as well as qualitative case study methodology. After that, I provided detail regarding the steps I took to select the case and conduct data collection and analysis. Finally, I presented the ethical issues that I considered and encountered in the planning and execution of this research and the strategies I employed to ensure the overall quality and trustworthiness of this study. In the next chapter, I will provide a description of the context of the case study including the historical, cultural, and structural forces that shaped this case

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION OF CASE CONTEXT

Child sexual abuse is a multidimensional phenomenon and to address this problem effectively requires considerable community coordination and communication. In this research, I examined one military community, consisting of the military installation, Fort Askew, and the surrounding civilian community, Charlesville, in order to explore how the military cultural context impacts child sexual abuse cases, including disclosure, reporting, investigations, clinical intervention, and collaboration.

The first objective of a case study is to understand the case (Stake, 2013, p. 2). In order to understand the military community of Fort Askew/Charlesville, it is first necessary to understand the context that shapes the activities, experiences, and interpretations of activities within each case. For that reason, I devote this chapter to describing the macro level context of this research study. Because case studies are bounded within a specific time and place, historical forces play a shaping role. If this study were conducted 5, 15, or 50 years into the past or in the future, the data and findings would presumably look very different. Therefore, the first priority in providing context is to review relevant historical trends. For this case study, the relevant historical trends include the impact of the post-9/11 wars on the military and on civil-military relations. Additional historical trends include emerging attention to mental health in the military, the wellbeing of military families, sexual assault in the military, and awareness of institutional child sexual abuse. This case study is also bounded geographically. Fort

Askew/Charlesville is located within the southeast region of the United States. The Southeast has a particular relationship with the military grounded in the "Southern military tradition."

Structural forces also play a critical role in shaping the case included in this study. Structural forces include the organizational structure such as the roles and responsibilities of different agencies. Laws, regulations, policies, and manuals make up the regulatory environment shaping this case study. Relevant structural forces include state laws, the CAC Model and the military's coordinated community response.

Historical Context

In this section, I will describe the historical trends relevant for this case study. They include the impact of the post-9/11 wars on the military and on civil-military relations, the increase in public attention to mental health in the military, the wellbeing of military families, sexual assault in the military, and awareness of institutional child sexual abuse.

The Impact of War

> War is special activity, different and separate from any other pursued by man.
>
> --Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, 1976

The 9/11 terrorist attacks plunged the United States into an extended period of open-ended war unlike any that had preceded it. The nation is currently experiencing the longest continuous period of time engaged in war. In light of this fact, the editorial board of the New York Times (2017) dubbed the post-9/11 military operations "America's Forever Wars." Counterterrorism operations have expanded beyond Afghanistan and Iraq and now include U.S. military operations in 76 countries or 39% of the world's nations

(Savell, & Ji, 2018). A key difference between the post-9/11 period of war and others is the extent to which the unique losses and burdens of war are being borne by a small fraction of the nation. The growing disconnect between the military and the nation is having a significant impact on the military as well as on civil-military relations. Even prior to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the military was feeling the strain of meeting high operational demands with the all-volunteer force (von Hippel, 2002). The demands of war are exacerbating this strain and causing fatigue for both the military and the public.

As early as 2003, there was concern that extended deployments and inadequate dwell time would negatively impact the military (Allen, 2011). *Dwell time* is the time between deployments when service members recover physically and mentally, reconnect with families, train, and participate in leadership development. Likewise, dwell time is necessary for units to reconstitute by repairing and replacing worn and damaged equipment, filling empty personnel positions, and training. Senior leaders in the Army expressed concern in testimony before Congress in 2006 and again in 2010 about the pace of military operations. The exclusive focus on tactical combat missions has crowded out professional education, training, and mentoring of rising leaders. Colonel (retired) Allen (2011), argues that the lack of leadership development has manifested itself in widespread command failures evidenced by senior level officers being relieved from command and an increase in "toxic leadership." Another consequence of a high operations tempo is the loss of junior leaders, reducing the pool of leadership talent for senior military leadership.

A consequence of the burden of war being concentrated on a small portion of the population is the development of a strange relationship between the military and the public. As discussed in Chapter 2, the American public is geographically and culturally separated from the military effectively creating a warrior class within the United States. This physical and cultural distance allows the general public to disengage from all things military. Even so, the military is held in high regard by the majority of Americans (Pew Research Center, 2011). Society has learned to separate servicemembers from the wars they are engaged in. There is a narrative wherein the lack of public support for the Vietnam War translated into mistreatment of Vietnam veterans upon their return home. Whether true or not (Lembcke, 2000), subsequent generations of combat veterans have been treated with profuse demonstrations of gratitude and public support (Stahl, 2015). Stahl (2015), proposes that the "support the troops" rhetoric serves the purpose of deflecting public focus from engaging in deliberation about public policy regarding the use of the military and reinforces the distance between the public and the military.

Even as the majority of Americans express support and gratitude for members of the military, they are generally unsupportive of the post 9/11 wars. In 2011, a poll conducted by the Pew Research Center found that the majority of Americans were opposed to the war in Iraq (57%) and Afghanistan (53%). In 2013, public polling indicated that the war in Afghanistan was more unpopular than the Vietnam war (Blake, 2013). In an essay on the shifting perception of veterans, Nulton (2015) described this contrast, "While the public's political support is often divided over the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, one thing that seems to stay constant is the virtual rockstar status many veterans enjoy when they come home."

This rockstar status means that the military is treated as sacrosanct. Showing deference to servicemembers is a cultural norm and critiques of servicemembers or the military in general are taboo (Stahl, 2015). Despite the unpopularity of the wars, there has been no significant anti-war movement. This is largely explained by the fact that the majority of the American public feels no impact of the wars on their day to day lives and that criticism of military operations has become conflated with criticism of the military generally. The focus of public and political debate has largely ignored the prosecution of the current wars, and is instead focused on caring for servicemembers and their families.

Mental Health

"Taking care of the troops" is a constant stump for politicians of both parties. The popularity of this refrain is as much a reaction to the perception of mistreatment of Vietnam veterans as it is to the current high status of servicemembers. President Obama referred to the mistreatment of Vietnam veterans as America's "national shame" (CNN, 2012). From the outset of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan there was a sense that this time would be different and that this generation of servicemembers would receive excellent support and services.

The military and the public were already sensitized to the impact of combat on mental health thanks to research as well as popular culture about Vietnam veterans that raised awareness of PTSD (Shay, 2010). PTSD is by no means a phenomenon of modern warfare. There are accounts describing symptoms that modern clinicians would recognize as PTSD dating back at least to Roman times, but it was the Vietnam War that was largely responsible for bringing public attention to the issue of PTSD and other mental health issues stemming from combat experience (Dean, 1997). Consequently, the

well-being of servicemembers has been a focus of attention and research by the DoD, VA, and civilian research organizations. Very early on it became clear that the wars were negatively impacting the mental health of returning servicemembers. Veterans were increasingly dealing with PTSD, depression, traumatic brain injuries (TBI), addiction, adjustment to civilian life, strains in family life, and anger (Ramchand, Acosta, Burns, Jaycox & Pernin, 2011). In response, the DOD and VA made efforts to expand access to and improve quality of care. In 2007, news of wounded servicemembers being neglected at Walter Reed Army Medical Center brought increased public scrutiny to the treatment of servicemembers and resulted in Congressional oversight and demands for improvement (Bowman, 2011).

To this point there have been several initiatives to improve mental health services in the military including an increasing reliance on community providers (Ramchand et al., 2011). In the army, mental health care has been integrated into the primary care setting (Pickett, et al., 2015). DoD places emphasis on prevention by fostering resilience. To promote resilience, the Army partnered with the Positive Psychology Center at the University of Pennsylvania and created a "Ready and Resilient Campaign." As part of this campaign, the Army established a Master Resilience School, to train and certify Master Resilience Trainers who in turn are responsible for providing required resilience training to Army units (DA, 2015b). Under the umbrella of R2C, is the Army Suicide Prevention Program, which also includes requirements for training leaders and servicemembers on suicide prevention.

Other initiatives include efforts to reduce stigma associated with seeking and receiving mental health services. In recognition of the mental health stigma the military

has provided servicemembers access to free, short-term, confidential counseling services that can take place in person, over the phone, or via secure video or online chat (Military OneSource, n.d.). Chaplains have taken on a more significant role in facilitating mental health care in addition to their traditional responsibilities providing spiritual care. Many soldiers seek out chaplains care because of concerns about confidentiality in traditional mental health settings (Pickett, et al., 2015).

Families

In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2009, Sheila Casey, wife of the Army Chief of Staff, stated, "Army families are the most brittle part of the force…[They] are sacrificing too much, and we can no longer ask them to just make the best of it" (as cited in Halvorson, 2010). Concern for the servicemember extends to concern for military family members of the servicemember. Programs focused on the well-being of military families have also proliferated. The R2C has a component geared at building resiliency in family members (DA, 2015). Additionally, confidential, short-term counseling is also available for family members through Military OneSource. First Lady Michelle Obama and Dr. Jill Biden teamed up to promote the "Joining Forces" initiative that used a public health model to improve outcomes for military children (Pickett, et al., 2015).

Sexual Assault in the Military

During this same time period, there has been an explosion in awareness, research, and policy initiatives aimed at combatting sexual assault in the military. Media coverage of high profile sexual assault cases draws public scrutiny of the male-dominated culture that creates a climate where sexual assault goes unchecked. The public scrutiny is not

exactly new. There were several well-publicized and scrutinized sexual assault scandals in the early '90s including most famously the Navy's Tailhook convention scandal and the sexual assault and harassment of trainees at Aberdeen Proving Ground (Bell & Reardon, 2012).

In 2003, during the early days of the Iraq war, another sexual assault scandal this time at the Air Force Academy brought renewed attention to the issue and resulted in a flurry of investigative journalism, congressional inquiries, and eventually academic research revealing that issues of sexual assault and harassment were endemic to the military (Turchik & Wilson, 2010). In addition to revealing high rates of sexual violence in the military, research revealed significant structural and cultural problems in the services that contributed to the problem of sexual violence and protection of offenders. Consequently, new structures have been created within the Department of Defense specifically to handle military sexual assault prevention and response. The Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office (SAPRO), is a DoD office responsible for the implementation and monitoring of sexual assault prevention and response programs in the different services. SAPRO submits an annual report to Congress on the number of reported cases and how they are adjudicated (http://www.sapr.mil/). In the Army, the Sexual Harassment/Assault Response & Prevention (SHARP) program is tasked with dealing with the issue. As part of the SHARP program, all Soldiers are required to receive SHARP training as a part of basic and leadership training programs. They must also attend annual refresher training. There has also been significant changes made to the military justice system legally changing how sexual crimes are handled. The most significant of these changes was that authority to prefer charges (make decisions about

whether or not to prosecute the cases) was reserved for O6 or senior officer level of command (http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/).

Resistance

There has been some reported backlash against the sweeping reforms and changes to the military some of it owing to the traditional nature of the military and its general resistance to change (Linken, 2016), but others argue that the resources of time and money spent on these issues are a distraction from the military's primary war fighting mission. The reaction to public and political scrutiny of the military, is the creation of new programs, regulations, and training requirements. The problem is that research has shown that the military is overtaxed to such an extent that there are more mandatory training requirements than there are available training days in a year (Wong, 2002). The military is quick to pass down requirements to individuals and units regardless of their ability to actually comply and rarely reviews requirements for elimination. Because noncompliance is not an option for military leaders, the military culture has accommodated through ethical compromise. A 2015 study found that the deluge of demands resulted in a widespread trend of officers "fudging" or "pencil whipping" tasks or reports, because they had too many requirements and insufficient time to complete them (Wong & Gerras).

Institutional Child Sexual Abuse

Stepping away from the military, the issue of child sexual abuse has also recently received an increase of public attention. There have been several scandals coming to light involving large trusted institutions. Some of the better known scandals involve the Catholic Church (Calkins, Fargo, Jeglic & Terry, 2015), the Boy Scouts (Francescani &

Carson, 2012), and recently the US women's gymnastics team (Hauser & Astor, 2018). The institutional aspects of the abuse includes, "inadequate procedures for preventing and detecting abuse, organizational values that place the reputation of the organization above protecting children, marginalization of victims and whistleblowers, and people in authority misusing their power to target vulnerable children" (Blakemore, Herbert, Arney & Parkinson, 2017). Predators are attracted to these institutions because they afford access to children and also deflect scrutiny because of the respect and trust of the institution. When these organizations fail to provide adequate procedures to protect children and place the value of the organizations reputation over punishing sex offenders, they are essentially providing an environment that protects predators and facilitates abuse.

Cultural Context: The Southeast

Case studies are bound by both time and place. The military community that is the subject of this case study is geographically located in the southeast region of the United States. The Southeast is culturally distinct from other regions of the United States. Southerners consider themselves to be more sociable, religious, and to have more traditional attitudes towards moral issues and gender roles (Beck, Frandsen & Randall, 2007). Additionally, there is a historical tradition of military service in the Southeast dating back to before the Civil War (Maley & Hawkins, 2018). Referred to as the "Southern military tradition" (Segal & Segal, 2004), the overrepresentation of Southerners in the military has increased in recent decades (See Figure 2). Culturally, the Southeast is more like the military than other regions of the United States.

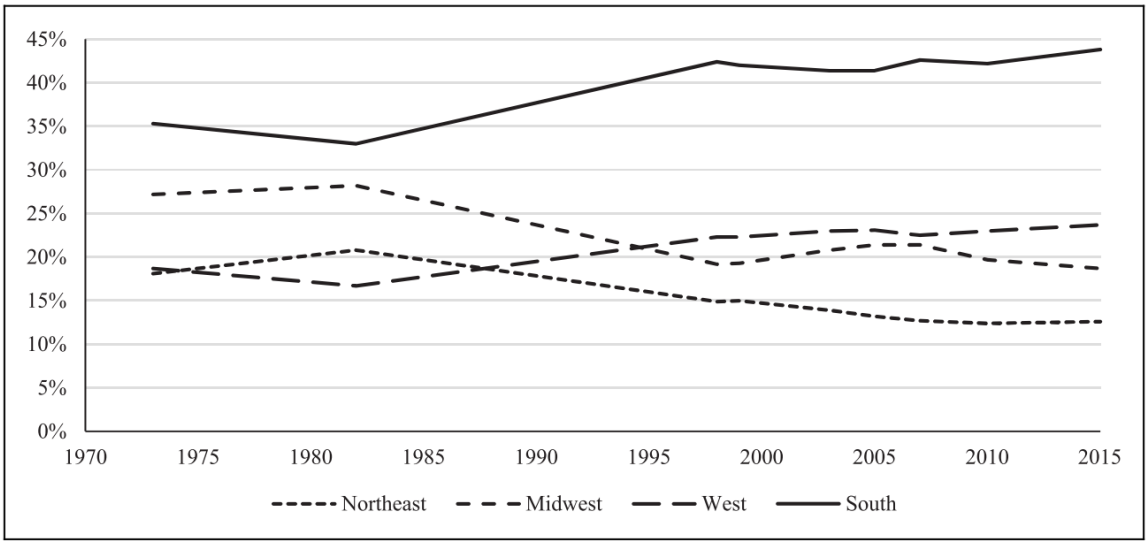

Figure 2: Percentage of all volunteer force enlistments, nonprior service active component accessions by region, fiscal years 1973–2015 (DoD, 2015a, p. 14).

Structural Context

In this section of this chapter, I will describe the structural that shape the context of this case study. The structural forces include the regulatory environment that defines the response to child sexual abuse cases. I will begin by briefly reviewing the CAC Model and then I will describe the military's coordinated community consisting of the FAP and the military criminal justice system.

CAC Model

In Chapter 2, I provided a detailed description of the CAC Model for community response to child maltreatment. In this section, I am providing a graphic depiction of the CAC Model (See Figure 3) for comparison with the military coordinated community response. According to the CAC Model, the CAC is at the center of the community response. The law enforcement and child welfare responses proceed independently,

while sharing information. The CAC functions to facilitate information sharing as well as access to services for victims and families.

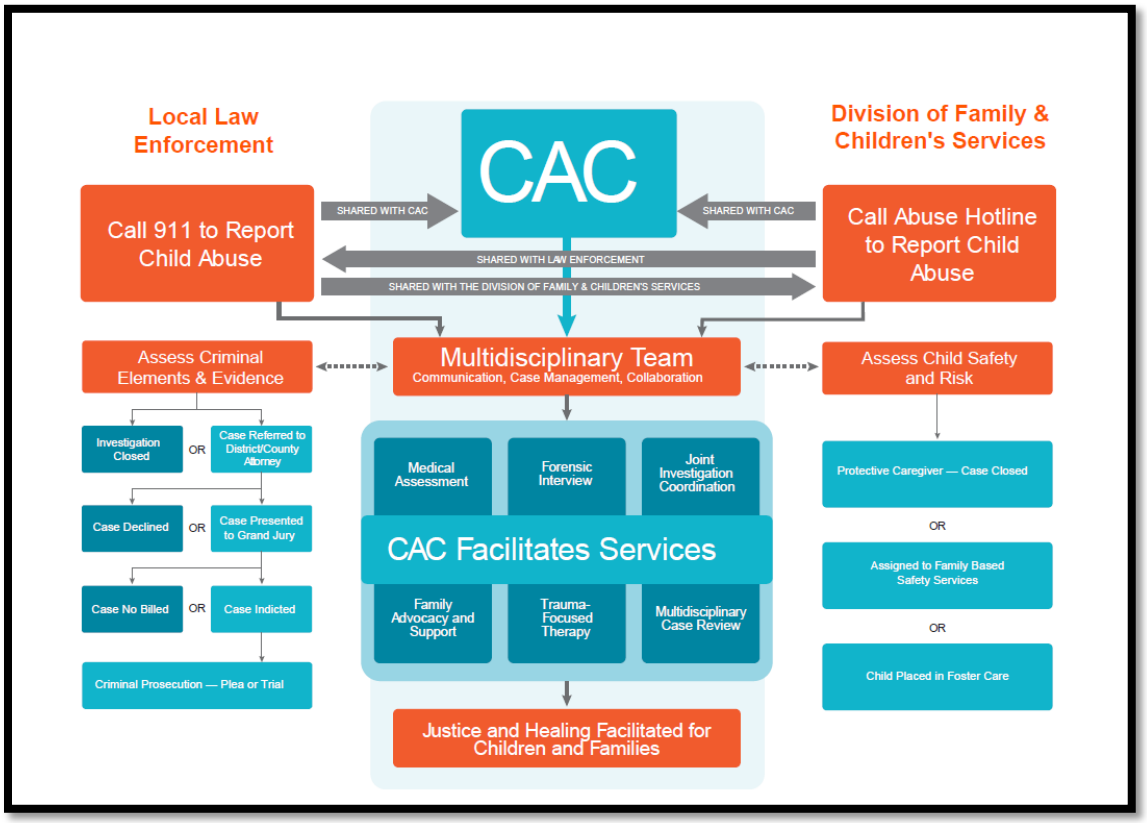

Figure 3: How the Children's Advocacy Center (CAC) Model works. Adapted from Children's Advocacy Center of Texas (2017)

The DoD Coordinated Community Response

The military is legally required to investigate and track cases of child maltreatment including child sexual abuse. Like in the civilian community there are several different parts of the military that have a significant role in responding to these cases including the Family Advocacy Program and the military criminal justice system. Figure 4 is a depiction of the coordinated community response for cases of child

maltreatment in military communities. In this model, the servicemember and the family are central to the process and they are encircled by all of the agencies that have a role in the response. This graphic is not intended as a flowchart, but in comparison to the CAC model, there is not a centralized entity responsible for facilitating collaboration or services for the family.

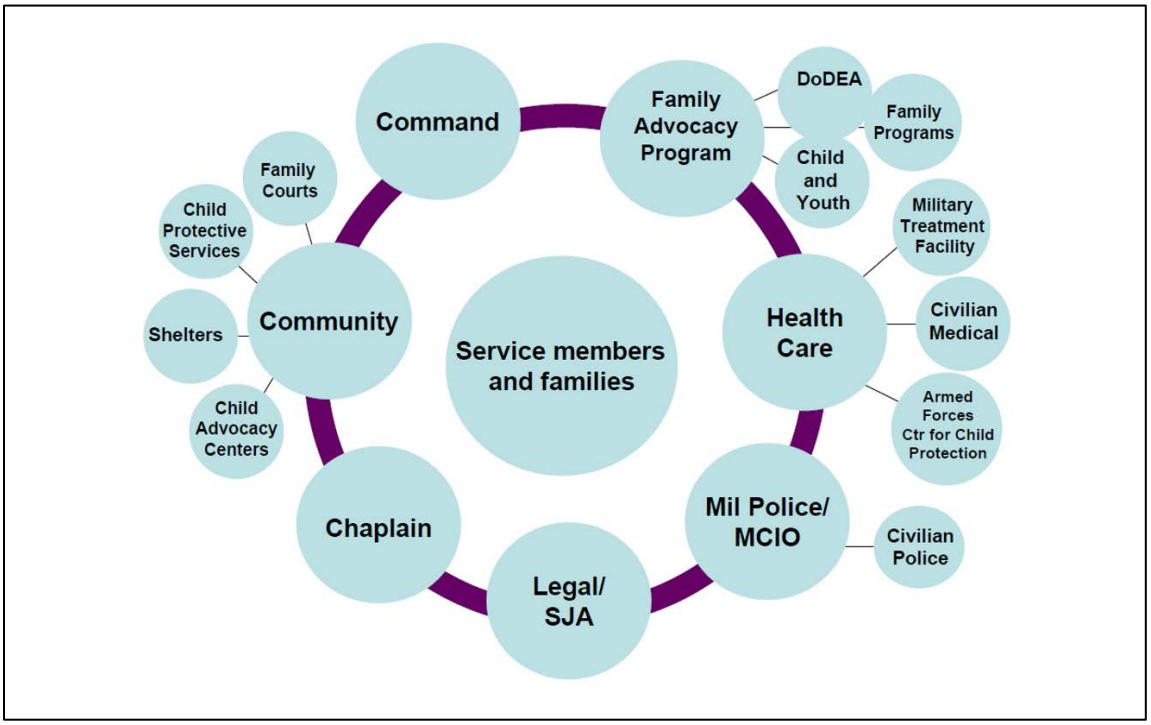

Figure 4: Coordinated community response for child abuse/neglect and domestic abuse. (Barna, 2018, p. 20)

According to the coordinated community response, once an official report is made there are two main processes that occur, the family advocacy process and the criminal justice process (DoD, 2017). The family advocacy program process assesses safety, determines whether there is evidence to substantiate, and make clinical recommendations, and the criminal justice system response gathers evidence of a crime, decides whether

there is enough evidence to charge a crime, and prosecute. Key differences between the CAC Model and the coordinated community response is the lack of a central hub for multi-disciplinary work. Additionally, in the criminal justice system in addition to determining jurisdiction, the identity of the suspect is critical, because the military criminal justice system can only be used to prosecute members of the military. Civilian agencies must be used to investigate and prosecute civilian offenders. Finally, the commander has a significant role in the military system. Below, I provide detail about the main parts of the military response process.

Family advocacy program. The DoD (2017) established the Family Advocacy Program to handle reports of child and spouse abuse. Each of the services created their own corresponding programs in accordance with the DoD directive. The Army Family Advocacy Program, includes a multidisciplinary committee at every Army installation with the responsibility to review reported cases of family violence and make clinical recommendations for services. Figure 5 is a flowchart depicting how cases are handled by the FAP once reported. Until 2016, this committee was known as the Case Review Committee (CRC) and it was led by the installation commander. The CRC was officially replaced by two separate installation entities that served the original purpose of the CRC, the incident determination committee (IDC) and the clinical case staff meeting (CCSM).

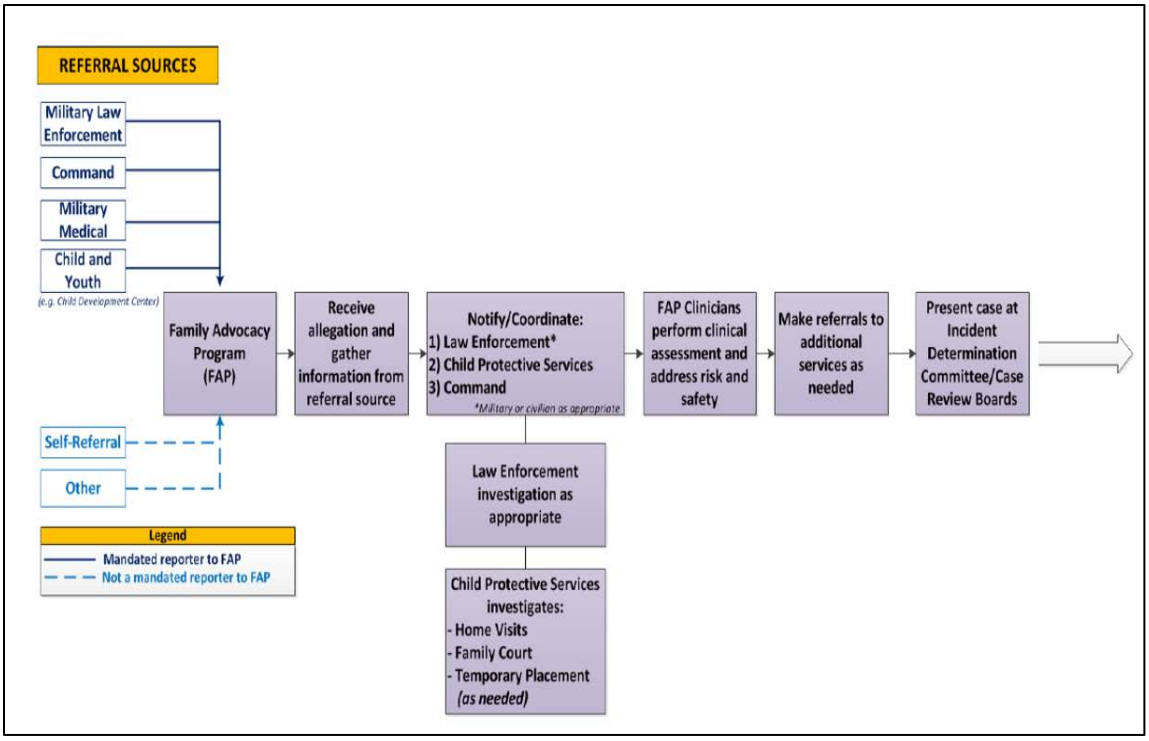

Figure 5: FAP process flow chart. (Barna, 2018, p. 21)

The IDC is tasked to review presented evidence of domestic violence or child maltreatment and make a determination whether the case is founded or unfounded based on DoD criteria and then rate the severity of the abuse. All founded child sexual abuse cases are automatically categorized as severe. See Figure 6 for a flowchart depicting the IDC process. The CCSM then meets to make clinical recommendations for supportive services for the victim and alleged abusers. Members of the IDC include representatives for the installation command, Judge Advocate General (JAG), military police, FAP, military criminal investigations organizations (MCIO), and the command of the victim's parents whether the parent is the abuser or non-offending.

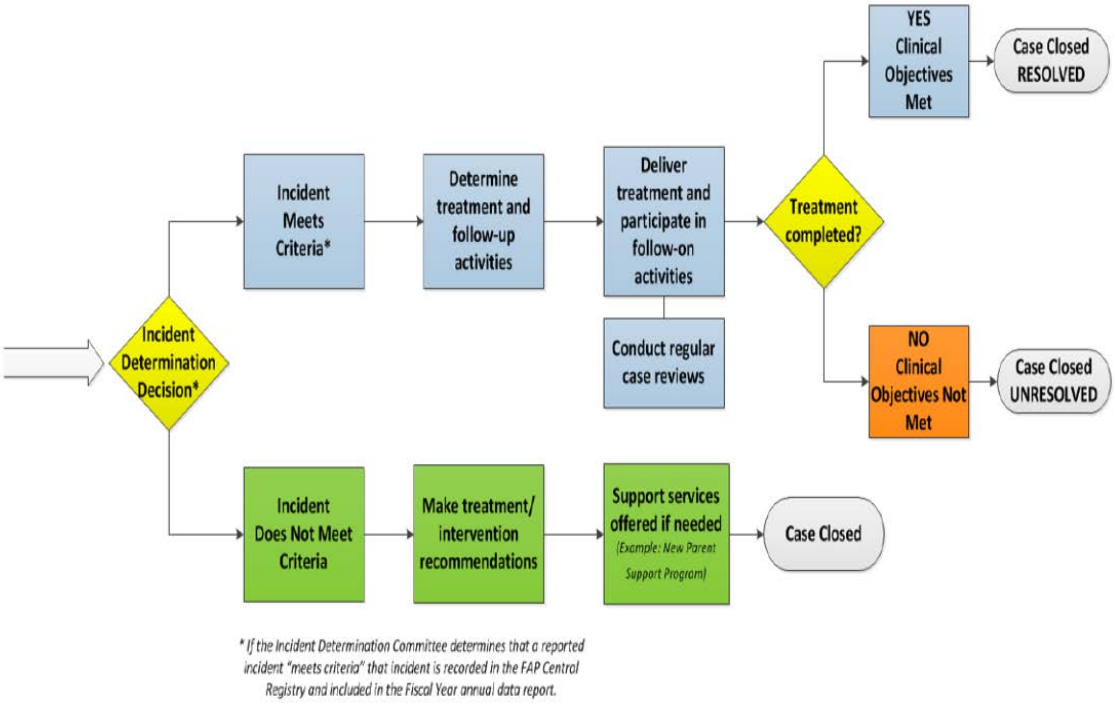

Figure 6: IDC Flowchart. (Barna, 2018, p. 22)

The IDC and CCSM as described in the DoD FAP manual (2017) constitute a comprehensive and proactive response to child sexual abuse. IDC members are mandated to collaborate and receive training in order to perform their duties, and duties and responsibilities are clearly delineated and articulated. The FAP manual also provides for collaboration with the civilian community. According to the FAP manual (2017), family advocacy committees must verify that:

> Formal memorandums of understanding (MOUs) are established as appropriate with counterparts in the local civilian community to improve coordination on: child abuse and domestic abuse investigations; emergency removal of children from homes; fatalities; arrest; prosecutions; and orders of protection involving military personnel (p. 8).

Findings of the IDC are reported to and tracked in a central registry. These findings have no bearing on the criminal investigation of the abuse. Although, information presented at the IDC and findings, especially a finding of unfounded, can be presented at courts-martial.

All reports of abuse made are required to be reported to the service member's commander within 24 hours. There is an expectation that the commander will cooperate with IDC and CCSM recommendations. The FAP further upholds the preeminence of the role of the command. The regulation states, "when abuse constitutes a crime the Department of the Army recognizes a commander's authority to take disciplinary or administrative actions" (2011, p. 1). That power to determine whether to take criminal, administrative or no action is solely at the discretion of the service member's command. Additionally, commanders must be present and may vote at IDC where reports of abuse are discussed and determinations are made regarding the substantiation of cases. The commander may present evidence regarding the service member or family member. Children do not have a designated advocate at the IDC.

Military criminal justice system. The military criminal justice system response is substantially different from the civilian criminal justice system. Because Fort Askew is an Army installation, I will primarily describe the criminal justice system as it is described in law and regulations for the Army. Once reported, child sexual abuse cases that fall within military jurisdiction are investigated by military law enforcement and prosecuted through the military judicial system.

Military law enforcement. In the Army, military law enforcement consists of military police, DoD guard or police forces, and military criminal investigations organizations. The military criminal investigations organization for the Army is the US Army Criminal Investigations Command (CID). In the military, the purpose of law enforcement is to protect and assist the military community in order to support order and discipline for the commander. Military police efforts are directed at ensuring a lawful and orderly environment (DA, 1987, p. 23). Military police activities are coordinated and overseen by the Provost Marshal. The Provost Marshal is a senior Army officer on the staff of the installation commander. Military Police authority is derived from the command authority of the installation commander (DA, 1987). DoD guards or police force are civilian law enforcement personnel who augment the military police. Military police are the first responders to reports of possible crimes. When a child sexual abuse report is made to the military police, a patrol will proceed to the scene when dispatched, assess the situation and report initial observations to the desk sergeant (DA, 1987, p. 5).

Child sexual abuse cases are referred to CID for investigation. CID is a separate investigative force created to have investigative autonomy from local command influence. CID is not subordinate to the Provost Marshal or installation commander. Instead, their chain of command goes directly to the DA level. CID is responsible for investigating serious felony level crimes (CID mission, n.d.).

The military police field manual, provides specific guidance for controlling information with the media. The information made available to the press is to be, “strictly controlled, standardized, and reduced to a minimum” (1987, p.38). According to the military police field manual (1987), military police are instructed to provide

information in order to correct misunderstandings in the press and to keep in mind the following guidance for dealing with the military:

> MP [Military Police] must be careful not to exaggerate occasional petty criticisms that are printed in the papers, as long as general press relations impact positively on the military community. In this respect, MP must remember that the press is usually a good barometer of community opinion and wields a great influence upon it. Good press relations can mean that favorable stories will be given front page coverage and unfavorable stories will be presented in a less damaging light, consistent with the facts.

Based on the preceding statement, it appears that the purpose of sharing information with the press is to foster good relations and support a positive public image of the military. Transparency is not a stated objective.

Issues of authority and jurisdiction are important to military law enforcement just as it is to civilian law enforcement. Military law enforcement may have the authority to apprehend a suspect, but the military may not have jurisdiction to try the suspect. Authority is the lawful right of designated persons or agencies to exercise governmental power or control. Military jurisdiction is the extent of and limitation on the right of an armed force to exercise authority and control over persons and offenses (DA, 1987, p. 24). MP authority does not extend to civilians outside areas under military jurisdiction or control. The military cannot be used to help execute civilian law, according to the Posse Comitatus Act, a federal law (18 U.S.C. § 1385) dating back to 1878 that restricts the military from being used to enforce domestic policy.

Military judicial system. The military justice system differs substantially from the American criminal justice system in origin, purpose, and procedure. The American criminal justice system was primarily patterned after English common law and traditions colonists brought with them from their countries of origin. The purpose of the judicial system is to provide justice and reduce crime (Friedman, 1994). This is accomplished through a patchwork of federal, state and local laws as well as case law.

The first military law in the United States was the Articles of War enacted by the Continental Congress in 1775 which remained in effect until 1951 when the UCMJ was signed into law by Harry Truman. Military law is contained within the UCMJ (64 Stat. 109, 10 USC Chapter, 47), which is federal law and cannot be altered by authorities within the military. The UCMJ applies to all members of the uniformed services including Army, Air Force, Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Commissioned Corps, and the Public Health Service Commissioned Corps. In addition, reservists on active duty and members of the National Guard on active duty under federal orders, cadets and midshipman and the military academies, and retired service members receiving retirement pay are subject to UCMJ. Significantly, neither the laws nor the legal protections of the UCMJ apply to dependents of service members. They are subject to local laws based on memorandum of agreement (MOA) made between military installation officials and local jurisdictions or in the case of overseas assignments, status of forces agreements. Where local authorities do not have jurisdiction, crimes committed by civilian are handled in federal court.

According to the preamble to the Manual of Courts Martial (MCM, 2016, p. 12) the purpose of military law is to “promote justice, assist in maintaining good order and

discipline in the armed forces, promote efficiency and effectiveness in the military establishment and thereby strengthen the national security of the U.S." This law is derived from the constitutional powers of the President and the inherent authority of military commanders.

When a servicemember commits a violation of the UCMJ, commanders have different options. They can decide to take nonjudicial or judicial punishment. Nonjudicial punishment is designed as a way for commanders to deliver punishment for minor offenses quickly without the stigma of a court-martial conviction. The punishment that the commanding officer can impose depends on the level of command. The vast majority of UCMJ violations are handled via nonjudicial punishment. Either the servicemember or the commander can elect to go through the military judicial system instead. The judicial process proceeds when the commander refers the case to a court-martial. The military does not have permanent trial courts, courts-martial are called into being by the commander or convening authority. There are three increasing levels of court-martial: summary, special, and general. Higher levels of courts-marshal correspond to higher levels of command as the convening authority and more severe potential punishments.

Jurisdiction limits the ability of the commander and the military judicial system to exercise authority. The jurisdiction of every offense or incident depends upon the status of the suspect, international agreements and treaties, and agreements with local judicial systems. A military installation can have either exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction. On installations with exclusive jurisdiction, the federal government assumes sole jurisdiction over crimes committed in the area. For example, many military installations have exclusive federal jurisdiction. The federal government then exercises its executive,

legislative, and judicial authority over that area and the personnel within it. To avoid the difficult task of enacting and maintaining a code of criminal laws appropriate for all areas under its legislative jurisdiction, in 1895 Congress passed 18 USC 13, commonly referred to as the Assimilative Crimes Act. In this statute, Congress provided that, "all acts or omissions occurring in an area under federal jurisdiction, which would constitute crimes if the area were under the state jurisdiction, will constitute similar crimes, similarly punishable, under federal law" (DA, 1987, p. 48). On military installations with concurrent jurisdiction the state in which the installation is located has the right to exercise its authority along simultaneously with the federal government.

Nonmilitary specific offenses that are also civilian offenses can often be prosecuted by civilian jurisdictions. Offenses committed off the installation can generally be tried in state court and/or court-martial. Offenses committed on the installation by servicemembers can be tried in either US federal court and/or court-martial. On installations with concurrent jurisdiction, on-post offenses may also be tried in state court. The issue of jurisdiction is handled through MOUs between military installation commanders and local authorities. Civilians not subject to the UCMJ may be cited for violations of the Assimilative Crimes Act and referred to federal court.

Military jurisdiction extends to military personnel whether or not they are in an area under military control. The military has exclusive jurisdiction to try persons subject to the UCMJ for offenses purely military in nature, such as unauthorized absences. In 1987, the Supreme Court ruled in *Solario v. United States* (483 U.S. 435), that the military is not required to show a "service connection" for off-post offenses before a service member can be tried in military courts. A service member can be tried in a court-

martial regardless of any service connection. It is Army policy that a service member will not ordinarily be prosecuted under civil jurisdiction and later under military jurisdiction for the same offense. The military rarely has jurisdiction to try civilians.

Civil jurisdiction is exercised through the application of state and federal law. Under the Constitution the states retain the right to regulate conduct of persons within their boundaries. Penal laws, which declare certain acts to be unlawful, are defined and enforced by state, county, and local governments and their regulatory agencies (Friedman, 1993). For example, traffic regulations, liquor laws, and closing hours are usually set by local law. Some penal laws pertain to specific matters or areas within the civil jurisdiction of the federal government. Such federal law, like customs regulations and counterfeiting laws, is enforced by federal agencies. Under international law, a friendly foreign power normally has primary jurisdiction to prosecute nonmilitary offenses committed within its borders by members of a visiting force. This power may be further defined or surrendered to military authorities through status of forces agreements and other treaties or agreements depending upon the nature and circumstances of the offense. This limitation to prosecute does not prohibit commanders from taking administrative action against suspects.

Differences between military and civilian processes. A fundamental difference between military and civilian justice systems involves the role of the commander. A commander is an officer who by virtue of his grade (rank) and assignment exercises primary command authority over a military organization (DA, 2015a). The commander is ultimately responsible for everything their command does or fails to do. The military and most officers treat the privilege and burden of command responsibility very

seriously. In combat, the decisions commanders make may have foreseeable life or death consequences for soldiers. In garrison, commanders are responsible for the order, discipline, and training of their units. There is no area of a soldier's life that is too miniscule or private that a commander does not at least in theory have authority over (DA, 2006).

When it comes to handling reported cases of abuse, commanders are reminded that family violence is incompatible with Army values and encouraged to consult and cooperate with the recommendations of the CCSM, hold offender's accountable, prioritize the safety of family members, and recommend that the soldier and family member's cooperate with investigations and recommendations of the CCSM (DA, 2008, p. 7). While these guidelines are commendable and likely adhered to by many commanders, these guidelines do not constitute regulations or requirements for commanders to follow. The commander ultimately has discretion in how to handle the abuse allegations.

Because of commanders central role in the military justice system and the authority that they have over their subordinates, there is a risk that commanders may influence the outcome of the case just by the perception that the commander desires a particular outcome. Article 37 of the UCMJ expressly prohibits commanders from engaging in "unlawful command influence" (Preston, 2014).

Other key differences between the military and civilian criminal justice system are that the trial counsel and defense counsel are both military officers. Trial counsels are called Staff Judge Advocates (SJA) and defense counsel is known as Trial Defense Service (TDS). Although, defendants may hire civilian counsel at their discretion. Juries

are also different. Instead of being randomly selected from the community, the members of the panel, as the jury is known in the military, are selected by the convening authority. Additionally the rank of the offender plays a role in military justice. For example a conviction of a sexual assault must result in a dishonorable discharge if the offender is enlisted and dismissal if the offender is an officer (Preston, 2014).

Reforms. In 2014, there were major reforms of the laws and regulations regarding military sexual assaults that are also applicable to child sexual abuse. These reforms significantly constrained the discretion of commanders over these cases. All cases of sexual violence are investigated by CID, independent of the influence of command. Additionally, there are new limitations as to which level of command has authority to refer these cases to a court-martial. Referral authority is now reserved for commanders who are senior field grade officers in the grade of O-6 or above (Preston, 2014). These commanders are also required to consult with a judge advocate before taking action. Any decision not to refer a case of sexual assault to a general court-martial must be reviewed by a higher level official.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described the broader historical, cultural, and structural factors that constitute the environment shaping the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community. The military has been significantly shaped by the post-9/11 wars, as well as growing public awareness of issues of mental health, family well-being, and sexual assault in the military. Public awareness has also been brought to the issue of institutional child sexual abuse due to a series of widely reported scandals. I briefly touched on the culture of the Southeast, because this case is geographically bound and regional differences may

influence civil-military relations between Fort Askew and Charlesville. Finally, I reviewed the laws, rules, regulations, and programs that play a role in the response to child sexual abuse in military communities. In the next chapter, I will present the findings of this case study beginning with a detailed description of the community characteristics for Fort Askew and Charlesville

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

In this study, I set out to learn about child sexual abuse in military communities. My research was guided by the following three questions:

1) How do military and civilian systems of community response serve victims and families of child sexual abuse in the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community?

2) How do military and civilian professionals perceive the coordinated community response?

3) What are military and civilian professionals' perceptions of child sexual abuse cases that originate from military communities?

To answer these questions, I conducted a case study of the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community. I collected and analyzed data from multiple sources and using multiple methods with the goal of developing a holistic and naturalistic understanding of this case. In figure 7, I present a graphic representation of the case conceptualization depicting the combination of observations, documents, and interviews that make up the data upon which the findings of this study were based. Data were analyzed keeping in mind the surrounding contextual factors and my research questions. The "issues" presented in the figure (exclusive jurisdiction, lack of memorandums of understanding (MOU), and small number of reported cases) are contextual factors that I considered

potentially important differentiating factors between this case and possible other cases. These issues will be covered in the findings and further addressed in Chapter 6.

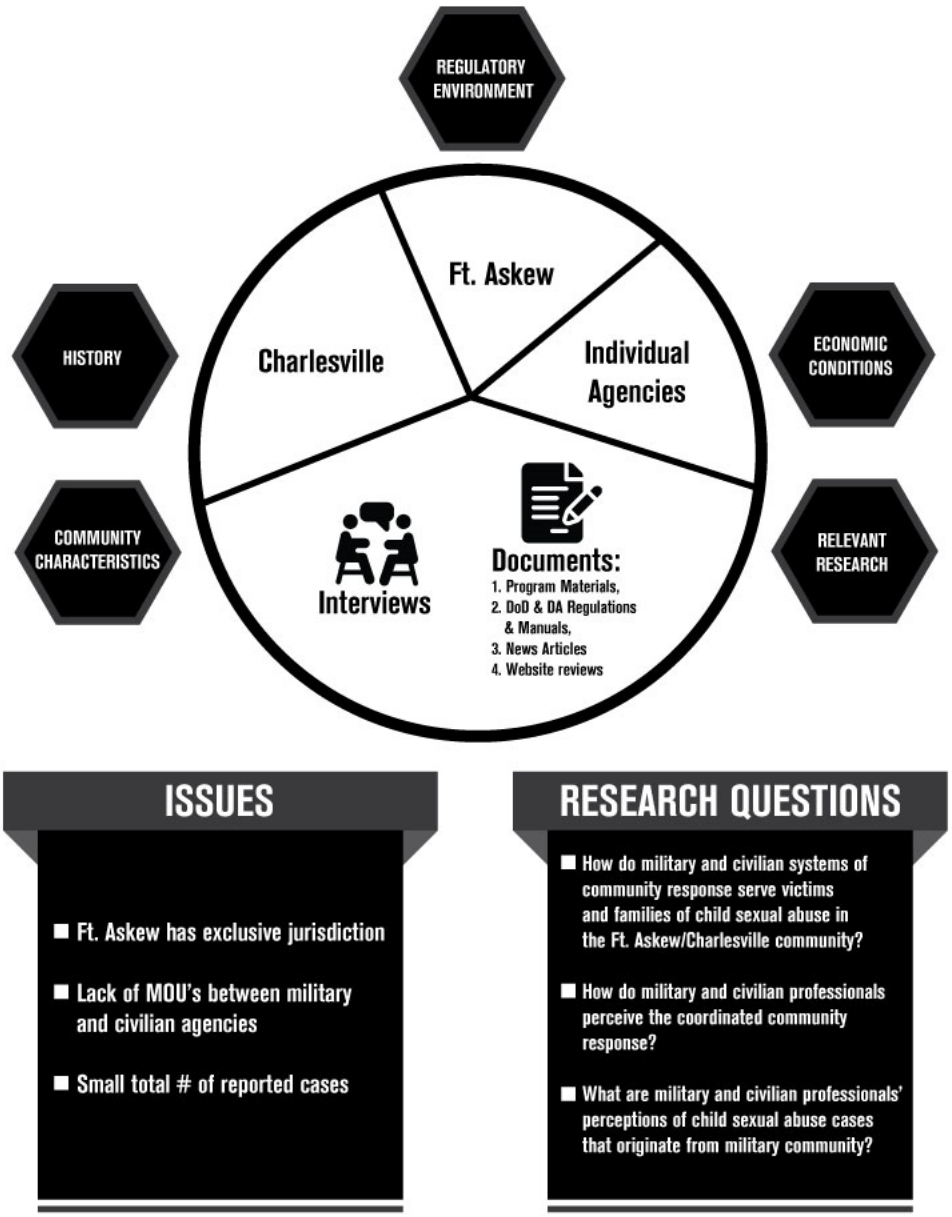

Figure 7. Graphic case conceptualization. Adapted from (Stake, 2013).

Thematic analysis was conducted on data from interviews and observation. Discourse analysis was conducted on documents to investigate how language and images were used to construct a certain version of reality. After each period of data collection, I engaged in preliminary data analysis by creating researcher memos in which I made note of emerging concepts and potential themes. In order to develop themes, all data were analyzed, compared, and contrasted on multiple occasions using ATLAS.ti. I immersed myself in my data throughout analysis by re-listening to each interview and revisiting transcripts and memos throughout the process of data reduction through coding. Codes were created using the concepts developed in preliminary analysis and by reviewing the data while looking for repeated words, phrases, ideas, and concepts. Codes such as "frequent moving," "turnover," and "confidentiality" emerged. Data sources were re-read with the identified codes to ensure that the codes reflected the views of participants. I made a point to attend to contradictory ideas. Codes were reviewed, revised, condensed into three major themes and 12 subthemes (See Table 4 for a list of the major themes and subthemes). The themes represent underlying patterns or ideas that emerged across the data important for understanding the phenomenon of child sexual abuse in military communities relative to the research questions. Within each theme, subthemes represent further patterns that provide a more nuanced understanding of the theme.

Table 4

Thematic Analysis of Fort Askew/Charlesville Case Study

Themes
Frequent Moving
Disclosure
Reporting
Investigations
Continuity of Care
Turnover
Discipline and Control
Role of the Command
Prioritizing the Servicemember
Confidentiality
Civilian Admiration
Civil-Military Gap
Access
Military Experience as a Bridge
Confusion

The bulk of my findings are derived from interviews with participants (sTheee Table 5 for a list of participant pseudonyms and demographics). Therefore, I would like to comment on aspects of the interviews that may be helpful in understating the presentation of findings. As discussed in Chapter 3, I audio recorded all but five of the interviews. The five participants who declined to be audio recorded are Georgia, Major (MAJ) Baker, Captain (CPT) Jaster, Leighanne, and Colonel (COL) Corbin. When referring to information obtained from these interviewees, I do not use quotations, because I am presenting the information in my words based on my recollections which are based on the physical and audio notes that I created during and immediately following the interviews.

Table *5*

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Role	Military Experience	Gender
Civilian			
Dani	CAC	None	Female
Ella	CAC	Spouse	Female
Antiah	CAC	None	Female
Jonathan	LE	None	Male
Eric	LE	None	Male
Charlie	LE	None	Male
Kim	MH	Child	Female
Lillian	MH	None	Female
Georgia	Medical	None	Female
Leighanne	ADA	None	Female
Military			
MAJ Baker	JAG	Active Duty	Female
CPT Jaster	JAG	Active Duty	Male
SA Griest	CID	Active Duty	Male
Ms. Hester	SHARP	Spouse/Civilian Employee	Female
COL Corbin	Medical	Veteran	Female

Note: This table was created with information provided by participants. Children's Advocacy Center (CAC); LE (Law Enforcement); MH (Mental Health); ADA (Assistant District Attorney); JAG (Judge Advocate General); CID (Criminal Investigation Division); SHARP (Sexual Harassment/Assault Response and Prevention); MAJ (Major); CPT (Captain); SA (Special Agent); COL (Colonel)

Finally, I want to explain the inclusion of Ms. Hester, an employee of the Fort Askew SHARP program in my findings. The SHARP program does not provide services for child victims or their families and therefore I think it is important to explain why this participant was interviewed. Ms. Dempsey was referred to me by other interviewees who mistakenly believed that she had a role in responding to child sexual abuse cases, a perception that was indicative of the confusion that many civilian participants expressed about military response processes. Ms. Hester quickly clarified that she did not, in fact,

have this role but I retained her interview data, because she was able to offer insights into interagency collaboration between military agencies and between the military and civilian community on the issue of sexual assault of adults based on her professional experience which was useful for the sake of comparison. She was also able to provide her perspective as a military spouse regarding how cultural and structural factors impact military families.

The findings are divided into three sections. The first section is a description of the community characteristics and economic conditions that are important to understanding the relationship between Fort Askew and the surrounding Charlesville community. These local characteristics, combined with the research, historical trends, and regulatory environment described in Chapters 2 and 4, together form the case context as depicted in the graphical case conceptualization (see Figure 6). In the second section of the findings, I present the themes and subthemes that emerged from this case study of Fort Askew/Charlesville. In the third section of this chapter, I present findings regarding the steps that participants have taken to improve their response to child sexual abuse cases in this military community.

Section 1: Community Description

Charlesville

Surrounding Fort Askew is the sprawling metropolitan area of Charlesville. It is one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in the Southeast in terms of the economy and population. This community has multiple large public and private sector employers spanning various industries including medical, education, and manufacturing. Even so,

Fort Askew remains the largest single employer in the Charlesville area, employing more than four times as many people as the next largest employer, a local university.

The heart of Charlesville is an urban downtown. In the not-too-distant past, the downtown was struggling and considered unsafe. But today, where twenty years ago there were boarded up storefronts, there are now hip cafes with sidewalk seating and bookstores that serve locally roasted coffee. There are a weekly farmers market and parks that regularly host music and art festivals. Sprinkled throughout are sports bars and music venues catering to the young college-age population. Some of these bars advertise military appreciation nights and drink discounts for military ID card holders.

Stretching away from the downtown and towards Fort Askew is a sprawling patchwork of suburban satellite communities. Like most metropolitan areas, the traffic is heavy and not just at rush hour. Adding to the congestion is constant road construction as the area attempts to expand capacity to accommodate the growing military and civilian population. While driving through Charlesville, it is plain to see that this is a community that proudly displays its military appreciation. Area businesses prominently advertise military discounts and red, white, and blue billboards bear statements such as “We Support Our Troops” and “God Bless Our Troops” alongside advertisements for car dealerships and gun stores. Everywhere you turn there are men and occasionally women, young and old, sporting ballcaps or t-shirts declaring their veteran status or military affiliation. Every other car has a military license plate or bumper stickers. Uniformed servicemembers can be seen shopping at the Target or waiting in line at Starbucks.

My first stop in this community is the Children’s Advocacy Center (CAC). This CAC has been serving Charlesville for over forty years. The CAC is in a nondescript

building situated in a quiet area not quite on the outskirts of town. Like other CACs, the building lacks signage, making it easy to miss. This nondescript nature is intended to provide greater privacy and confidentiality to clients. After parking, I press a button at the front door to alert the receptionist, and after confirming through the intercom that I have a legitimate purpose for entering, she buzzes me inside. The waiting area consists of a small bench that could uncomfortably seat three adults next to a table stacked with informational literature. Alongside the adult waiting area is a large play area stocked with a playhouse, a small slide, and shelves of blocks, cars, dolls, and other toys. A small sign on the reception desk lets visitors know that crayons and paper are available upon request. *Moana* plays on a television mounted high on the wall out of a child's reach. The walls are painted in pale greens and blues. It is an older building, but shows evidence of regular if not professional upkeep. I learn that a group of volunteers repainted the inside only a few months ago.

This is the heart of where the civilian multidisciplinary team (MDT) comes together to collaborate on child sexual abuse cases. The CAC also serves children and families in cases of severe physical abuse and neglect, but approximately 80% of their case load is made up of child sexual abuse cases. As required by state law, this CAC has a written protocol in place that includes the law enforcement and county Division of Family and Children's Services (DFCS) agencies for the local judicial circuit. This protocol specifies that the agencies will use the CAC for forensic interviews and participate in the MDT facilitated by the CAC. The CAC also conducts courtesy interviews for law enforcement agencies outside of the judicial circuit. Some victims drive more than an hour for services, because they do not have a CAC available in their

local community. Fort Askew is included as one of those outlying communities that the CAC does courtesy interviews for even though it is located well within the boundaries of the judicial circuit. The CAC has no protocol or written agreement to guide the relationship between it and Fort Askew agencies.

Once a week the CAC hosts a case review meeting of the MDT that consists of a representative from the law enforcement agencies, DFCS, medical agencies, the District Attorney's (DA) office, mental health agencies, and victim advocates. This meeting is a longstanding affair and many of the members have known each other professionally for decades. Bagels and coffee are served and jokes and banter interlace the serious conversations regarding forensic interview findings, medical findings, and the status of law enforcement and DFCS investigations and pending prosecutions. The status of each case is tracked from the forensic interview until there is a final legal disposition to the case, and cases are not dropped from the agenda until receipt of that final disposition. The MDT meetings are not all fun and games, occasionally discussions turn heated when members disagree regarding decisions to close or unsubstantiate cases. A former DFCS case worker described her experience as an MDT member as follows:

> Antiah: I didn't like it at first, because they would question all the cases, and I was like, hey it's not all up to me. But, you know everyone was cool and I got used to it and kind of got the bug.

Antiah was describing her decision to leave DFCS and take a job at the CAC. For her, MDT participation was uncomfortable at first due to disagreements Over time, she built relationships with other members that motivated her to want to work at the CAC fulltime. When describing what the MDT was like, Dani, the CAC director, laughed and told a

story about a recent conflict on the MDT between a new representative from the DA's office and a representative from the local rape crisis center. The rape crisis center is responsible for facilitating sexual assault exams and reporting on medical findings:

> Dani: So, you know we have a new person from the DA office. She's good. Smart, but doesn't take any shit. She got into it with Dr. N (medical representative) over exams taking too long to get scheduled. I was like, oh boy! Dr. N was pissed, she sent [an alternate] the next week, but she's back now.

Dani was relaying this information in such a way that indicated that disagreements are a normal part of the MDT. The interpersonal conflict did not derail the team, but was instead resolved.

Once a quarter, the CAC plans and facilitates a training event for members of the MDT in order to keep everyone current on issues related to cases. The MDT, written protocols, and trainings are all elements required in order for the CAC to maintain accreditation with the National Children's Alliance. The CAC makes conscious efforts to build relationships and a sense of collective identity on the MDT by recognizing birthdays and the significant anniversaries of membership on the MDT. They also invite MDT members to annual agency parties and fundraising events.

What was not on display at the CAC was any reference to or representation of the local military population. In the waiting area, there were materials written in English and Spanish and images of boys and girls, children of different ethnicities, and an image of a child with a visible disability. Business cards, flyers, and pamphlets advertised different private, public, and non-profit resources in the community, but there were none for military-specific resources such as the family advocacy program (FAP). In other

agencies I visited in Charlesville there was a similar lack of military representation in the images and materials displayed with one exception. The rape crisis center had a stack of pamphlets for the SHARP program.

Charlesville changes the further you get from the downtown and the closer you get to Fort Askew. The *military* part of the military community becomes more visible. Billboards along the highway for online education programs feature images of uniformed soldiers. Another billboard less than a mile from the front gate advertises a local realtor that specializes in military relocation services. Neighborhoods surrounding Fort Askew are military neighborhoods. Jonathan, a Charlesville detective described how certain Charlesville neighborhoods are understood to be military neighborhoods, stating:

> Jonathan: The majority out towards [community nearest Fort Askew] are military neighborhoods. It's almost every other house is a military member. A lot of the realtors will target military people, saying this is a military neighborhood, we give military discounts, come see this neighborhood… it's not just active-duty, it's veterans, its retirees.

Antiah, the CAC employee who was formerly a DFCS caseworker, interacted with military families in Charlesville and described why there were so many military families on her caseload:

> Antiah: often times when [military]families come to this area, they are advised by friends and family in the area to stay in [county] because it's a nice area, they have better schools. So if they're sent to Fort Askew, they will usually reside in [county] if they stay off-base and so that's how I would interact with a lot of the families.

This practice of steering military families to certain neighborhoods keeps military families segregated from the larger Charlesville community. Military children tend to be concentrated in the handful of schools that are the zoned for those neighborhoods. Another aspect of separate off-post military neighborhoods is that they replicate the military norms of separate neighborhoods based on rank. In discussing their interactions with military families two of the Charlesville investigators both remarked on the way military neighborhoods in their jurisdiction are further segregated by rank:

> Charlie: People who live off post in [this jurisdiction] tend to be higher up. A lot of the sergeants and lieutenants and stuff like that. I think strictly because of the different housing or whatever. Not a whole lot of the enlisted people we worked with and I don't know about [neighboring county] as far as what their demographics are but we don't have a whole lot of low ranking enlisted. We did have some, but a lot of them are in town or staying in on post housing.
>
> Eric: I know this sounds crazy, there's nothing wrong with this town but you don't have a lot of officers living here. Not far from here where the standard of living is higher, the housing market is totally different and you'll have some officers living there, but this here, this is where the typical enlisted live, and there's nothing wrong with that.

Both of these investigators understood that military families and consequently military neighborhoods are divided according to rank. As noted, by Eric,, part of the reason for this separation is economic. Higher ranking servicemembers have a higher basic income rate and receive more in the way of a monthly housing allowance allowing them to purchase homes in more expensive neighborhoods (Defense Travel Management Office,

2018). This separation is a characteristic of Charlesville as a military community that civilian service professionals understand as important to their interactions.

Fort Askew

Fort Askew was established as Camp Askew by the Army during a time of war. Its original function was to receive and train new recruits in order to prepare them for deployment to combat. The camp developed over time into a more permanent fort that now covers tens of thousands of acres and has maintained its original function as a training center. This large land area includes swaths of land dedicated to military training maneuvers. It also includes housing areas (though not enough to house the total population of servicemembers), a large medical center, shopping centers, child development centers, and recreation facilities, including parks, bowling alleys, movie theaters, and camp grounds. The presence of the training units located at Fort Askew means that many servicemembers are not accompanied to the installation by their families because they are assigned temporarily to the installation for purposes of training and then depart to other duty stations. Over time, the installation has become the home of several specialized units that include servicemembers from other branches of the Armed Forces as well as a large population of Department of Defense (DoD) civilians.

In order to enter Fort Askew, you have to drive through a security checkpoint alternatively manned by Military Police soldiers (military personnel) or DoD police (civilian employees). The security is enhanced by the use of cameras and concrete serpentine barriers in order to direct and slow traffic. Accessing the post, requires a permit granted to those who work and or live on the installation. When I entered the gate, a professional and courteous Military Police soldier greeted me, peered through my

car windows and directed me to a Welcome Center. The Welcome Center was a small building situated next to the main gate, where I was asked to provide identification, and to present my purpose for accessing post including the time and location of my meetings and the names of the people I was meeting with. My picture was taken, my fingerprints were scanned, and I was granted a temporary pass that I was instructed to display in the driver's side front window of my car.

Anyone who has spent time on a US Army base anywhere in the world would be familiar with Fort Askew. Army bases tend to have consistent building styles, signage, and facilities across locations. The front of the installation has facilities that are frequently visited by retirees and visitors including the hospital and a hotel. Further on base, signs direct you to a commercial area that includes the Post Exchange (PX), a large department store with a food court, a commissary (aka grocery store), and a gas station with an attached convenience store known as a Shopette. Next to the Shopette is the liquor store or Class XI. This part of post is laid out neatly on a grid system, with road signs pointing the way to different facilities and unit headquarters buildings. The further you get from the main part of the post, the less "spit and polished" the installation seems. The road leading to the maneuver training areas and weapons ranges passes fields of long grass and motor pools with row after row of perfectly dress-right-dressed military vehicles.

My first stop on Fort Askew was at the Soldier Legal Center for the purpose of interviewing two JAG officers, MAJ Baker and CPT Jaster. Before scheduling this interview, CPT Jaster questioned me about my purpose, my affiliations, the intended outcome of the research, and what I hoped to discover. The tone of these inquiries was

suspicious and not at all perfunctory. After reviewing and approving my interview questions, I was finally granted the interview. CPT Jaster had emailed me instructions for locating the office, which I followed passing the courtroom on the way. I took a minute to look at the courtroom where Fort Askew courts martial are held. The room was no different from any other courtroom I have been in except for its much smaller size. CPT Jaster greeted me professionally and escorted me to a conference room where the interview got off to a rough start. CPT Jaster sat across from me arms crossed with a printout of my questions marked up with handwritten notes laid on the table before him. As the interview progressed and he realized that I was familiar with the military and genuinely interested in his experiences and perspective, he relaxed and became more forthcoming. In subsequent visits to Fort Askew, I was able to visit the CID office, the SHARP office, and an event hosted by FAP. This pattern of initial suspicion followed by a warming up was repeated with my other military interviewees.

Section 2: Military Culture and Child Sexual Abuse

My interactions on Fort Askew were similar to professional interactions described in interviews with Charlesville participants and is an example of how the culture and structure of the military impacts child sexual abuse cases in Fort Askew/Charlesville. There are three major themes that emerged from this case study, each of which describes an aspect of military life. These major themes are frequent moving, discipline and control, and the civil-military gap.

Major Theme I: Frequent Moving

One of the defining features of military life is frequent relocations. Servicemembers and consequently their families can expect to move approximately every

3 years. These relocations can be across the country or to overseas locations. The Fort Askew Family and Morale Welfare and Recreation (MWR) website has a list of resources and recommendations for military families. Included on that site is the following statement:

> Dealing with frequent moves, long deployments and major transitions require stamina and strength. Some families seem to handle the ups and downs better than others. Building resilience – the ability to recover in the face of stress – can help your family deal with the demands of military life.

According to this statement, frequent moves are one of the "demands" of military life, and it is incumbent upon families to develop "strength" and "stamina," traditionally masculine traits associated with the military, to meet that demand. Ostensibly, these moves are a part of the military organizational structure that is necessary in order to develop skills and meet training requirements. SA Griest shared that he had been stationed at five different locations over his career. He attempted to explain the military's rationale for moves thusly:

> SA Griest: I can't give a textbook answer on why the military does that. I'm sure it's for leadership purposes. You gotta move on to a different assignment or a different job and you're moving up so you gotta get those supervisor positions. It also rotates people through so they don't stagnate in a certain environment. The military is trying to create leaders and more fighters and cultivate leadership and not keep people stagnant.

Rotating servicemembers through different positions may be an effective way to develop military leaders, but it also has a negative impact on almost every aspect of the

response to child sexual abuse cases from disclosure, reporting, investigating and developing interagency collaborative relationships, to providing treatment.

Subtheme 1: Disclosure. Before the victim of child sexual abuse can access therapeutic and legal support and protection, there must be a disclosure. Disclosure is the act of someone besides the victim or the offender being made aware of the abuse. Most child sexual abuse is never disclosed during childhood, and in cases where the abuse is disclosed, it is typically delayed (Morrison, Bruce, & Wilson, 2018). Some of the Charlesville interviewees described differences in disclosures in military and civilian cases. In describing disclosures, Jonathan described the military as more secretive and perceived that he saw longer delays in military cases than what he typically saw in civilian cases.

> Jonathan: I see more grooming over time and I think part of that is because they move so much with the military that it's not noticed, depending on how long they stay. You know teachers and staff, a lot of our teachers will notice things sooner than anybody else. And with these kids not being there long enough, they don't see it unless it's physical abuse, which I mean, it's pretty obvious when you see that. But as far as the sexual abuse, unless the child comes forward they don't spot it. I think that's part of that issue with the military is because they move the perpetrators are protected and can do more damage and groom them easier because you don't have people constantly seeing them. They're a little more isolated. I get cases where a 15-year-old comes up and says this has been going on for the last seven years.

Jonathan attributes the delay in disclosure to children moving and not developing trusting relationships with adults outside the family who might have an opportunity to notice changes in the child's behavior. Eric, another Charlesville investigator, had a similar observation:

> Eric: These kids that come from all over the country whereas kids growing here locally everybody kind of knows one another...It could be harder to learn of a possible incident of sexual abuse because the rapport is not there. If you think about it, if you're moving all the time you might not have somebody who's been your coach for five years or your neighbor your whole life. They move about every three years. It could potentially be a very bad thing, especially if one parent turns a blind eye. They could really be at risk.

Disclosures are typically described as being accidental or purposeful. An accidental disclosure is one where the child did not intentionally make the decision to disclose the abuse, but the abuse was found out perhaps by someone witnessing something suspicious or a confidante making the decision to tell. Accidental disclosures tend to be tentative, whereas purposeful disclosures are more detailed, convincing and less likely to be recanted (Sorenson & Snow, 1991). Participants described the disclosures that they see from military cases as being purposeful. Dani and Ella, both CAC employees, did not notice a difference in the disclosure delay, but both described the disclosures as more detailed which would be consistent with purposeful disclosures. Jonathan attributes the fact that military child disclosures are purposeful to frequent moving, because the moving decreases the likelihood that the abuse will be accidentally discovered:

> Jonathan: A lot of my civilian cases, you know, a family friend was told this and they reported it or the doctor, or the counselor, or the neighbor, or a friend at school whatever it may be, but it's very rarely the victim coming forward to say it happened. And with military families what I've seen is the victim is the one coming forward. Enough is enough. I'm going to tell.

Subtheme 2: Reporting. Similar to decisions to disclose, participants described the frequent moving of military families as having a negative impact on the decision of the family to report the abuse to authorities. Almost universally, participants described cases where family members were reluctant to report the abuse after it was disclosed. The most common reason given was fear about the economic impact on the family once the abuse allegations are made.

> Antiah: It's normal to have delayed disclosure, but the motive behind it is different. So the motive behind the nonoffending caregiver in the military now reporting everything is not that the child delayed the disclosure. The child told the parent, the nonoffending caregiver was aware, but they were worried about what would happen with their benefits in the family if people really knew what was happening versus when someone just delays disclosure because of fear or concern.

Frequent moves result in a dynamic where nonmilitary spouses are financially dependent on the military member. The rate of unemployment for military spouses is more than double the national average (Defense Manpower Data Center [DMDC], 2010). It is difficult to maintain consistent employment and work towards career advancement when moving every few years. The Fort Askew Family and MWR website states that, "Family

members may have to place their careers on hold or change careers completely when they relocate to a new area." The website provides links to employment resources specifically for military spouses offered by DoD. Ms. Hester, herself a military spouse, described the employment challenge spouses faces:

> Ms. Hester: I was just speaking to a spouse today who is getting ready to PCS [Permanent Change of Station] with her husband and she's very career focused and she's frustrated that she can't find a job. She wants to get in before she gets there because your time is so short. By the time you get there and you settle and you put your feelers out, that's six months and then you might get hired and then it's a year and then, oh look, you do a year at your job and then you're getting ready to leave again. If you're lucky.

Being financially dependent on the servicemember means that the cost of reporting abuse is high, and families must consider the fall out when deciding whether or not to report abuse. Lillian, a Charlesville therapist who sees clients from military families, describes how the dependence goes beyond the loss of income:

> Lillian: I have seen a lot of military families that had to make a choice between reporting and getting divorced and losing all of their retirement. Oh yeah, and it [reporting] takes a long time, because it dismantles everything. It's your house, it's your paycheck, it's your healthcare. It's everything. I think they take it for a long time. It's for the same reason that women who are not in military families take it, except that they may be even more invested.

Lillian correctly points out that civilian nonoffending caregivers are also more likely to delay or avoid reporting child sexual abuse when the reporting costs are high (Bolen &

Lamb, 2004). The military created Transitional Compensation for Abused Dependents in 1995 (DoD) which authorizes pay for families separated from the military due to family violence, the purpose of which was to remove financial concerns as a barrier to reporting. Nevertheless, fears about the loss of benefits after reporting are justified. Antiah described a case that she had when she was working for DFCS where a family lost housing after the abuse was reported:

> Antiah: There was a family, she was worried about housing, because she was staying off post and the housing was being paid for by the military and once he got in trouble he had to go stay in the barracks, but there were only so many days that he could be away from his house…then they would lose the stipend that they were getting for their housing in town. So she was worried about that. She knew that things would change when she told, so Mom didn't tell what happened. The child told at school and then the ball got rolling and she was like, well, since you're here let me go ahead and be honest, but the reason I haven't told is because of finances. Later in the case, when it came up that he had been gone a while, I can't pay for my house next month. And she was like, this is what I was talking about, now what are we going to do?

The potential loss of benefits that reporting the abuse might cause is compounded by the fact that relocation means that military families may be isolated from the social support they might otherwise receive if they were living near extended family. A Charlesville investigator described his belief that military cases are going unreported because of this dynamic:

Eric: I would not be surprised that there are a great deal of unreported sexual or physical abuse because it really is the perfect situation. Moving all the time and there's no other support system around.

SA Griest expressed a similar observation:

SA Griest: The nonmilitary spouse may come from a troubled home, they have anybody and all they have is their military spouse and so they have four kids, how are they going to raise them on their own? Who do they turn to for help? They may not know anybody in the area. They may have just moved here. So…they may turn a blind eye to certain things because they are dependent.

Reporting decisions are similar to the way disclosures in military cases are made purposefully. When the family finally makes the decision to report the abuse, it is done very purposefully.

Antiah: So maybe the family wants to get out, so they're telling all of it now. They're talking about everything that's happened for so many years and in so many different places, because they're ready to be out. They're ready to stop hiding everything.

CID agent, SA Griest made a similar observation:

SA Griest: They just get to a certain point where they’re like, I deserve better than this or the abuse might get that bad or the soldier walks out, or maybe they’ve just matured to a certain point. Something alters that dynamic and then they are forthcoming with a lot of information. Like here’s the computer where I saw him look at child porn and they just kind of hand it all over and let the floodgates go of everything they’ve had to deal with.

Subtheme 3: Investigations. Child sexual abuse cases are challenging to investigate. There are rarely witnesses or physical evidence, and cases often depend on the testimony of a child. For civilian investigators working cases that involve military members, the frequent moving adds an extra layer of complexity to the investigations. Establishing jurisdiction is fundamental, because law enforcement agencies and courts only have legal authority within the bounds of their jurisdiction. For civilian agencies, jurisdiction is typically defined geographically. Military jurisdiction works differently. The military defines jurisdiction as "the extent of and limitation on the right of an armed force to exercise authority and control over persons and offenses" (DA, 1987). The military has jurisdiction over all persons subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) for offenses as defined in the UCMJ, regardless of where the crime occurred.

Fort Askew according to MAJ Baker, has exclusive federal jurisdiction. Some military installations have concurrent jurisdiction so that state and local authorities can simultaneously exercise authority over offenses that occur on the installation. In practice, this means that if a case of child sexual abuse occurs on the installation and the offender is subject to the UCMJ, the military will investigate and prosecute. If the crime occurs on the installation, but the offender is not subject to the UCMJ, the military can assist with the investigation, but the case must ultimately be handled in federal court. For cases that occur off-post in which the offender is not subject to the UCMJ – for instance, if the offender is a family member not in the military, or if the offender has separated from the military – the military has no jurisdiction, and civilian authorities would handle the case. Cases that occur off-post in which the offender *is* subject to the UCMJ are handled on a

case-by-case basis (See Figure 8 for a matrix of jurisdiction based on location and offender status).

		Location of Offense	
		On-post	Off-post
Offender's Status	Subject to UCMJ	Fort Askew	Case-by-Case
	Not Subject to UCMJ	Federal	Charlesville

Figure 8: Jurisdiction for Fort Askew/Charlesville based on offense location and offender status.

The frequent relocation of military families that leads to delays in disclosure and reporting also, means that child sexual abuse in a military family often has occurred in multiple locations. Antiah describes a case she had at the CAC that she described as typical for what she expects to see in military cases:

> Antiah: The child kept reporting sexual abuse … he [offender] was military, and so she [child] had a lot of different abuse happening in different places. When you talk to her and listen to some of the things that she was describing, she's describing lots of different bases, lots of different hotels. Both of her parents were military so she was talking about times when they would visit each other because they were separated at different bases. So there was a lot happening.

Charlie describes his frustration in investigating military cases that span multiple jurisdictions:

> Charlie: It happened in California and now they’re three stations away from that. Or maybe it was overseas. I've even had to do that. I've had to work cases from here to Korea. Calling them, all right what happened, where did it happen. I'm sorry it was Japan. A child porn case… It was reported here, but it happened supposedly off post in Japan. Holy crap what do I do with that?

When cases involve multiple jurisdictions, civilian agencies must coordinate with other civilian agencies, the military, and sometimes federal law enforcement agencies. Multiple locations also means that possible witnesses, other potential victims, and offenders may be scattered and more difficult to track down and locate. Local law enforcement agencies do not have the resources to personally travel to other states to follow leads and conduct interviews, so they must rely on assistance from other agencies. The Charlesville investigators each described working cases that involved coordination with other agencies. They described it as challenging but expressed pride in being able to successfully investigate cases in challenging circumstances. Eric described a case he worked that involved multiple victims living in different states:

> Eric: It's like this. And I'm not bragging by any means. If you're going to do this. You gotta go and you gotta do it hundred percent. There were cases that I was assigned and the crime occurred here and I followed up on it but the offender actually lived out in Washington state. And we found other victims and they lived here, there, and everywhere. The point being with these children it doesn't matter if it happened somewhere else. You do everything you're supposed to do.

Nevertheless, Eric and other investigators expressed some negative experiences in having to rely on investigators whom they did not know or have relationships with to

assist, because those other investigators were not as familiar with the details of the case and did not have the same sense of ownership. Eric described an experience where a law enforcement agency delayed scheduling a forensic interview for an out-of-state victim. He felt like the delay might have impacted the quality of the evidence.

> Eric: If they [other agencies] drop the ball that's on them. I've had agencies where I've had them try to do a CAC for a child that lives there. This dragged out for months. I'm thinking you got a window of opportunity when it comes to small children where they remember stuff. You gotta get it done. That was a negative experience.

Charlie also described negative experiences because other agencies did not prioritize the case on which he was requesting assistance:

> Charlie: I've seen times where there's been cases that have took a long time to come to fruition and as far as I'm concerned the longer you wait, the worse off you're going to be later on and then I've seen some where I don't even know what happened to them. That wasn't the norm but I have seen that happen.

In describing these challenges, Charlie emphasized that the negative experiences were the exception and not normal. In describing his experiences conducting interagency collaborative investigations, Charlie seemed to enjoy the challenge and described a sense of camaraderie with other investigators who work these types of cases. All of the investigators described positive experiences in collaborating with the military on cases:

> Jonathan: I worked a case where he was retired from the Navy so they moved all around the country. It started when she was five or six and she was 15 at the time she came forward at the school. So 10 years it's been going on … I contacted the

> military and said hey this guy is retired, what's the steps to verify all these places he's been. I did the forensic where she said it happened here, it happened here, it happened here, it happened here. How can I follow up and get that information because obviously he's not to give it to me? They [CID] were able to track it all down.

From the perspective of the victim and families, moving can mean losing touch with the status of investigations and prosecutions. Kim, a therapist, described how she has observed client cases being impacted by relocation.

> Kim: When they finally make a report, by the time something is about to happen legally they're getting ready to move. So they lose track and there is a lack of communication between whichever office, whatever the case may be the family moves and they miss that court appointment or they can't go because of finances or what have you. That child ends up like, where's my justice?

Kim stated that she knew of six cases where charges have been dropped because clients moved and then missed court dates. As indicated in her statement, when the victim and family are not present and keeping up to date with case progress, the case may fall through the cracks. She described this as having a negative impact on the mental health of her child clients, because they interpret the dropping of the charges to mean that they are not believed or that no one cares about the abuse.

According to JAG pursuing cases that span multiple locations is not an issue for them, because even if it happened overseas, the military can get the offender anywhere. MAJ Baker compared cases with multiple locations to a hot potato, because the case has to be investigated and prosecuted wherever it “lands” or at the base where it is reported.

Similarly, SA Griest did not consider investigating cases with multiple locations to be an issue. He stated:

> SA Griest: [The offender] is subject to UCMJ regardless of where the location is. Whether it's on-base or off. So that's where… the jurisdiction issues can come in. When something happens off post with the soldier. The local law enforcement may say here you go military, you can have this investigation and then we would work it or military prosecutors would take it and work the case even though it happened off our installation.

Subtheme 4: Continuity of care. Continuity of care refers to a patient' s experience of care overtime as coherent and linked (Reid, Haggerty, & McKendy, 2002) and is linked to improved outcomes in children (Saultz & Lochner, 2005). Military children have access to healthcare including mental healthcare, as well as other programs specifically focused on the well-being of military children. However, frequent relocation interrupts the child's continuity of care and may impact outcomes. The mental health and medical service providers interviewed for this study mentioned moving and interruption of services as a concern that they have with their military clients.

Georgia works with child victims of sexual assault to schedule sexual assault exams and follow-up medical care. She expressed concern about children receiving appropriate services in a timely manner and then also following up. Georgia said that she worries a lot about her military cases falling through the cracks when the clients move. Georgia stated that sometimes she will get a call from the advocacy center after a forensic interview in which sexual assault was reported, but the family is moving in one week or a few weeks and she cannot schedule an appointment that quickly. Once the family moves

out of the area, she has no idea what happens. When a client is moving and she knows where they are going she will call a contact in the area if she has one. If she does not have a contact in the new location, she relies on Fort Askew; and she will contact FAP and hope that they perform referrals so that the case and treatment is picked up on the other side.

Lillian also expressed concern for her military clients when they move. She described one particular military client referred to her for trauma stemming from sexual abuse. She described the parents bringing her to her appointments consistently and the client making progress in play therapy. Then the child father was reassigned and the family moved. Lillian described the child as being distressed about being pulled from her school and having to start over with a new therapist.

Subtheme 5: Turnover. Of all the issues brought up by the civilian participants of this study, the high turnover rate of people in the military emerged as the most challenging aspect of trying to collaborate with Fort Askew agencies. Frequent relocation does not just apply to military families but is also an issue with CID agents, JAG officers, medical, and mental health providers. Charlie described his frustration in the following statement:

> Charlie: That is the hardest thing about dealing with anyone at Fort Askew is trying to get contacts that are going to be there for any length of time. Because you may deal with somebody and then six months later they're gone. And now you gotta bring somebody else up to speed. That person might do it for a little while and then they might transfer over here and do something else and they're not even doing that anymore.

Part of the frustration is that the Charlesville MDT model is centered on developing professional relationships in order to facilitate interagency collaboration. Charlie described the importance of professional relationships in the following statement:

> Charlie: There is absolutely no way in the world you could work these kind of cases without having those kind of contacts. You just can't do it. I tell the cadets all the time particularly in this field, it's all about the contacts.

Ella also described the necessity of professional relationships to responding to child sexual abuse cases and compared the Charlesville MDT to the CAC's lack of a strong relationship with Fort Askew agencies.

> Ella: Part of rescuing and preventing really requires a very well-oiled machine. The MDT, the community coming together within the professions that are in the business of protecting children. So then you have the military, they want to protect children, too but it's like they're loners. They are out there on their own doing it based on their own protocol. So I think it would have to make a difference in the ultimate outcome of the case when you have a large community team versus an isolated one.

In contrast, many of the interviewees described close professional relationships with other civilian agencies.

> Jonathan: I've built up a good relationship with the schools so most of the principles and counselors have my number. They'll call me and say hey this girl just came forward and said this how would you like us to go forward with this?

Charlie stated, "I can call up DFCS and say hey what are you all doing for this person." Knowing who to talk to and having a network in place was described as an essential part

of participants' professional responsibilities. Participants described making efforts to develop contacts and build relationships with people out at Fort Askew, sometimes successfully. Nevertheless, the frequent moving of the military members means those relationships are temporary. Antiah describes her efforts as follows:

> Antiah: It's not necessarily they're trying to be difficult. Especially if you build a rapport with investigators [CID]. When I was at DFCS, I tried to keep a relationship with one or two people so I could have a foot in the door. But, I think agents at CID change pretty often, too. Because they're moving bases and things.

Similarly, Dani describes having good experiences with Fort Askew investigators when they interact, but the frequent turnover discourages her from investing her time to getting to know the investigators personally.

> Dani: We've had good relationships with them when they're here. I just feel like it's more of why am I going to invest in this relationship whereas with my local law enforcement because I need to build this relationship to do this work. If I'm going to really invest in it, especially from a CAC director standpoint, if we have a new team member I always try to introduce myself and talk to them for a little bit. Whereas with military, why am I going to waste my time when who knows when you're going to be gone. So, sometimes I'll ask them how long are you going to be stationed here or something like that so I can find out before, but even then it doesn't mean anything cause they tell me one thing and then they're gone the next week.

Dani expressed frustration, because she felt like investing in relationships with Fort Askew was a waste of her time due to the turnover. Ella expressed a similar sentiment in

regards to investing time in providing the same information to Fort Askew contacts every couple of years.

> Ella: They had called us and they were asking us how a child comes here for a forensic interview. That question was frustrating because we are all about informing them. We have informed them multiple times about how that happens. But I guess it's the turnover. They don't pass that information on to everyone that needs it so the turnover happens.

Not having consistent professional contacts or procedures for exchanging information costs the CAC time. Dani describes a cycle of frustration trying to get information, followed by a short period of good collaboration.

> Dani: My full-time interviewer, their job is getting case updates. So if we have a slow time and she can dedicate tons of time to just playing, she contacts someone and oh that person's not here anymore contact this person, and then she contacts that person and they are like, that person's not here, contact this person. So she plays this run around game. So she needs to have some designated time for it and there will be occasions where we make contacts and they're like, just send it all to me and I'll get all the updates. And then it's good for a couple of months and then that person leaves. But, they don't tell whoever takes over to make sure they contact the CAC, so it starts over again until we find that person who is like, hey I want to do that.

In the preceding quote, Dani mentioned that when Fort Askew contacts leave they take their knowledge about the processes in Charlesville with them. This issue also impacts law enforcement investigations. Charlie described a scenario of trying to follow up on a

case. While relating this anecdote, he gesticulated wildly and his voice grew louder. He moved objects around his desk to illustrate the confusion of trying to keep up with so many moving pieces. By the end, his frustration was apparent, but he was also laughing at the absurdity of it.

> Charlie: Cases were turned over and there's no follow-up. Better yet, somebody talk to this one, then this one swapped out before this one could turn it over to this one, and then the next thing you know this one turns it to me and I'm trying to go back and figure out what's going on now *that* one's transferred out. So I don't know what they talked about… So thank God it wasn't one of those where we got Jeffrey Dahmer and nobody knows what the hell happened!

On the Fort Askew side of procedures, SA Griest acknowledged how frequent moving negatively impacts collaboration. In this passage, he describes why civilian professionals may not want to work with CID:

> SA Griest: People could have had bad experiences before. With military, we're rotating out every couple years. So a lot of civilians off post you know they're staying there for longer than we are for the most part and so those relationships can definitely deteriorate over time depending on whoever came in before or after you and thinking kind of ruin that relationship that might've been good at one time. They have a bad experience and then they say I'm not going to deal with these guys ever again.

In the preceding statement, SA Griest's attributes the reason civilians may not want to deal with the military to having had a bad experience however, according to the civilians interviewed, the impetus for not wanting to deal with the military is not that there was a

prior bad experience, but instead frustration with the experience of having to repeatedly start over again in making contacts and building relationships. The problem is not with individuals, but with the military's practice of frequent moving.

Major Theme II: Discipline and Control.

Discipline and control is one of the three defining aspects of military culture (Lang, 1965). The chain of command functions to pass down orders to be executed. Discipline is necessary for accepting and complying with orders and authority. Within the military chain-of-command, commanders are responsible for everything that their subordinate unit does or fails to do and are thus imbued with the legal and legitimate authority to exert almost total control over servicemembers under their command. In the course of this case study, there emerged four main subthemes related to the discipline and control aspect of the military. The first of these is the role of the command, which is a significant difference between military and civilian cases. Second and related to the role of the command, is prioritizing the servicemember. Third is the issue of confidentiality, specifically, the perception that military families lack confidentiality and the impact that perception has on families in cases of child sexual abuse. Fourth is, the reaction of civilian participants — namely, acceptance and admiration — to the discipline and control of the military as it relates to child sexual abuse cases.

Subtheme 6: Role of command. When asked to describe the differences between the military and civilian judicial systems, MAJ Baker immediately said that it is the role of the commander. Commanders play a central role in the military criminal justice system, as described in Chapter 4. Because commanders ultimately make the decision to prefer charges (prosecute), they are kept informed about cases almost from the time of

the report. MAJ Baker stated that JAG gets involved in cases very early on so that they can provide legal advice to the commander. SA Griest described the role of the commander in the following way:

> SA Griest: If they are action authority…coordinating with the SJ or trial counsel who would prosecute the case, they [SJ]would work with the commander to decide if it's something that's egregious enough to where they're going to go through a court-martial or they may take some type of administrative action like Article 15, reducing rank, reducing pay, or extra duty for so many days. They would all go to court-martial unless there's something where there's not enough evidence to prove one way or another that it happened.

In the preceding statement, SA Griest described the commander as the central decision-making authority for the disposition of cases. By "action authority," SA Griest is referring to the level of commander who has the authority to dispose of sexual abuse cases. Due to judicial reforms, the action authority is now reserved for high-ranking officers.

While the role of commanders is a key feature of the military criminal justice system, it is an oddity in the civilian criminal justice system. Civilian participants mentioned interactions with the offender's chain of command as a differentiating characteristic of military child sexual abuse cases. Charlie describes his experience dealing with commanders in the course of an investigation:

> Charlie: I've even had people…the person that I'm wanting to interview or the suspect has voluntarily come to my office to speak to me and had people from their chain of command calling, coming by, demanding to know why I didn't call

somebody to get them representation to this, that, and the other thing. I've even had some where they're like, he's not even supposed to be talking to you.

The chain of command involvement described by Charlie is not an outgrowth of the commander's role as an action authority within the military criminal justice system. Instead, it springs from the discipline and control aspect of command wherein the commander is responsible for everything that happens with members of his or her command. Therefore, the commander wants to be informed and also in control of any action pertaining to members of the command. The statement from the commander to Charlie, "he's not even supposed to be talking to you," implies, at minimum, legal advice from the commander to the offender. If a commander told a member of his or her command not to talk to the civilian police, that would likely be followed as an order due to the authority of the commander. Jonathan described several similar experiences in which commanders not only wanted to be informed about the investigations, but actually inserted themselves into the investigation:

Jonathan: When I went to interview that soldier, his commanding officer brought him over there and was actually in the waiting room with him and requested to come back there for the interview. And of course we were like, no. I remember one time, the first officer they contacted, oh well I wasn't sure what it was about, I got your message it was CID so I wanted to call my soldier first and find out what they knew about why ya'll are calling me and why ya'll want to talk to him. Every time I've had a soldier called up to CID, it's their officer saying, well what have they done, why do you need to talk to him, what do I need to know. I mean there's a couple hours gap where I don't want that person to know what's going on. I had

> one where I called up the commanding officer and they're like, well he's off so I can help you out and go track him down. No, I don't need you to go track him down. I'll go track him down. I was calling you to get him up here, but if he's not there I'll do it. And I showed up at his house and his commanding officer was already there. Had no idea what it was, just knew a Charlesville investigator needs to talk to his soldier. By the time I got to the house he was already there saying hey I was just trying to help you track him down, here he is. And I'm like, no.

Jonathan expressed frustration mainly because he was concerned about the commander tipping off the offender or otherwise affecting the outcome of the investigation. Jonathan accepted that this was just another aspect of military life, as did other investigators. Eric explained that the interactions with commanders did not surprise him because servicemembers belong to the military.

> Eric: The Army owns you. When you're in the military you pretty much go where they tell you to go and that's with or without family in tow. They want to know what's going on with their military people. If it involves them they want to know about it.

Charlie expressed a similar sentiment referring to his interactions with commanders: “I understand that a person in the military belongs to the military. I get that.” The civilian investigators may not understand or feel comfortable with the role of commanders, but they understand it as a fact of military life. Several of the participants did comment on how this contrasts with civilian cases, in that it would be unusual for a civilian offender’s employer to make contact regarding a case. Charlie contrasted dealing with commanders to dealing with employers in the civilian sector:

> Charlie: He's working at Mako Paint and Body Shop I don't expect the shop foreman to be calling me up wantin' to know why in the hell. I don't want to give the impression that it never happens like that on the civilian side of the house, because obviously we have mothers and fathers and everybody else coming out here but not employers. Definitely not brass chain of command coming in here want to know what the hell... God forbid you have a colonel who's up for something then people are just losing it out there. They're like oh my God! I get it. But that's a different consideration that I have for these cases.

In the preceding quote, Charlie was implying that it would be absurd in the civilian world to have an employer involved in the case, describing the behavior as typical of family members. The involvement displayed by the commanders seemed protective, which was another characteristic of working child sexual abuse cases that stood out to participants.

Subtheme 7: Prioritizing the servicemember. The role of the commander extends beyond the duties of a typical supervisor or employer in the civilian world. Commanders are responsible for more than ensuring that their subordinates complete assigned tasks in order to meet organizational goals. They are also responsible for the health, welfare, morale and discipline of assigned personnel (DA, 2012). Military leaders are expected to take care of their troops. "Taking care of the troops" is the crux of army leadership and is described in the U.S. Army Leadership Field Manual thusly:

> Caring for your soldiers means doing all you can to try to help them meet their physical, security, social, and higher needs. Some leaders get the idea that caring for their soldiers only means ensuring that they have adequate food, clothing, rest, shelter, and necessary weapons and equipment to do their jobs. Providing for the

> physical needs is critically important, but caring for your support and its goes much further (DA, 2006, p. 234).

Taking care of the troops is ingrained in military leaders so it's unsurprising that when a commander finds out that one of his or her subordinates is potentially in trouble, his or her first impulse is to protect the soldier and gather information. Jonathan described his observation of this protective impulse in the following statement:

> Jonathan: We told his commanding officer this is what the allegation is, this is what we're investigating. Up until that point he didn't know, but it seemed like he was trying to protect as much as he could not knowing what the allegation was. …Well it's something I need to know about then. No, I'll let you know when it's time to let you know. It's almost a protection sort of thing.

This dynamic is not reserved for interactions with civilian law enforcement but was also an issue for military investigators. In the following quote, SA Griest explained why he sometimes withholds information from commanders:

> SA Griest: We do that for a reason. Because there have been incidents where a commander has told a subject, hey you might want to go get TDS [Trial Defense Service]. And then we have to get on the commander. Why are you telling him to go get TDS already? Because they are trying to look out for the best interest of the soldier.

Trial Defense Service (TDS) is the title of JAG officers who are assigned as defense attorneys. The first concern seems to be for the impact of the allegation on the servicemember, and particularly on the servicemember's military career. The predisposition to prioritize concern for the impact of the allegation on the servicemember

is not only observed in the military chain of command, but is also seen in the views of military investigators.

> Dani: What's frustrating for me is that I've had CID sit in here before and say… there's a horrific disclosure but apparently this person was the number one sniper or something. And I'm like, I don't give a shit, what's that got to do with anything. But apparently realizing that does matter at least to the investigator, enough for them to bring it up. Hearing them say, if I do this I'm going to ruin his career and he's really important in the military, and I'm like, I don't care. That's where sometimes I've said that and I don't know how well received that is, because I think then they're like, you don't understand. I can't remember the saying, but I had two interns that were prior military and I feel like we had an influx of military cases then and it's like, military's first and then everything else. I guess for me that's been a very weird thing to hear from law enforcement.

It is not surprising that military law enforcement would also demonstrate a concern for the impact of the allegations on the servicemember. In the military, the purpose of law enforcement is to protect and assist the military community in order to support the commanders' order and discipline. Military Police derive their authority from the command authority of the installation commander (DA, 1987). Dani also described noticing this concern for the military careers of alleged offenders in her interactions with non-offending caregivers from military families:

> Dani: We have had some where if the caregivers are still together, the nonoffending caregiver will ask the military investigator what's going to happen to him [alleged offender] and I think from a supportive parent normally they want

> him to get in trouble. But the concern seems to be his command is going to find out to the point of defending him. That is the priority. Not what do I need for treatment for my child, or what do I need to make sure they are healthy mentally and physically. The first priority is what's going to happen to them. I feel like that's been a little bit difficult for me.

From the perspective of the non-offending caregiver, the concern for the servicemember's career may be due to the potential negative financial impact on the family. It may also be socialization into the military culture, in which family members are supposed to put the needs of the military first. Ms. Hester described her experience as a new military spouse:

> Ms. Hester: The old saying used to be if the Army wanted you to have a family they would have issued you one. It's not that bad now. I never experienced to that level. But there were definitely expectations from the leadership, the command, the unit but also internally from my soldier in the home that... I couldn't complain. The expectation was I knew what I was signing up for.

Ms. Hester expressed the belief that as a military wife she was expected to sacrifice and put her husband's career needs above her own without complaint. Charlie described being accused of being unpatriotic by an alleged offender's family members when he was investigating a case of child sexual abuse involving a high-ranking officer:

> Charlie: People have a certain picture whether it's the police, the military, fire, the clergy… They don't do stuff like that. Or if you say they do you better have a lot of information out there because if you call them out and you don't have it then you're unpatriotic.

Being protective of offenders is a common reaction in family members and usually stems from denial. In the case of alleged offenders who are in the military, the concern seems at least partially related to the high status of the military in the eyes of the public. Accusing a servicemember of wrongdoing is seen as conflicting with the societal value of showing respect for those in uniform, illustrated by this investigator being labeled unpatriotic.

An aspect of this concern for the career of the servicemember was also reflected in interviewees' perception of the consequences of child sexual abuse for military alleged offenders. Some of the participants considered the consequences that impacted the servicemembers' career as being very harsh. In the following quotation, Lillian referred to a military servicemember being separated from the military:

> Lillian: The repercussions, if they're discovered are dire for the military member. The officers don't even really want to take the report because they know what it means.

By "officers," Lillian is referring to law enforcement officers. This observation reinforces observations of law enforcement's concern for the career of the servicemember. In the following quotation, Antiah initially states that she considers military consequences to be less harsh than in the civilian community, but then second guesses herself. She assumes that her perception that the negative impact on the career is less harsh than civilian consequences is a result of her being a civilian and not familiar with the military:

> Antiah: I think that oftentimes with civilian cases the punishment is a little harsher. In the military sometimes the punishment is just… Well they are harsher is just my perspective as a civilian though because I've talked to people who are

like that is really harsh for the military. To be demoted in rank or not be able to go to another station or not be able to be deployed.

Dani did not consider the military's punishment to be harsh. She considered the military punishments she has seen to be lenient compared to comparable civilian cases:

Dani: It's just really frustrating when you have a case where in the civilian world the person would have been charged and possibly gotten life in prison and in military world they get a slap on the wrist. We've seen it number of times.

Antiah went on to reassert her initial observation that she believed that the punishments in the military are more lenient when compared to what she would expect in the civilian world:

Antiah: From a civilian perspective that seems like not a lot…If it was a civilian case with the same type of crime and the same type of evidence presented to a judge they might be in jail for 10 years. It seems to me that it's less. They get less of a punishment. I think that in turn affects the families because they understand that's what's going to happen and so that in turn affects what they report and how they disclose and how they may or may not coach their children to say certain things like, well you've already said this and you see what is happening to our family, don't tell them everything.

In this quote Antiah expressed concern that lenient punishments for child sexual abuse would discourage disclosure and reporting. Dani also considered the repercussions of what she considered light military punishments

Dani: So, if the punishment is just separating someone from the military, now they're out in the community and they're still a child predator. That goes back to

> the issue of well, you're discharged, cool. I guess the military doesn't give a shit about every other child in the world. It's more like we got rid of our problem and now everybody else go deal with it.

Given the concern for the career of the servicemember, it follows that ending the servicemember's military career would be considered a severe consequence.

Subtheme 8: Confidentiality. Another issue that came up repeatedly in interviews was that military families do not perceive that they truly have confidentiality on the military installation. The lack of confidentiality was attributed to two facets of military life. First, the perception of the command's unlimited authority, and second, the description of the military community as being gossipy. The first concern regarding the command is not unwarranted. In order for commanders to care for not only the discipline but also the health, welfare, and morale of the servicemember, they need to be aware of conditions that could impact all areas of the lives of their subordinates. Commanders therefore have access to information about servicemembers and their families that would not routinely be available to a civilian employer. Ella is a military spouse, and she described her experience regarding confidentiality in the following quote:

> Ella: [There are] areas that as a spouse and with our families as well, where the command is very much involved in everything. They often even reach out to service providers on post. I don't know if it's written or unwritten regulation that they have. Not sure. But I've experienced that with my husband myself to where the command can actually reach out to service providers like their physicians and get some information about them. Don't know exactly how that works. If that's

> something that's kind of military written rule or an unspoken rule that it's just kind of out there.

SA Griest confirmed that lack of confidentiality was a legitimate concern and cited it as a reason for not sharing information with the case review committee (CRC):

> SA Griest: But I've only sat on one CRC meeting and that was 6 years ago and I don't remember putting out too much information because we are sensitive about sharing too much information because you don't know if there's somebody out there who knows the victim, knows the subject, are they going to give them information to know what we know. Is it going to jeopardize an investigation? And I would hate to get a child molester off because somebody tipped them off with some information that was damaging or ruined the case are one of those things

The perception that the military community is gossipy was described by Ms. Hester:

> Ms. Hester: There's expectations as an spouse that you will do certain things. Then you don't talk to certain people. Don't talk to this person. Don't talk to the FRG [Family Readiness Group]. In the early days I remember him [her military spouse] saying you don't want to be a part of that. That's just a bunch of gossipy wives. You're not like that. Don't get involved.

Ms. Hester's military husband discouraged her involvement in activities designed to develop social interaction amongst military families in order to facilitate support and information sharing during deployments, because he perceived other military families (specifically wives) to be gossipy. Ella further describes the fear that clients' have expressed about other people in the community finding out about the abuse:

> Ella: Based on what they've told me is the more people know within the military system, the more likelihood any of that information getting back to the command itself. They're very worried about any type of perspectives, perceptions that people will have about them and their family and additionally any type of mistreatment or retribution after the spouse finds out that things are being shared. That's their perspective. That might not be reality.

SA Griest also commented on the spread of gossip and observed that it was not only "gossipy wives" responsible for sharing confidential information. Some of the disclosure of confidential information was due to members of the chain of command knowing about the allegations and discussing them with others.

> SA Griest: There's a lot of chatty Cathys running around. A lot of people don't believe in what's private to them and they make the circumstances available to everybody. So you tell someone who you believe is a confidante for you and you don't really know them that well. Then they are going in telling your business. It's very well that you have somebody in a leadership position talk to another leader about what's going on maybe for advice. Well what if that other leader is going and telling everybody else what's going on.

One consequence of the perception that the military lacks confidentiality is that military families may be reluctant to disclose or report the abuse.

> Ella: The way they described it to me and I know the base and I know they're right even where they would initially go to make that report isn't safe.. It's not a place where they have any anonymity to make that report. The only anonymity that they would be afforded in their report is if they were to go directly to CID

> because they have their own building, they have their own offices. You don't have to go through a common building or a common area to get to them.

Family members expressed concern that even being seen at the FAP office would raise suspicion and get people talking, according to Ella's account. Kim described incidents where confidential information was shared to support her belief that such experiences would discourage other community members to disclose or report abuse.

> Kim: Just the fact that it will be known in the community. Unfortunately in our area there's been at least two instances that I've known where even the minor's name or the parent's name was disclosed when it should not have been. So I can only imagine when other families saw that they would be very apprehensive to be proactive.

Another consequence of the perception of a lack of confidentiality is that military families seek services off post. Service providers reported being told by military families that they prefer resources such as medical treatment and mental health off-post in order to retain privacy. Kim described having these conversations with her clients:

> Kim: Families who live on a military base have access to mental health services on post. Most of them do not utilize them because of scrutiny and I've had families say it's just so embarrassing for other people to see me … this whole spiel about they want to have this level of privacy, I want to have that level of being able to disclose without fear of somebody knowing my information on post. Which is why a lot of families will leave off the military base even though they are less than 10 minutes in proximity of services to utilize my services.

Dani shared that seeking services off-post was the norm for military families.

> Dani: It's very rare that they [military clients] get referred back on post. From our family advocate's experience, it's that they don't want to be on-post. I think probably because of all that stuff, are we going to get in trouble, will this affect our rank?

Georgia also described noticing a trend where military families preferred to receive medical services related to the abuse off-post as opposed to on-post. According to Georgia, military families regularly tell her that they don't want to have such services in their records because -regardless of whether such perceptions are accurate-they do not believe that the information in their military health records is truly private.

The military is aware of the negative impacts of a perception of a lack of confidentiality. Kim described the creation of the Military OneSource program, which confidentially offers information, referrals, and access to some mental health services:

> Kim: The military has actually created a whole unit so that party is neutral. They gather the information and one of the things they tell them on the phone is this is all confidential, it doesn't get released to anyone, your supervisor won't know, yada yada.

Changes to the CRC in 2015 appear explicitly designed to decrease breaches of confidentiality in the course of the official military response to child maltreatment. The CRC has been replaced by the incident determination committee (IDC) and the clinical case staff meeting (CCSM). The clinical case staff meeting limits attendance to those with clinical expertise in child maltreatment or domestic violence. The revised manual also includes a section on the confidentiality of CCSM discussions that was not included

in the previous CRC manual (DOD, 2017). Fort Askew has not yet transitioned from the CRC to the separate IDC and CCSM.

Subtheme 9: Civilian Admiration. Many of the civilian interviewees expressed envy and admiration for the military's ability to get things done quickly and efficiently thanks to the discipline and control of the military command structure. Leighanne stated that when dealing with cases of child maltreatment, the DA's office liked to kick the cases back to the military justice system because of the perception that the military has better resources and the ability to monitor and exert control over the soldier in a way that civilian authorities could not. The investigators also expressed admiration for the military control and resources that helped facilitate investigations. Jonathan described his experience working a case jointly with CID in which he was impressed by the superior resources to which the military had access:

> Jonathan: Well at that point I got CID on the base involved and they conducted a search of his place out there got his cell phone, laptop and then they interviewed him and did DNA which came back in, I want to say a week or two, which is no time at all. With [the state crime lab] you're looking at a minimum six months to get any DNA response. If not longer. So when they turned around a week and a half later like hey we got the DNA results. It was like WHAT!

Another aspect of working cases with the military that Jonathan appreciated was that, unlike with civilians, he did not have to search for alleged offenders who were avoiding him.

> Jonathan: It's great, because they can order their soldier to come in for an interview, whereas a boss out here can't really do that. They have no power to do

that, whereas in the military you have that power. So that's a great tool to use out there.

Charlie expressed a similar appreciation for the ability of the military to facilitate investigations.

Charlie: I mean that's whats cracker jacks. They've got the resources to make it happen. I mean they had people that were going to Germany and Japan and Korea and all those other places I mean God forbid. As long as they were still in the service, finding them wasn't a problem.

The military system of centralized control also made monitoring cases easier for DFCS. Antiah described being able to get a consolidated report of the services that military families received when she was working as a DFCS caseworker:

Antiah: But, Fort Askew has some type of system and usually the FAP would print it out for me or the family would bring it if I request it. It would be one piece of paper but it would say each person they had an appointment with, upcoming appointments, and not just mental health. On that one piece of paper, it would have, they've been to the FAP, medical, mental health, all of that was there. I don't know what system they have, but it was really useful, cause I could see what appointments they have and that they've been attending appointments and I don’t have to call each place individually.

Major Theme III: Civil-military Gap

In this case study of the Fort Askew/Charlesville military community, a picture emerged of two distinctly separate systems for responding to child sexual abuse cases. Collaboration between these two systems is complicated by several issues including

different processes and the lack of any formal mechanisms to facilitate collaboration. The Charlesville participants described challenges they faced when trying to work with authorities at Fort Askew. They also expressed confusion and misunderstanding about the military's system and processes. The separateness and lack of understanding between the two systems can be understood as an example of the civil military divide.

It is important to note that almost all of the interviewees (87%) described their overall collaboration with the military as good despite the challenges. Leighanne, a lawyer in the Charlesville DA's office, described the military and civilian law enforcement working relationship as quite positive, especially in the county where more military families reside.

The two civilian organizations that described the best working relationships with Fort Askew were the Charlesville rape crisis center and DFCS. Georgia described a close relationship with the SHARP program. She shared that she can call them up and if she has any kind of question about what is going on or where to follow up, they will point her in the right direction and take care of it. By the same token, they often call her to ask about civilian resources. Georgia believes that the reason she works so well with SHARP is that the person in charge is a civilian who has been there a long time.

Antiah shared that when she worked for DFCS, she routinely had meetings with FAP to discuss cases:

> Antiah: So I have gone to the apartments and houses out there. I've gone to the hospital to check on the child. I've worked with family advocacy program to make sure that families have services. I've gone out to the school. Sometimes we would work together. They would have a case and DFCS would have a case and we

> would work together to talk about what findings we had and what some of our concerns were.

Antiah credited this close working relationship to the fact that the military did not have a child protective service agency that was the equivalent to the civilian DFCS.

Subtheme 10: Access. A significant challenge to collaboration was the lack of access that Charlesville participants felt like they had to Fort Askew. In some cases this was a lack of physical access to the military installation, as Kim described in the following statement.

> Kim: I have another therapist here and she doesn't get it. She wouldn't know where to start. She's not military so she has no clue. I have to explain it. I've gone the extra mile to make sure that I'm aware of resources. Some have said it's extremely difficult to get on the military base at this point. I have a pass so I don't have that problem. I sent someone and they couldn't get on post.

In this statement Kim shared the fact that one of her employees could not obtain physical access to the military installation, because of the security measures at Fort Askew, but she also discussed the lack of understanding regarding the military as a barrier to being able to work effectively with military clients.

Another aspect of access, is access to information and understanding not only to whom to speak, but also who is willing to work together with their civilian counterparts. Part of the reason for this lack of access is a sense that members of the military are generally uncomfortable sharing information with civilians. This perception was apparent throughout the execution of this case study. In the course of participant recruitment and data collection, I spoke to sixteen military professionals, both civilian employees and

active-duty military members. The potential participants who declined to participate offered reasons including the following: they needed permission from higher up, they needed permission from the public affairs office, they were not allowed to share information with a civilian, and they thought they would get in trouble if they talked to a researcher unless it was the military conducting the research. Of the five participants who consented to participate in the study, three expressed some level of discomfort and suspicion leading up to and at the beginning of the interview. I should add that, as the interviews progressed and the interviewees realized the extent of my military background, they became much more relaxed and forthcoming.

COL Corbin, a medical officer with experience treating sexually abused children in military medical facilities, shared that she was surprised anyone was willing to talk to me. She explained that the military, especially military officers, are discouraged from talking to outsiders, and that pressure originates at the top of the chain of command. COL Corbin blamed this reticence on the US Congress. She said that whenever there is a negative report about the military in the news, members of Congress become agitated and call military leaders demanding information and changes. Consequently, the military officers are wary about sharing anything that could be perceived as negative about the military or that could hurt the military's reputation. COL Corbin shared that sharing information could also negatively affect an officer's career because he or she would not be seen as a team player. She added that even if what the officer wanted to say was not anything bad about the military, there would still be a fear that civilians would misconstrue what was said, either because they have an agenda or because they do not understand how the military works.

This reluctance to share information is not just exhibited by military leaders suspicious of participating in research. Jonathan described sometimes having difficulty getting military members to cooperate with investigations. He shared one such story:

> Jonathan: They are not as willing to speak with me. I don't know if it's because I'm not in the military. I'll ask them questions and I'll get kind of like a blank stare. I worked a sexual abuse case and … I went to the house and the mother … wasn't going to talk to me. After almost an hour of explaining this is what I have to do. She still wouldn't talk until her husband got home and I spoke to him and his words were, I don't trust civilian officers, which was just odd to me. …prior to him coming home I wasn't getting anywhere with the wife. She told me her name and it was only her first name. … None of it came forward until the husband got home and he gave me very little and basically point-blank said I don't trust civilian officers

This distrust and unwillingness to speak to civilians also came up in a conversation with SA Griest. In a discussion about which cases CID investigates versus which cases are handled by Charlesville authorities, SA Griest stated that a reason that CID may take the case is that, "they may have a victim that doesn't want to cooperate with them[Charlesville law enforcement]. Maybe they would rather cooperate with the military instead."

The group of civilian professionals who seemed most frustrated with trying to work collaboratively with Fort Askew was the CAC.

> Dani: They are not a part of our multidisciplinary case review team…I contacted them about changing that… So I get a lot of feedback from them like, I really

> want to be involved in that fight I just can't ever figure out who the point of contact is for that. And when I said we have to sign a protocol, they're like, well that's never going to happen because that will take forever to get through for our legal to approve us to sign it and then at that point that persons not even going to be here anymore.

In the preceding statement, Dani described how when she reached out to someone at the Fort Askew FAP to include them in the MDT, that person initially expressed enthusiasm for the idea of working together. That individual did not feel invested with the authority to join the MDT and became pessimistic about the chances of obtaining approval to do that. Ella expressed a similar experience:

> Ella: So I was giving them all that information, and I was asking them, I said, you know we are trying to have more of a collaborative approach and interaction with you guys, with family advocacy certainly, with CID. But we would love to have a conversation with your director and find out how we can have you guys at the table with us when we have a military case. We can advocate for them but you guys are in the position to really be advocating for families and you need to know what sort of advocacy they need. Anyway all that, and she said yeah, that would be great I will talk to my director and of course we haven't gotten a phone call back. We just don't have that open door. We have asked for it.

The CAC also expressed frustration when attempting to get updates from the military about the status of cases. Tracking cases through final disposition is a component of the CAC model.

> Ella: Once they leave here they do not participate in our multidisciplinary team meetings. We don't really get much follow-up or feedback from them once they walk out our door. That's the biggest difference, right. If we have to call civilian agencies to get updates we get updates. But we don't have to call because it's given in the MDT ... We don't have to track them down to get the information.

Sharing information is routine for the members of the CAC MDT, but it is not a procedure in the military. The CRC is the military approximation of the MDT, although given the comments and attitudinal stances of the Fort Askew CID and JAG, it does not seem to be a particularly collaborative enterprise in practice. In discussing the CRC, SA Griest made dismissive gestures and made the following statement:

> SA Griest: We talk to the CRC and we sit in on those meetings. I know they do their yea/nay voting thing. I haven't really sat on a lot of CRC meetings but they have no bearing on the investigative process. We don't really give them too much information. Especially if it's very sensitive.

From his expression and tone of voice, it appeared to me that SA Griest did not have a strong collaborative or trusting relationship with the CRC. I got the impression that CID's participation in the CRC was perfunctory. When I asked CPT Jaster about the role of the CRC, he stated that CRC has nothing to do with the legal process. His manner and tone of voice also suggested that he did not work collaboratively with the CRC.

Subtheme 11: Military experience as a bridge. Some of the civilian participants had an affiliation with the military community as a family member, an insider stat that gave them an advantage in working collaboratively with Fort Askew. Their insider status acted like a bridge between the Charlesville system and the Fort Askew system.

> Ella: I think it is an advantage. In one way. I don't always disclose any experience I have with my husband being in the military for 18 years and I find when I don't do that I'm not even given accurate information...I already many times know what the answers should be to a question that I have and I'm advocating because the spouse isn't being directed in the right place in terms of resources that are available to them as the military spouse especially with the allegations [that have] been made against active duty member. Many times I will be told the same thing that the military spouse is told and at that point of course I will let them know that I know that that's not the case and to please help us. I have better reception when I do that. Especially when I do it upfront.

In the preceding statement, Ella was describing her efforts to advocate for families with the Fort Askew FAP. Because she has been a military spouse for 18 years, she is very familiar with the military resources and is comfortable navigating military programs. Even so, she described the quality of information being different when she was thought to be a civilian versus when the Fort Askew personnel knew her military status. This situation is very similar to the reactions I got from military participants as a researcher. The situation is also the same for participants who do not have military. Dani, who does not have any military background, was acutely aware of not having the same access as someone with that background:

> Dani: The head of the family advocacy program, I've met with him a couple times. I had an intern in the past … and she had some military experience and had an interest in that so she did a whole project on how to make our organizations work better together. So she met with him every month but again… it felt like

> whenever I came it was like, you don't have any military experience so you don't even understand. I feel like I didn't get the invitation she got. She was my intern and I was the CAC director and even when we went to a meeting together with me, her, and him it was very much so that I was the outsider and I was like, that's weird.

Kim, a civilian therapist who grew up in the military has found her military experience helpful in building rapport with her clients and their families. In referring to her military background, Kim stated:

> Kim: It does [help] because historically families are really reluctant to get therapy as is … and so I think that I am able to connect with the family and explain to them, you know, I understand what this process looks like, me being familiar with the resources on the military base to kind of connect families and give them support. I think that's an extra level of comfort for some families, because historically the responses I get are, you must be military or you must be prior military and I have to explain that whole spiel. So I think for me it's the connecting piece.

Subtheme 12: Confusion. The theme of confusion came up repeatedly in interviews. In discussing military cases in general or collaboration, I heard a lot of "I don't know…", "I'm not sure…", "I don't understand…" from participants. Participants expressed confusion in a number of areas. First, the lack of formal collaborative structures contributed to confusion about how the agencies should collaborate. Second, Charlesville respondents did not understand the military system. Third, Fort Askew participants seemed confused about why civilians would need to collaborate with them.

Underlying all of that was a confusion about the extent and the nature of the problem of child sexual abuse in the military.

Lack of formal collaborative structures. One reason that there are challenges to interagency collaboration between Fort Askew and Charlesville is that there are no official written enforceable processes or procedures in place to facilitate collaboration. This lack of collaborative structures causes confusion. Every Charlesville participant was asked if there were written protocols or memorandums of understanding (MOU) between their agency and Fort Askew. The same question was asked of Fort Askew participants regarding whether their agency had MOUs with Charlesville agencies. None of the participants reported their agencies having MOUs. Collaboration was achieved by individuals reaching out and making contacts, which resulted in the quality of collaboration being inconsistent as people move or change jobs. The investigators (from both Charlesville and Fort Askew) interviewed shared that decisions about which agency was going to take the lead on investigations was done on a case by case basis. When asked which cases he investigates versus which cases the military investigates, Jonathan stated:

> Jonathan: I wish it was cut and dry. I've built up a good relationship with the investigators out there since I've been in this position especially. I've worked joint cases, I've worked cases where it's just them and I worked cases where it's just me and they've assisted.

In contrast, Eric assumed that other agencies must have a written MOU. Jonathan's experience collaborating with the Fort Askew investigators was positive, but he

expressed that a MOU would be helpful because it would alleviate having to determine each participant's role in the investigation with every case.

Leighanne, an attorney in the Charlesville DA's office confirmed that there is no MOU or written document that describes how Charlesville and Fort Askew should collaborate on child sexual abuse or other cases. She stated that they essentially have an understanding that decisions about who's going to prosecute are made on a case-by-case basis and those decisions are based on which system can procure the strongest sentence and how much of the sentence the offender is likely to serve.

Participants from the CAC expressed a desire to have written policies to formalize collaboration. Dani, the director of the CAC, strongly believed that the current arrangement was not working well:

> Dani: If we have an MOU with them, you're going to bring cases to us. CAC's almost to a fault are like we'll help anyone, we have our MOUs but we will do courtesy stuff and this falls into that courtesy category but I feel that it shouldn't because … the kid was here. They are consistently here. And maybe that's something we need to do a better job of making an MOU with them and getting it signed. Then we would have a better understanding of who the point of contacts are and if we have a grievance what do we do. What are the reasons that they're going to come here, what information will be shared, what information is not shared. Stuff like that. Right now we're just winging it and it's not working.

In describing how an MOU would help with interagency collaboration, Dani mentioned that the CAC would know who to contact if there was a grievance. In order for the MOU to be a useful document, it must be enacted with someone in the military high enough in

the chain of command so that it does not change with every new Fort Askew agency director. Ella addressed this in the following statement:

> Ella: How do you have direct access? We don't have direct access to the base commander or somebody who has authority to make this happen. … So how it happens, I don't know. But it seems like it would have to be part of the military's protocol with how they handle [cases]. That need for collaboration and communication has to be built into that protocol in order for the military to hold them accountable for it. And too with all the personnel change in the military, if it's not handled as a change in regulation then it will change every time the command changes.

Confusion regarding the number of cases. For this case study I defined child sexual abuse in the military broadly and from the perspective of the child or the offender. Thus, included for consideration would be cases in which the child is from an active-duty military family regardless of the military status of the offender, or the offender is in the military regardless of the status of the child. I was unable to obtain access to case statistics for Fort Askew during the course of this case study so I asked each respondent to estimate for me how many child sexual abuse cases they work that have a military connection. I also asked the CAC for their statistics on military cases but I was informed by Dani that they do not track that information.

> Dani: That hasn't been a question on our intake so unless the military had referred to here, we weren't sometimes knowing. So that's not a question we ask in our pre-and post-interview. Are you affiliated with military? The other problem we run into is that our state's database doesn't have anywhere to document

> military…Sometimes our grant person will come to us and ask how many military and I'm like, I don't know. So we're guessing.

Based on interviews with the military participants, child sexual abuse is a very rare problem at Fort Askew. According to MAJ Baker, she has not seen a single case of sexual abuse in the time she has been stationed at Fort Askew, which was approximately 8 months at the time of her interview. CPT Jaster, who has been stationed at Fort Askew for just over two years, recalled having seen two cases of child sexual abuse, but they were both unfounded. According to the JAG officers, they advise the command if the alleged offender is a military member, but they are also often brought in to advise on cases where the alleged offender is not subject to UCMJ if it occurred on-post or one of the parents is a servicemember. SA Griest also remarked on the small number of cases and conjectured about why that might be the case:

> SA Griest- We haven't had a lot here. We've had a few but I want to say we haven't had a whole lot. Maybe because we have a lot of trainees, or a higher pool of quality people. Not trying to diminish everybody else, but you have a different pool of people.

In this quote, it appears that SA Griest believes that the low number of reported cases that he is aware of is due to a low number of cases in the community which he attributes to the demographic characteristics of Fort Askew, as opposed to the possibility that cases may be going unreported or undisclosed. In the interview with Ms. Hester, she made a statement that may indicate that child sexual abuse is underreported. SHARP does not have a formal role in the response to child sexual abuse cases, but servicemembers and family members are very familiar with it due to the program being heavily advertised and

training requirements placed on servicemembers. Ms. Hester shared that victim advocates in the units have reported being approached with questions about child sexual abuse:

> Ms. Hester: We've had some calls from victim advocates or SARCs with a hypothetical, what's the resource you could use. We had one of those just the other day. We do those referrals and make sure that our team has as many resources as they can to use in that way

The fact that SHARP is being approached about cases involving children and yet JAG is unaware of more than two reported cases in the past two years, is an indication that there are possibly cases that are going unreported. Both CID and JAG expressed confidence that if a case were reported they would know about it because of the amount of attention focused on sexual crimes in the military. SA Griest made the following statement:

> SA Griest: Even if it's something that you're not even sure of, we are still required to pick up on it right away and evaluate it. So somebody came in and said they were sexually assaulted, we pick up on it and then we find out it happened off base and it's all civilians. And we don't have jurisdiction, because it's a violation of posse commitatus, and we can't investigate civilians for something that's not under our jurisdiction.

SA Griest described CID as proactively working on cases and establishing jurisdiction through the course of the investigation. He referred to the Posse Comitatus Act which is a federal law (18 U.S.C. § 1385) dating back to 1878 that restricts the military from being used to enforce domestic policy. MAJ Baker and CPT Jaster both shared that they were

positive that if there was a report of child sexual abuse, they would know about it because the issue of sexual assault is heavily scrutinized.

Interviews with Charlesville participants seem to indicate that there are more cases than those recalled by the Fort Askew participants. Dani shared her estimation of the percentage of cases seen at the CAC:

> Dani: I would say the number has decreased in the last couple of years. Probably in the past I would say 20 to 25% and now I would say it's probably in the past year maybe closer to 10 to 15%.Of the military cases that we see, I'm thinking that in the past year military has referred probably like 5 interviews here but we've had cases that are referred by DFCS or law enforcement that are civilian law enforcement because the crimes happened there.

Antiah shared that when she was at DFCS, 10-15% of her sexual abuse cases would involve the military. Georgia said that she would guess that 10% of her caseload comes from military-connected families. She described the 10% figure as a rough estimate and clarified that the number of cases she sees from military families is not high, but it is high enough that it does not strike her as unusual when they come in. Lillian shared that in her private practice she sometimes gets referrals for 4 or 5 cases in the same week. She stated that, “it depends on how busy the on-post mental health services were, because it is just when they get overwhelmed that they'll refer out.”

Jonathan shared that, “In a month I probably get two to three cases and that all depends on the time of the year. Most of the reports come through the schools.”

The CAC participants believed that the number of cases referred to them from the military was low, but there was also an assumption that this low number was because the

cases were being handled internally at Fort Askew, not because the number of reported cases was that low in actual fact.

> Antiah: The military kind of handles things themselves. So because I know that about the military it's not rising we don't see more. But I think that if they chose to use us we would see more. I don't think the abuse is not happening on Fort Askew. I don't think it's less, I think they just don't call us.

Part of the confusion about whether or not Fort Askew was using the CAC for all of their cases is due to inconsistent information received by the CAC. Dani shared that she had noticed a significant decline in cases being referred from Fort Askew and questioned a CID investigator about this. She shared what the CID investigator told her:

> Dani: They [CID] said because the military wanted to use the NICHD model which is more structured and we don't use that. But then we still occasionally have interviews done here. So when I ask people what's the rhyme or reason if they come here or you do them. The last answer I got two weeks ago was if our [CID's] interviewer's available. It doesn't seem like a good system on their part for consistency. So, sometimes their interviewer will do it and sometimes they come here.

This perception is in contrast to what SA Griest shared about referring cases to the CAC:

> SA Griest: I like to utilize our CAC interviews. The child advocate centers. To me even though we go through training I like to utilize people that that's what they do on a daily basis all day. That's their expertise. I try to push those CAC facilities for child interview.

JAG also expressed a preference for using the CACs for child forensic interviews. CPT Jaster shared that he believed the CAC is more child friendly and that JAG prefers the Cornerhouse Forensic Interview Protocol which is the protocol the CAC primarily uses. CPT Jaster stated that a lot of JAG officers attend training on the Cornerhouse Forensic Interview Protocol. This is in contrast to the forensic interview training that CID agents get which is primarily the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) Protocol. NICHD is a highly structured forensic interview protocol.

Civilian confusion regarding military procedures. Confusion came up frequently when Charlesville respondents were discussing military cases. They expressed a lack of understanding regarding how the military system works. Dani expressed confusion about how jurisdiction works with military cases.

> Dani: We've seen some cases where maybe our local law enforcement is handling it but then and I don't know how this works but even if it didn't happen on post sometimes military will be involved.

In another statement, Dani brought up the role of SHARP for child sexual abuse cases. She thought that they handled child cases but was unclear about how they should be included in the normal CAC procedures.

> Dani: I don't think we would let them [SHARP] watch an interview. That also gets confusing to me because I don't understand it all. I wouldn't let them, but I wonder am I supposed to let them. But, it hasn't come up, they haven't asked. I would view them as similar to our rape crisis and sexual assault program.

Antiah shared that she does not understand the military legal process which poses problems because she is supposed to track cases through final disposition.

> Antiah: That's very different civilian versus military and so I understand the civilian side of it, because I work with it more often but with the military side because there's so many different options, I guess, or ways that they can handle it, sometimes I just have to wait until I get an answer because I don't really know what's going to happen next. If I call Charlesville County Sheriff's Office and they give me a status update, I know these are the steps that are going to happen and I understand.

Ella also expressed not understanding the military process for responding to child sexual abuse cases despite her background as a military spouse. She felt like not understanding the process affected her ability to advocate for and educate military families.

> Ella: I feel like if I could see it on a diagram I might get it because I am a visual person. But I feel like it's so complex that I can't put it together. Sometimes when families come here to the CAC, when we do family advocacy…we have a diagram that we can point to what happens next, so they can have an understanding of what's going to happen with their case for them and their child. And I think that helps the family to just feel better. There's so many things happening, there's so many agencies involved…it can be overwhelming.

Kim also described how not understanding the military system affected her ability to help her clients.

> Kim: By that point the parent has called 10 or 15 people and everybody says something different. They call the child advocacy center, the child advocacy center says we can't help you so they're frustrated and it's like a circle or pattern and with me, I'm a therapist I'm not a lawyer so that is not my jurisdiction. So I

> had to explain to them you need to follow up with JAG and see if JAG can give you some insight and point you in the right direction and they get frustrated. Very frustrated. And then the child on the other hand is super frustrated because it appears as though Mom and Dad are not helping me or voicing for me.

In the preceding statement, Kim was describing her experience with clients getting frustrated and confused, because they were not able to obtain clear guidance about their cases.

Charlie expressed confusion about the role of the different law enforcement agencies at Fort Askew.

> Charlie: They have several different kinds of jurisdictions out there on post. Because you know they have the civilian force and you have MPs and you have CID. I don't even know how that works. The organization as far as the civilian cops out there. If they just work the gate that's one thing but I don't think they work just the gate. They do other stuff out there. My head hurt enough as far as MP versus CID, throw the civilian police in there and it's like I don't even want to fool with that. I mostly work with CID. And that was good.

What Charlie was referring to as jurisdictions is actually different law enforcement agencies with different mandates. He most frequently works with CID and is most familiar with them, but occasionally has to interact with MPs and DoD police forces. He does not have a clear grasp of their different roles and responsibilities.

Military confusion regarding the role of civilian investigators and agencies.

This lack of understanding was not confined to the civilian respondents. When interviewing SA Griest, I asked him about his experience coordinating with civilian

agencies and he looked confused and stated, “I don’t know what you mean.” When I clarified, he described his relationship with local law enforcement as good, but I got the sense that he viewed other agencies as sources of information or tools that can be used in the course of investigations. He liked the CAC because he thinks that they conduct solid forensic interviews, but he does not seem to view himself or his agency as in a partnership or team with those agencies. I asked SA Griest what civilians should know about the military that could be helpful for working child sexual abuse cases. He shrugged and shared the following statement:

> SA Griest: I don't even know what I could give them. Besides the nature of being a soldier, I don't know what other dynamic would be different, other than. Because I don't know... If they were giving services to somebody who lived on-base... I guess the thing is to understand living conditions which I'm sure they would know that

SA Griest does not have a basis for comparison since he has never worked investigations of civilian cases. Therefore it is understandable that he would not recognize that there may be considerations that civilian providers need to keep in mind when working military cases. The impression that I was left with, however, is that SA Griest did not fully grasp the extent to which the Charlesville community is providing services for military families.

Section 3: Recommendations for Improving Collaboration

As I mentioned before, most of the Charlesville participants felt as though, overall, had good collaborative relationships with Fort Askew. I asked participants for their recommendations for other practitioners working with a military community, and

there were three main pieces of advice that emerged: take initiative to build relationships, develop military cultural competence, and embrace reform measures.

Take Initiative to Build Relationships

Several of the Charlesville participants described being proactive and intentional about cultivating professional relationships on Fort Askew. Kim frequently attends family events at Fort Askew, not only in order to advertise her practice, but also to develop and maintain relationships within the agencies, such as FAP, that can refer to her practice. She described her efforts in the following statement:

> Kim: I'm also very active on the military base regardless. I make it a point to be connected to resources on the military base to be present at activities just so families are aware that I am very connected or entrenched as you might say with the military community.

Charlie also makes it a point to go on-post to introduce himself to new CID commanders in order to help build rapport and trust.

> Charlie: I had a good point of contact who would call me all the time to come out there, the old CID commander. When the new CID commander came I went down and introduced myself and said whatever you need. They were really good about calling me personally and saying this is what we've got what do you think? Particularly on stuff like that. Sex Crimes.

Likewise, Jonathan shared that he works to build relationships with CID by being available and acting as a liaison for other departments:

> Jonathan: I've built up that relationship. I know that they don't have as good a relationship with [other law enforcement agencies]. Because dealing with CID out

> there they tell me I wish we had someone at the other office that we could work like this with all the time. …With me they know that even if it's a property crime they can call me and say hey I need this information and I'll say okay let me get you in touch with who's working the case. … Plus I've gone out there enough with the first guy I knew that I met everybody and got their contact numbers.

Charlie stressed the importance of having current contacts:

> Charlie: The biggest thing is contacts. Contacts, contacts, contacts. Know who you're supposed to call or at least have some kind of working idea of who you're supposed to call. Everybody's got a boss and usually, now it might not be the same one, but that boss is going to be the main contact. Like the CID commander, if I had a problem I would call the commander, hey look can you tell me which one of the agents is working this. And then if that person transfers out, if the commanders still there or whoever's there in that person's place, they can now tell me okay now that person is gone. Their case has been reassigned to here. Then you pick it up and run with that. It's all about the contacts.

Georgia offered similar advice. Her advice for working with the military was to reach out and to look for the contacts. She shared that she will not always know who to call but because she has a good relationship there, she feels confident that she can figure out who to call to obtain the right information. Thus, for these participants, it was not important that they know everybody at Fort Askew, but that they had a good-quality relationship with someone within the community who was knowledgeable and could obtain the information or contact needed. Antiah also discussed the importance of having someone to talk to and she emphasized the need to be persistent in getting information.

> Antiah: Ask a lot of questions and don't get discouraged if they won't answer your questions, ask someone else. Because there are times you may ask a question and they're like hush hush, we can't tell you that. You're not privileged to that information, but sometimes if you're just nice and you ask the right person, they'll go ahead and explain it to you, or they'll tell you so that you understand, not just for this case but for future cases.

Military Cultural Competence

The Charlesville respondents recognized that the military is a separate culture and that in order for them as service providers to work with that community, they need to put in the effort to develop their military cultural competence. Ella offered the following recommendation:

> Ella: I think primarily recognizing the military as a culture. It is a subculture of the entire population. It is a culture and I don't think if you have experience in the military or in a military family you recognize or understand the significant impact of that culture on every decision you make. As a military spouse or as a military member or as a child in the military. So that would be the primary recommendation, if you're going to work with the population then educate yourself and understand the culture so you can understand how to best approach that family to gain rapport and trust. Cultural competency, I don't think most people recognize the military as a cultural entity

Kim made a similar recommendation, emphasizing that understanding the culture, including differences in rank and services, is important for building trust and rapport with clients:

> Kim: If you don't have direct experience with military culture it would behoove you to take advantage of some of the trainings that are offered to educate. It's important to recognize when an officer walks in you recognize that vs. you don't know an officer or enlisted. Obviously that person is offended. Those are critical pieces, being able to recognize oh you're with the Air Force, oh you're with the Army, little things like that.

Kim mentioned taking advantage of trainings. She stated that she was offered trainings on the military because she is a provider for the military health insurance. Dani, as an agency director shared that she has also prioritized training in order to improve the ability of her staff to practice with the military community:

> Dani: If you don't have any military experience, it's part of cultural competency. I feel that definitely needs to be a component. We've done that here, trying to have a military in-service training because it is a culture. Trying to educate ourselves on it, it would be the same thing as working with another population that we don't have a lot of experience with. And I think that sometimes other providers including us at times don't really look at it that way and they really need to be. It really is a community we need further education on. So that would be my biggest suggestion.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I began by describing the community characteristics for Charlesville and Fort Askew in order to provide context for the findings. I described a large and thriving community in which there is permeability between the military community and the larger civilian community. However, the permeability is largely

unidirectional. The influence of Fort Askew can be felt throughout Charlesville, but the opposite is not true. It is not as easy to cross over to Fort Askew, and once inside, the installation could be any installation. Next, I presented my findings from the thematic analysis. Three themes emerged regarding cases of military child sexual abuse: the frequent relocation of military families, the discipline and control nature of the military, and the civil-military gap. Throughout this chapter, I described challenges that are characteristic of military child sexual abuse cases and the collaborative process in this community

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss the implications of this research along with reflections on the role of the researcher, the limitations of this study, and the implications for social work practice and future research. The purpose of this study was to examine child sexual abuse in the context of a military community in order to develop a complex description of military and civilian professionals perspectives of these cases. This research was conducted using qualitative case study methodology situated within an interpretivist paradigm. This case study was bounded within a specific military community comprised of the military installation, Ft. Askew, and Charlesville, the civilian community which surrounds it. The three research questions identified were: 1) How do military and civilian systems of community response serve victims and families of child sexual abuse in the Ft. Askew/Charlesville military community? 2) What are military and civilian professionals' perceptions of child sexual abuse cases that originate from military communities? and 3) How do military and civilian professionals perceive the coordinated community response?

Fifteen (ten civilian and five military) professionals with responsibility for responding to child sexual abuse cases were selected using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. All participants were interviewed regarding their experiences working military child sexual abuse cases. In addition to interviews, data was collected

in the form of documents and observations. A thematic analysis was conducted using ATLAS.ti

Summary of Findings

Three major themes, and 12 subthemes emerged from the analysis of data that addressed the research questions. The first two major themes, Major Theme I: Frequent Moving and Major Theme II: Discipline and Control refer to key aspects of military life that were relevant to child sexual abuse cases in these communities. The subthemes for Major Theme I: Frequent Moving were: 1) disclosure, 2) reporting, 3) investigations, 4) continuity of care, and 5) turnover. The subthemes for Major Theme II: Discipline and Control were: 1) role of the command, 2) prioritizing the servicemember, 3) confidentiality, and 4) civilian admiration. The third major theme, Major Theme III: Civil-Military Gap, included findings related to civil-military relations theory. The subthemes for Major Theme III: Civil-Military Gap were: 1) access, 2) military experience as a bridge, and 3) confusion. In the following section, I will discuss the findings and how they relate to the research questions, the literature, and civil-military relations theory where applicable.

Conclusions and Discussion

The Ft. Askew/Charlesville Coordinated Community Response

> Research Question 1: How do military and civilian systems of community response serve victims and families of child sexual abuse in the Ft. Askew/Charlesville military community?

In previous chapters, I described the CAC model and the DoD Coordinated Community Response Model based on national accreditation standards in the case of the

CAC model and federal law and DoD and DA level regulations. In those sections, I was describing how the community response is *supposed* to work. In answering this research question, I will compare the codified community response to what I actually found in Ft. Askew and Charlesville.

Charlesville. The CAC in Charlesville is a mature organization that has maintained accreditation for several years. The CAC has a signed protocol with the law enforcement and DFCS agencies within the judicial circuit as required by state law. The CAC hosts and facilitates a weekly case review MDT meeting. Charlesville participants expressed respect for the role and expertise of the CAC. Leighanne described the CAC as vital to the prosecution of child sexual abuse cases, because of their ability to elicit disclosures in forensic interviews and educate juries about sexual abuse. Charlie referred to the CAC as, "where it [the investigation] all begins."

The interagency collaboration described by Charlesville participants conformed to the CAC Model. Additionally, several of the facilitators of interagency collaboration were present within the Charlesville CAC. The chief facilitator according to Romzek, et al. (2013) is having mechanisms for achieving accountability for the overall performance of the team. The written protocol provides clear roles and a defined shared purpose (Lashley, 2005). Other facilitators present in the Charlesville MDT include celebrations, consistent representation, and cross-training (Lashley, 2005; Newnan & Dannenfelser, 2005). An indicator that the CAC supports good interagency collaboration is the presence of professional relationships characterized by mutual trust, respect, and communication (Lashley, 2005; Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005).

Ft. Askew. In comparing the community response to child sexual abuse described to me by military participants at Ft. Askew to the military community response described in DoD (2015) and DA (2011) regulations, there were some discrepancies. In the military, the FAP has the primary responsibility for coordinating the professional response to child sexual abuse cases (DoD, 2017). As part of those responsibilities, the FAP is required to create a Coordinated Community Response and Risk Management Plan to annually evaluate the installation's community response to child abuse and domestic abuse. I attempted to obtain a copy of the Ft. Askew Coordinated Community Response and Risk Management Plan by contacting the FAP directly. I spoke to three different people in the Ft. Askew FAP office and none of them were aware of the document that I was referring to. Because, I was unable to interview a representative of the Ft. Askew FAP in the course of this study, I was unable to ask questions directly about FAPs role. The FAP is also responsible for the "development, signing, and implementation of formal memorandums of understanding among military activities and between military and civilian authorities and agencies" (DoD, 2017). None of the participants, military or civilian, interviewed knew of any written MOUs between military activities and any civilian agencies. It's possible the MOUs exist and the participants were just unaware, but if they do exist the documents are not being used by service providers to coordinate activities according to interviewees. Additionally, in discussing the CRC/IDC with JAG and CID, participants from both agencies stated that they thought Ft. Askew still had a CRC and had not yet implemented the IDC policy.

There are a few possible explanations for the discrepancies between the written and actual practices at Ft. Askew. The first explanation has to do with the military

cultural. The military has a hierarchal organizational structure. Authority is embedded in the rank structure and chain of command and power relationships are explicitly defined by laws and regulation (Lang, 1965). DoD (2017) regulations assign FAP the responsibility for ensuring, "that all installation agencies involved with the coordinated community response to child abuse and domestic abuse comply with defined roles, functions, and responsibilities in DoD 6400.06 and the Service FAP headquarters implementing policies and guidance." The FAPs authority for ensuring compliance derives from the authority of the installation commander. This authority is made explicit in a publicly available command policy letter written by the Commanding General of Ft. Askew, in which the commander orders, "All tenant commands, agencies, and activities are required to comply with the provisions of Army Regulations (AR) 608-10 , Family Advocacy Program, and adhere to the guidance stated in this memorandum." The FAP has "dotted line" or indirect authority over the other installation agencies, and the military does not traditionally function according to dotted lines. Further compromising the ability of the FAP to ensure compliance is the fact that the FAP leadership and personnel are civilian employees. Civilians do not have a place within the rank structure of the military. Culturally, because of their lower power and status of being outside traditional command structures, civilians have a lower status within the military.

The Ft. Askew coordinated community response lacks the interagency facilitators that were present in the Charlesville CAC. While there is a written protocol that defines roles and responsibilities with the military, there are no informal mechanisms for achieving accountability. Most notably, I did not perceive that there were strong interpersonal professional relationships between the military agencies. CID mentioned

working together with commanders and JAG during child sexual abuse cases, but displayed a similar dismissive attitude towards the FAP. MAJ Baker referred to JAG as the military experts in child sexual abuse cases and specified that she does not consider CID to be proficient in the investigations. Neither CPT Jaster nor MAJ Baker brought up FAP in their descriptions of the military response to child sexual abuse cases. When I questioned them directly about FAP, they were dismissive and stated that they have nothing to do with the judicial process. While this is undoubtedly true, this statement does not paint the picture of a truly coordinated community response. Instead, the agency response processes appear to proceed independently occasionally bumping against one another. While it looks like on paper the FAP would serve a similar function to the CAC, it does not appear to do so in practice. If there is a central authority and facilitator in the Ft. Askew coordinated community response, it would be the commander.

The civilian-interagency collaboration as it was described by participants was not facilitated by formal mechanisms such as regulations, but was the result of members of the Charlesville MDT applying informal mechanisms present in the CAC MDT to their work with the military. In particular, members described taking the initiative to reach out to the military to build professional relationships in order to facilitate communication.

Child Sexual Abuse in the Military

Research Question 2: What are military and civilian professionals' perceptions of child sexual abuse cases that originate from military communities?

The purpose of the second research question was to explore whether and how the military environment shapes child sexual abuse cases. To answer this question, I

attended to characteristics of military cases that are different from those investigators typically expect to encounter in civilian cases. The two major themes, Major Theme I: Frequent Moving and Major Theme II: Discipline and Control emerged as distinguishing military from civilian cases. Both Major Theme I: Frequent Moving and Major Theme II: Discipline and Control are basic aspects of the military that shape the lives of military families and are less prevalent in the lives of civilian families.

Major theme I: Frequent moving. It is a fact of military life that every few years members of the military and their families will have to move, sometimes across the country and sometimes overseas. There were four subthemes under the major theme, Major Theme I: Frequent Moving: disclosure, reporting, investigations, and continuity of care.

Disclosure. Participants shared that compared to civilian cases, military cases had longer disclosure delays. They posited that because the family moves frequently, the sexual abuse is allowed to go undetected longer. Most sexual abuse disclosures are made peer-to-peer to a friend (Broman-Fulks, et al., 2007). Military children experience the frequent loss of friendships and may not have the opportunity to develop deep trusting relationships with peers (Ender, 2000). Longer delays are significant, because research has shown that children who delay disclosure exhibit increased bouts of depression (Broman-Fulks, et al., 2007) and other negative outcomes such as PTSD and self-blame (Ullman, 2007).

Reporting. Participants reported that military family members were reluctant to disclose child sexual abuse, because of concern about the impact of the report on the career of the servicemember and consequently the economic impact on the family.

Studies of domestic violence in the military confirmed that concerns about the impact of disclosure on the career of the soldier were the primary deterrent to reporting (Rentz, 2006). Frequent moving is the underlying source of the financial dependence of military families, because military spouses are unable to maintain consistent employment. Additionally, frequent moving means the family may be socially isolated. They are unlikely to be near to sources of support outside the military community that might help with the transition such as extended family. Social isolation is a cultural factor in delayed disclosure and reporting (Fontes & Plummer, 2010).

Investigations. The delays in disclosure and reporting attributed to frequent relocation also mean that child sexual abuse in a military family often has occurred in multiple locations. Military respondents did not consider investigating a crime across multiple locations to be problematic, because the military is resourced and organized in such a way that investigators can coordinate regardless of location. For civilian investigators different locations mean different jurisdictions. Coordinating cases across jurisdictions adds a layer of complexity to the cases. Another issue is that when military families move before the investigation and prosecution of the case is complete, they may not receive important updates about the case status and participants report that sometimes cases fall through the cracks because the family was not present.

Continuity of Care. Moving interrupts medical or mental health care that the child or family may be receiving. Maintaining continuity of care increases the likelihood of positive outcomes (Saultz & Lochner, 2005). Children who have undergone trauma such as sexual abuse, often lose trust in others. Developing a therapeutic relationship that is reliable, genuine, and caring with both the child and the caregiver, who is often also

experiencing trauma is central to trauma-informed care (Cohen, Mannarino & Deblinger, 2016).

Major theme II: Discipline and control. The second major theme that emerged from this study was that of *Major Theme II: Discipline and Control*, one of the three basic aspects of military organizations that shape military culture (Lang, 1965). The subthemes associated with this major theme are the role of the command, prioritizing the servicemember, and confidentiality.

Role of Command. Participants recounted their experiences working military cases in which either the alleged perpetrator's commander or members of their chain of command inserted themselves into investigations, by requesting information, accompanying the servicemember to scheduled meetings with investigators, or advising the servicemember in regards to the investigation. For military participants this is not unusual because they operate within that structure and the commander is responsible for anything that impacts the readiness of their unit or the discipline of the personnel assigned to their command. For civilian participants, this was unusual and they likened it to the absurdity of a civilian employer involving themselves in an investigation. The role of the commander in the military is not comparable to that of a civilian employer. Military commanders have a paternalistic relationship to their servicemembers and their authority extends into almost every area of a servicemember's life (Army Command Policy, 2014).

Prioritizing the servicemember. An aspect of military cases that participants noted as uncommon in civilian cases was the apparent prioritizing of concern for the impact of allegations on the career of the servicemember. Participants described this

behavior as protective and experienced witnessing this concern displayed by family members, military investigators, and commanders. In the case of family members the first concern is likely due to the secondary concern about the impacts of the allegation on the family as described in the "Reporting" section of this chapter. Military investigators were reported to express concern about alleged offender's military career sometimes making statements about the alleged offender's awards and decorations, and in one case reportedly expressing a reluctance to take the report. One explanation of the protective stance of commanders and military law enforcement is the halo effect combined with the "mission first" dictum of the military (Turchik & Wilson, 2010). Because the alleged offender has skills that are valued in the military, the military investigators and commanders are reluctant to believe allegations. Another explanation for the seemingly protective attitude toward the alleged perpetrator is a result of the military leadership imperative to "take care of the troops" (DA, 2006).

Confidentiality. Because of the broad responsibility and authority of commanders in the lives of servicemembers, there is a perception within the military that reports and records are not truly confidential. This lack of confidentiality leads military families to seek mental health services in the civilian community outside of the military installation. This despite the fact that military families have access to mental health services on base that may be more convenient. Participants also attributed the lack of confidentiality to the military community being "gossipy." This concern about confidentiality indicates that stigma may be a concern for military families.

Collaboration

Research Question 3: How do military and civilian professionals perceive the coordinated community response?

The purpose of the third research question was to explore the participants' experiences and perceptions of collaboration on child sexual abuse cases with agencies from both Ft. Askew and Charlesville. The major theme that emerged to describe collaboration was the Major Theme III: Civil-military Gap. The civil-military culture gap is primarily concerned with cultural differences between the military and civilian society and the impacts of those cultural differences on different aspects of society. There are two central concepts related to the civil-military culture gap: 1) the assumption that there are significant differences in the culture, norms, and values of the military and civilian worlds, 2) the assumption of a connectivity gap or lack of contact and understanding between the military and civilian society (Cohn, 1999).

Turnover. Before discussing the civil-military gap, I will address the subtheme, turnover. Although, turnover falls under the theme of Major Theme I: Frequent Moving, it pertains to civil-military collaboration. Frequent moving of military personnel includes not just families, but also the military members of the coordinated community response. Both civilian and military participants pointed to the frequent turnover as a barrier to developing professional relationships. Civilian participants expressed frustration with the challenge of finally identifying a good military contact only to have that person move. Turnover also resulted in inconsistent collaboration based on the attitudes and priorities of each new military agency director. Another way turnover impacted collaboration was that personnel changes mean that the military organizations lose knowledge about the

civilian community response and resources, because there did not appear to be a process for passing that institutional knowledge on to incoming personnel.

Good professional relationships characterized by mutual trust, respect, and communication (Lang, 2005) develop over time and through shared experiences (Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005). The frequent moving of military personnel inhibits this process. It should be noted that two military agencies, SHARP and FAP are headed by civilians employees who are not subject to relocation. SHARP reportedly had a good collaborative relationships with their corresponding civilian agency, Charlesville Rape Crisis Center. None of the participants described consistent good collaborative relationships with FAP with the exception of Antiah when she was a DFCS caseworker.

Major theme III: Civil-military gap. The major theme of Major Theme III: Civil-military Gap refers to challenges in the collaborative efforts described by participants. Subthemes for Major Theme III: Civil-military Gap were identified as: access to the military, military experience as a bridge, confusion. and turnover. When asked to characterize their collaboration with the military, civilian participants described the collaboration as mostly good. Civilian participants across the board described the members of the military that they engaged with as professional, sincere, and appreciative. They also made comments expressing respect and gratitude for the military and military families echoing the "support the troops" rhetoric described by Stahl (2015).

***Access to the military*.** Civilians described gaining access to the military as challenging. Physically accessing Ft. Askew was challenging due to the tight security measures. Likewise, participants reported difficulty obtaining access to information There were no structural mechanisms in place to facilitate consistent collaboration or

communication. CAC participants expressed the most frustration in trying to develop a collaborative relationship with the military. This makes sense because the CAC model is based on interagency collaboration and the sharing of information in order to inform case decisions. Most civilian participants expressed a desire for MOUs to clarify roles, responsibilities, and procedures. Military participants did not express any reciprocal difficulty with collaboration or information sharing.

Participants described the military as preferring to handle problems themselves and cautious about the information that they report out. This desire to "take care of our own," stems from military cultural values of loyalty and competence. It also corresponds to the siege mentality Ricks (2017) described where the military develops an us-against-them attitude of distrust towards civilians. Participants described encountering military families that exhibited distrust and discomfort in interacting with civilians which impacted the case response.

Military experience as a bridge. Having experience with the military was helpful in facilitating collaboration and communication. Participants with experience as a spouse and military child observed that disclosing their military experience helped them to gain rapport with families as well as with military agencies. The quality of information provided by the military and the willingness of military members to meet was observed to differ based on the status of the civilian participants military experience. Civilians with insider status are able to bridge the civil-military gap. This differential response based on insider or outsider status reinforces the picture of a military organization distrustful of civilians.

Confusion. Confusion was evident in the civilians descriptions of their collaboration with the military. Participants expressed confusion in military structure, processes, and culture. Civilians did not have an understanding of the separate roles and responsibilities of different agencies on post, which left them unsure of who they should contact to get information or discuss collaborations. Not understanding military culture such as the identification and meaning of rank and jargon left civilians without confidence in their interactions. The military judicial and family advocacy processes were a mystery to civilians and impeded their ability to proactively educate and inform military clients in the same manner that they would their civilian clients.

The confusion observed in military participants was of a different nature. The CID and JAG participants seemed to be confused about why I was interested in their experiences collaborating with the civilian community or why their civilian counterparts would need to understand the military processes. It appeared that they did not have a grasp on the extent to which the community was involved in military child sexual abuse cases and therefore had not considered how there might be different considerations for working with this population. The confusion observed in this study is a barrier to interagency collaboration and lends support to the second central concept of the civil-military culture gap theory: the assumption of a connectivity gap or lack of contact and understanding between the military and civilian society (Cohn, 1999).

Reflections on the Role of the Researcher

I devoted several pages in Chapter 2 to describing my experiential knowledge and subjectivity. I have had some similar experiences to most of the participants. I was a military child, a military spouse, and a soldier. I worked in military law enforcement. I

have been a therapist. I have worked in a CAC. At various points during data collection and analysis, I found myself thinking about this research in terms of how the experiences and perspectives of the participants compared to my own experiences. I made an effort to be conscious of my subjectivity and to cultivate an awareness of ways my background could be interacting with the research through researcher memos.

When I first began interacting with participants, I did not self-disclose my military experience, but as I became more comfortable with the interviews I began sharing bits of my background with participants as it seemed appropriate. I soon discovered that self-disclosure was an important step in rapport building, especially with the military participants. When the participants knew me only as a researcher, I tended to get very formal and stilted responses as though the participants felt like they needed to explain the basics to me. Some of the military participants were particularly formal and I got the impression they were performing as spokespersons for the military and trying to correct misunderstandings or stereotypes about the military that they assumed I had. SA Griest in particular assumed that I was interviewing him because of news reports about child-on-child sexual abuse in the military (Pritchard, 2018a), and my perception of his attitude entering the interview was one of humoring me with the purpose of making sure I got the story straight. Post-disclosure, participants seemed relieved and more than one exclaimed something similar to, “Oh, okay. So you get it then!” The interview would precede in a more relaxed and conversational manner and the responses became more personal to the interviewee.

Another tactic that I used to manage my subjectivity in an effort to prevent it from overwhelming my findings was to acknowledge when the data was consistent with my

experiences and perceptions, but to seek out and focus on the inconsistencies. I approached interviews and data collection from an attitude of curiosity. My personal experience is of the military of the 1990's and early 2000's. So much has changed. In some cases where I thought I understood how things worked, I learned differently. I went in thinking I knew all about how the CRC works, and learned from SA Griest that the CRC has been replaced by the IDC. When participants made comments to the effect of, "you know how it is," or "I don't have to explain this to you," I was explicit with participants that a lot has changed and their experience is probably different than mine.

I was also concerned that my preconceptions about the topic based on my initial theory and literature review would predispose me to keying in on some findings to the exclusion of others. While the theory and literature review were helpful in creating my research design, the data took me in a different direction. Initially, I was approaching the subject with a feminist theory perspective due to prior research that linked masculine military culture to domestic violence (Erez, & Bach, 2003; Harrison, 2006) and sexual assault (Turchik & Wilson, 2010). While gender came up in some of the interviews, the findings regarding civil-military collaboration and differences between civilian and military life (i.e. frequent moving and discipline and control) were central to the experiences and perceptions of the participants. Thanks to the iterative and flexible nature of qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2013), I was able to reconsider my theory and adjust my theory and research questions so they were better suited to making sense of the data.

Limitations of the Study

This research is limited in a few key ways. First, the research and interpretation of findings are limited by the methodological approach. The volume of data collected in the course of a case study requires the researcher to make decisions in order to focus data analysis to a manageable task given time constraints (Crowe, et al., 2011). Those decisions about which data and findings to include and prioritize are interpretive acts. This is not necessarily a limitation so much as it is a feature of case study research, but it limits the reader to the findings as filtered through the researcher. In the course of analyzing the data for this case study, I choose to prioritize the interview data. Observation and document data became secondary data sources and were analyzed and included according to how they related to the interview data.

Another limitation of case study research generally is that the focus on a single case means that findings cannot be assumed to be generalizable to other settings (Crowe, et al., 2011). The findings presented must be understood within the specific combination of characteristics of the Fort Askew/Charlesville community. Other military communities will differ in the size and demographics of the military installation and civilian communities. Military installations with concurrent jurisdiction may have a different civil-military relationship. Additionally, the internal organizational cultures of agencies may shape the findings. As an example, the fact that the Charlesville investigators were all able to attend trainings and specialize in the child sexual abuse cases, is no doubt in part possible because of the large size of the community and resources available. Specialization in child sexual abuse cases may in turn encourage close professional relationships on the MDT. Other military communities, in less

populated areas, may have different interagency dynamics. Additionally, although I use the term "military" throughout this study, Ft. Askew is an Army installation and therefore the other services may have different cultural or structural characteristics that would result in different findings.

I addressed the concerns about generalizability in several ways. I made efforts to recruit participants in the sample from all the major agencies in the community and was largely successful with the exception of FAP and DFCS. I checked emerging findings and my interpretation of findings with participants throughout data collection and analysis to garner their opinion. I also endeavored to be transparent by providing detailed descriptions of the steps I took throughout the research process including case selection, data collection, and my background and involvement in the research (Stake, 2013). Through these steps, the reader is able to make their own judgements about the applicability of these findings to other settings.

Over the course of the study, I experienced issues of access that limited the scope of the study. It was only possible to undertake in-depth work with a selective number of participants. I could not interview all the potential participants that I was interested in, nor could I obtain all relevant documents. There are perspectives that are missing from this case study representing agencies with significant roles in the response to child sexual abuse. Most notably, I was unable to recruit participants from Charlesville DFCS or from the Ft. Askew FAP. Both of these agencies are critical to the community response to child sexual abuse. FAP in particular is the agency tasked with overseeing the military community response to child sexual abuse cases. Additionally, FAP is responsible for the coordination of the IDC and CCSM. Because I was unable to interview a

representative from FAP, I fell back on second hand descriptions provided by other participants.

In order to recruit participants, I initially relied on the CAC to share recruitment information with their MDT members and then it was up to the MDT members to contact me. Then participants referred other potential participants to me. A problem with relying on self-selection is that my participant sample is probably not representative of the entire network of professionals in Charlesville who respond to child sexual abuse cases. The MDT members who were interested in participating were members who had been on the MDT for a long time. They had close professional relationships with other members of the MDT and it seemed to be an important part of their professional identity. Therefore, these findings may be overstating the positive aspects of the CAC model as it exists in Charlesville based on a skewed sample.

The findings of this case study are a snapshot in time. At the time of data collection, there were pending judicial reforms that are relevant to the military's ability to prosecute sex crimes. A news story regarding child sexual abuse committed by juvenile offenders in the military (Pritchard, 2018a) has gained national attention and resulted in an independent investigation ordered by the Senate Armed Services Committee (Pritchard, 2018b). Findings are a snapshot in time and will likely change in unforeseeable ways as events continue to evolve.

The final limitation that I believe it is important to discuss is the fact that most of my findings are based on the recollections of participants. For example, within the subtheme *confusion* I found that the number of cases or extent of the problem of child sexual abuse was very unclear. Participants were asked to estimate how much of their

caseload of child sexual abuse cases involved military children. Military respondents shared that the number of cases was very low, maybe one or two cases in a year. Civilian respondents shared that military cases made up around 10-15% of their caseload. Without having access to case statistics for the agencies, there is no way to know if there truly is a discrepancy and if so to what extent there is a discrepancy. It is possible that civilian respondents were inflating the number of cases they see. During the interviews, it happened that respondents would occasionally lapse into talking about physical abuse cases or cases that involve military families generally. When I was aware of this, I redirected respondents by reminding them to think specifically about their sexual abuse cases. It is also possible that the military respondents underreported the number of reported cases of sexual abuse, if they were thinking only of the cases in which the alleged perpetrator was subject to UCMJ, though I did clarify in interviews that I was referring to all cases involving military children. I was unable to obtain numbers of reported cases of child sexual abuse from Ft. Askew and the CAC does not track whether the case involves the military.

Implications for Social Work

In this study, I explored child sexual abuse in one military community and found that military culture shaped how the cases occur within this unique population. The differences between the military and civilian cultures, known as the civil-military gap, posed a challenge for successful interagency collaboration.

Social Work Education

In recognition of the growing need for social workers to serve military and veteran populations, the Council on Social Work Education created advanced practice

standards for military social work education in 2010. There are currently 15 accredited social work programs in the United States with a concentration in military social work at the master's level (Council on Social Work Education, 2014). This research supported the existence of a cultural gap between civilian practioners and the military. While concentrated studies in military social work are beneficial for students who intend to practice with this population, many students will end up coming into contact with service members, veterans, military families, and children regardless of their practice area. These students should at a minimum have an awareness of the military as a distinct cultural group.

Social Work Practice

Having an understanding of the culture of military families and children is the starting point for practice with this population. This study, suggested that military families may prefer to receive services in the civilian community in order to preserve the confidentiality of their records. Additionally, military children and families may end up in non-military communities after separation from the military. Like other culturally diverse groups, the military has traditions, values, jargon, and norms that should be integrated into social work practice. Some of the military cultural characteristics such as frequent moving and distrust of civilians may add additional complexity to these cases. In addition to developing their cultural competence, social workers should educate themselves on military procedures and resources. Familiarity with the military population will help to bridge the gap of distrust that military clients may have of receiving services from civilians and enable social workers to competently advocate for clients.

Policy

Interagency collaboration is a best practice for community response to child sexual abuse cases (Cross, et al., 2005). The military needs to go beyond the creation of new regulations. Successful collaboration requires policymakers to move beyond written policies to a consideration of how the military can create an environment that encourages the development of informal mechanisms to encourage collaboration. Based on the findings of this study, policymakers may also want to assess the impact of the command on these types of cases. Child sexual abuse cases are a matter of criminal investigation and clinical intervention, two subjects that commanders are not expected to have expert knowledge of. Even within the civilian community child sexual abuse cases are often handled by investigators and prosecutors who specialize in the area, because of the complexity of these cases. Removing the command from involvement in these cases may shift the response attitude from one of good order and discipline to one of justice and healing for victims and families.

Recommendations for Future Research

The literature review found that there are few studies concerning the extent and nature of child sexual abuse in the military. This scope of this research was broad and exploratory. The findings raised indicate that both child sexual abuse with military populations and civil-military collaboration are subjects in need of further attention by researchers. First and foremost, a multiple case study of other military communities with different community profiles is needed in order to understand how community characteristics combine to shape interagency collaboration. Additionally, the findings indicate a need for research to ascertain the prevalence of child sexual abuse in the

military population. Because of the low number of reported cases there has been little attention paid to this issue. This study suggests that there are barriers to disclosure and reporting that may be unique to military populations. This research defined military sexual abuse broadly. Follow-on research should endeavor to tease out different variables such as those prosecuted in civilian courts v. those prosecuted in the military system. Finally, this study relied on the second hand experiences and perceptions of professionals. Future research should give voice to the perspectives and experiences of victims and families.

Conclusion

The findings in this present study suggest that different aspects of military culture and structure have implications for understanding and responding to child sexual abuse cases with this unique population. The factors related to interagency collaboration between military installations and civilian communities are complex and interrelated and their influence on the quality of the coordinated community response are highly dependent upon the context in which they are situated. To better practice with the child victims of sexual abuse from military families, those who have a role in either the criminal justice or intervention responses to these crimes need to develop an understanding of the military as a unique organization with a unique culture. Such an understanding will enable policy makers and service providers to support policies and practices that improve outcomes for victims, families, and communities.

I would like to end this dissertation with a quote from Charlie. In each interview, I closed by asking if there was anything the interviewee would like to add and the responses I got demonstrated that the professionals in Ft. Askew and Charlesville are

passionate and committed to doing their best for victims and their families. Despite the challenges involved in responding to cases from the military community, the participants in this study were focused on taking care of the children. Charlie summed it up best when he stated, “Honestly what I think it boils down to is that aspect of it's not us or them. It's not y'all, it's us as an entity. … We're talking about children now. I'll be danged all that other mess.”

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APPENDIX A

MILITARY RANK BY SERVICE

U.S. Air Force

E-1 Airman Basic
E-2 Airman
E-3 Airman First Class
E-4 Senior Airman
E-5 Staff Sergeant
E-6 Technical Sergeant
E-7 Master Sergeant
First Sergeant
E-8 Senior Master Sergeant
First Sergeant
E-9 Chief Master Sergeant
First Sergeant
Command Chief Master Sergeant
Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force
O-1 Second Lieutenant
O-2 First Lieutenant
O-3 Captain
O-4 Major
O-5 Lieutenant Colonel
O-6 Colonel
O-7 Brigadier General
O-8 Major General
O-9 Lieutenant General
O-10 General

U.S. Army

E-1 Private E-1
E-2 Private E-2
E-3 Private First Class
E-4 Corporal
Specialist

E-5 Sergeant
E-6 Staff Sergeant
E-7 Sergeant First Class
E-8 Master Sergeant
First Sergeant
E-9 Sergeant Major
Command Sergeant Major
Sergeant Major of the Army
W-1 Warrant Officer
W-2 Chief Warrant Officer
W-3 Chief Warrant Officer
W-4 Chief Warrant Officer
W-5 Chief Warrant Officer
O-1 Second Lieutenant
O-2 First Lieutenant
O-3 Captain
O-4 Major
O-5 Lieutenant Colonel
O-6 Colonel
O-7 Brigadier General
O-8 Major General
O-9 Lieutenant General
O-10 General
General of the Army

Coast Guard

E-1 Seaman Recruit
E-2 Seaman Apprentice
E-3 Seaman
E-4 Petty Officer Third Class
E-5 Petty Officer Second Class
E-6 Petty Officer First Class
E-7 Chief Petty Officer
E-8 Senior Chief Petty Officer
E-9 Master Chief Petty Officer
Command Master Chief
Master Chief Petty Officer of the CG
W-2 Chief Warrant Officer
W-3 Chief Warrant Officer
W-4 Chief Warrant Officer
O-1 Ensign

O-2 Lieutenant Junior Grade
O-3 Lieutenant
O-4 Lieutenant Commander
O-5 Commander
O-6 Captain
O-7 Rear Admiral (Lower Half)
O-8 Rear Admiral (Upper Half)
O-9 Vice Admiral
O-10 Admiral

U.S. Marine Corps

E-1 Private
E-2 Private First Class
E-3 Lance Corporal
E-4 Corporal
E-5 Sergeant
E-6 Staff Sergeant
E-7 Gunnery Sergeant
E-8 Master Sergeant
First Sergeant
E-9 Master Gunnery Sergeant
Sergeant Major
Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps
W-1 Warrant Officer
W-2 Chief Warrant Officer
W-3 Chief Warrant Officer
W-4 Chief Warrant Officer
W-5 Chief Warrant Officer
O-1 Second Lieutenant
O-2 First Lieutenant
O-3 Captain
O-4 Major
O-5 Lieutenant Colonel
O-6 Colonel
O-7 Brigadier General
O-8 Major General
O-9 Lieutenant General
O-10 General

U.S. Navy

E-1 Seaman Recruit

E-2	Seaman Apprentice
E-3	Seaman
E-4	Petty Officer Third Class
E-5	Petty Officer Second Class
E-6	Petty Officer First Class
E-7	Chief Petty Officer
E-8	Senior Chief Petty Officer
E-9	Master Chief Petty Officer
	– Force or Fleet Command Master Chief Petty Officer
W-2	
W-3	Chief Warrant Officers
W-4	Chief Warrant Officer
O-1	Ensign
O-2	Lieutenant Junior Grade
O-3	Lieutenant
O-4	Lieutenant Commander
O-5	Commander
O-6	Captain
O-7	Rear Admiral (Lower Half)
O-8	Rear Admiral (Upper Half)
O-9	Vice Admiral
O-10	Admiral
	Fleet Admiral

APPENDIX B

AGENCY LETTER

April 20, 2017

University of Georgia Institutional Review Board
310 E. Campus Rd.
Athens, Georgia 30602;
(706) 542-3199
irb@uga.edu.

Dear IRB Committee,

After reviewing the proposed study, "Child Sexual Abuse in Military Communities: A Qualitative Inquiry", presented by graduate student Sara E. Skinner, and supervised by Larry Nackerud, PhD, in the School of Social Work at The University of Georgia, I am granting permission for participant recruitment for this study at ____. located at ____. As such, I will identify clients/professionals who meet the criteria provided by Ms. Skinner and approved by the IRB and send those individuals IRB approved recruitment materials provided by Ms. Skinner. Likewise, if I encounter an individual interested in the study, I will provide them with Ms. Skinner's contact information so that they may contact her at their leisure.

I understand the purpose of the study will be to: explore the role and impact of military culture on the experience of child sexual abuse for victims, caregivers, and professionals. I also understand that this study has three aims, which are: a) to explore the extent and nature of how military cultural values and structural systems influence the experience of child sexual abuse including decisions regarding disclosure, reporting, investigation, and treatment, b) provide an opportunity for a sample of victims, caregivers, and professionals to contribute to the prevention knowledge by presenting their lived experiences, and c) to help build and/or co-create improved promising practices regarding the steps needed to best respond to child sexual abuse within this population. The primary activity to be conducted by this office will be to facilitate recruitment by identifying potential participants and distributing recruitment materials for Ms. Skinner. Additionally, because of the sensitive nature of this research this office will be available to provide advocacy and/or therapeutic services to clients that made need it as a result of their participation in this project. These services will be available regardless of the client's actual participation in the research. As such, Ms. Skinner is granted permission to

do so until she achieves the maximum number requested or until December 31st, 2017, whichever comes first.

I further understand that Ms. Skinner will obtain informed consent from all participants. She has also agreed to provide my office with a copy of all approved study protocol materials including the approved consent documents before she recruits participants through this office. Any data collected will be kept confidential and will be stored in a secure location per the approved protocol.

If the University of Georgia Institutional Review Board has any concerns about the permission being granted by this letter, please contact me, ___, at xxx-xxx-xxxx. You can also reach me at xxxx@xxxxx.xxx.

Sincerely,

(Agency Director)

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT LETTER

From: [Agency Name] Child Advocacy Center, [address]
Sent: Date
To: [participant's email address/mailing address]
Subject: Research Study Invitation- Child Sexual Abuse in the Military

Dear [Participant's Name],

I am sending you this request for participation on behalf of researchers at the University of Georgia School of Social Work. Your identity and personal information has not been shared by the Child Advocacy Center.

I am writing to ask for your help with the Child Sexual Abuse in the Military research project. You have been chosen to participate, because you have been identified by professionals at [Agency Name] Child Advocacy Center as someone who has either personal or professional experience with a case involving sexual abuse of a military child. A goal of this survey is to understand child sexual abuse cases within the unique context of military communities. Ultimately we hope this knowledge will be useful for improving future policy and treatment for military children and families.

If you are interested in participating in this project, you will be asked to schedule a meeting with a researcher for a face to face interview that will last approximately 60-90 minutes, and a possible follow-up interview. To learn more about this study please contact Sara Skinner at the School of Social Work, 762-499-0879 or skinners@uga.edu.

Participation in this project is voluntary and confidential. Your decision to participate in this study will not impact your access to services from the Child Advocacy Center in any way. If you decide to participate in the study, you are free to change your mind at any time. Your identity and contact information will not be shared with the researchers. Should you have any questions or comments please contact Sara Skinner, doctoral candidate, at the School of Social Work, 762-499-0879 or skinners@uga.edu, or Larry Nackerud, professor at the School of Social Work, 706-542-5470.

We really appreciate your help with this project!

Many Thanks.

[Director's name]

CAC Director
[signature line]

APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT WEBSITE PAGE 1

Child Sexual Abuse in Military Communities

A Qualitative Multiple Case Study

ABOUT THE STUDY RESEARCHERS CONTACT

About the Study

Purpose:

The **purpose** of this research is to examine child sexual abuse cases within the cultural context of the military.

Military communities are unique populations with their own culture. The military has its own customs, traditions, social norms as well as a distinctly different justice system. Culture plays a significant role in child sexual abuse cases, influencing how abuse is experienced, disclosed, reported, investigated, and ultimately prosecuted. In order to create effective prevention and intervention strategies for this special population, it is important that we gain an understanding of how military culture impacts child sexual abuse cases.

Who we are talking to:

Dealing with child sexual abuse is a collective effort. For that reason, we are interested in the perspective of many different people who have direct experience with child sexual abuse cases that originate from different military communities throughout the Southeast including professionals, caregivers, and victims.

Professionals (Military & Civilian):

- Law Enforcement (investigators/CID)
- Prosecutors (DA/JAG)
- Forensic Interviewers
- Victim/Family Advocates
- Mental Health
- Medical
- Child Protective Services/ Family Advocacy Program

Caregivers: Non-offending parents and guardians who have experienced a child disclosing abuse and then reported the abuse.

Victims: Victims who, as a military child, disclosed and reported being sexually abused. Victims must be at least 10 years old in order to be interviewed. Child victims will only be interviewed with their assent and the consent of their guardian/s.

Thank you for taking the time to visit our site and learn more about our research study. If you would like to learn more or would like to volunteer to be interviewed for this study, please contact the researchers **here**.

This study protocol has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of The University of Georgia. The IRB can be contacted at 706-542-3199 or irb@uga.edu

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279 Williams Street University of Georgia Athens, GA 30602 762-499-0879 skinners@uga.edu

APPENDIX E

IRB MODIFICATION APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Tucker Hall, Room 212
310 E. Campus Rd.
Athens, Georgia 30602
TEL 706-542-3199 | FAX 706-542-5638
IRB@uga.edu
http://research.uga.edu/hso/irb/

Office of Research
Institutional Review Board

APPROVAL OF PROTOCOL

January 19, 2018

Dear Larry Nackerud:

On 1/19/2018, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Type of Review:	Modification
Title of Study:	A Multiple Case-Study Exploration of Child Sexual Abuse in Military Communities
Investigator:	Larry Nackerud
Co-Investigator:	Sara Skinner
IRB ID:	MOD00005557
Funding:	None
Grant ID:	None
Review Category:	Expedited 6, 7a and 7b
Modifications Reviewed:	Addition of recruitment website

The IRB approved the protocol from 1/19/2018 to 10/15/2020 inclusive. Before or within 30 days of study closure, whichever is earlier, you are to submit a continuing review with required explanations. You can submit a continuing review by navigating to the active study and clicking Create Modification / CR. If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 10/15/2020, approval of this study expires on that date.

If consent will be documented, use the consent documents that were approved and stamped by the IRB. Go to the Documents tab to download them.

Please clo https://ovpr-click-prod.ovpr.uga.edu/uga-ovpr/Personalization/MyProfile?Person=com.webridge.account.Person%5bOID%5bFFD8A4214628F94389574DFEFA86438B9%5d%5d ect research activities and data analysis of identifiabl

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103).

Sincerely,
Brooke M. Harwell
Institutional Review Board
University of Georgia

APPENDIX F

ADULT CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
CONSENT FORM
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN MILITARY COMMUNITIES

Researcher's Statement

We are asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." A copy of this form will be given to you.

Principal Investigators: *Larry Nackerud*
School of Social Work
nackerud@uga.edu

Sara Skinner
School of Social Work
skinners@uga.edu

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand child sexual abuse cases within military communities. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have either direct or indirect experience with a reported case of child sexual abuse that originated

from within a military community. The information generated during this study will be used for academic research and possibly publication. All information obtained will be treated confidentially.

Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in one 60 to 90 minute interview regarding your experiences with a reported case of child sexual abuse within a military community. The researcher may ask you to participate in a follow-up interview. The researchers will need to audio record your interview in order to perform analysis of your interview data. By participating in this study you provide the researchers a varied and well-rounded interview sample that will be used to help represent the experiences of other members of military communities who have experienced a reported case of child sexual abuse.

Risks and discomforts

We do not anticipate risks to most participants from participating in this research. However, some participants may experience discomfort or strong emotional reactions from talking about the topics of this research study. If you experience any discomfort or emotional distress you may request that the interview be stopped at any time. Additionally, you will be provided with a list of resources that you can access for help if you experience emotional distress following the interview.

Benefits

We do not anticipate any direct benefits to you for participating in this study. However, there will be benefits based on how this study will contribute to knowledge regarding reported cases of child sexual abuse in military communities. The findings generated from this study will contribute to both theoretical and practical knowledge of how child sexual abuse cases are handled in military communities by providing rich description of individual experiences. This will further and deepen our understanding of these cases and potentially lead to improved policy and practices.

Audio Recording

In order for the researchers to perform analysis of interview data, audio recordings are necessary. Only the researchers will have access to these audio recordings. These audio recordings (and/or transcriptions of these recordings) may be used in the future to present findings at research conferences, for publication, and/or in teaching settings. Because of this, all material from your interview will be retained. If you do not want your data retained, you may choose to have all identifiable material removed from your data as soon as collection is completed.

Any material used from the audio recordings will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms of any participants will be used so that identifying characteristics are left out of findings. Additionally, these recordings will be archived electronically.

Please provide initials below if you agree to have this interview audio recorded or not. You may still participate in this study even if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

_____ I do not want to have this interview recorded.

_____ I am willing to have this interview recorded.

Please provide your initials below if you agree to allow the researcher to use the recordings (or transcriptions of the recordings) of your interview for presentation at conferences, publication, and/or teaching settings. You may still participate in this study even if you are unwilling to allow the researcher to use this information in these additional settings.

_____ I do not want to have these recordings used for teaching, publication, or conference presentations.

_____ I am willing to have these recordings used for teaching, publication, or conference presentations.

Privacy/Confidentiality

All information obtained during this research project will be treated confidentially. Pseudonyms will be used rather than your real name. When reporting findings, the researchers will take care not to include details that may identify you as a participant. No affiliations will be used in the findings.

The researchers may be required to disclose identifying information in federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative or other proceedings for example if there is a court subpoena. The researchers are mandated reporters and are legally required to report information to state or local authorities regarding previously unreported child abuse, or harm to self or others.

Taking part is voluntary

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your participation from this study at any time should you become uncomfortable with it.

If you have questions

The researchers conducting this study are Larry Nackerud, professor at the University of Georgia, and Sara Skinner, doctoral candidate at the University of Georgia. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Larry Nackeud at nakerud@uga.edu or at 706-542-5470 or Sara Skinner at skinners@uga.edu or at 762-499-0879. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, and have had all of your questions answered.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN MILITARY COMMUNITIES

Interview Protocol

I. Procedure

1. Thank them for participating.
2. Engage in some small talk to put subject at ease and build rapport.
3. Remind interviewee of your purpose.
4. Assure that the interview is confidential with specific limitations (subpoena & mandatory reporting).
5. Ask them to review and sign the consent form.
6. Give them one copy.
7. Get verbal permission to tape record.
8. Ask if they are ready for you to begin recording.
9. Test equipment by recording the following information:
    a. Date
    b. Time
    c. Location
    d. Participant pseudonym

e. Interviewer's name

10. Conduct the interview (using the protocol below).
11. Watch the time and do not go over time. Ask if you can schedule another interview if needed.
12. Stop the recorder.
13. Provide list of resources for participant.
14. Thank the participant again.

Interview Question Guide

1. Tell me about yourself?
    a. Current work experience? Previous experience?
    b. Education/Training
    c. Military experience (AD/Spouse/Child/Veteran/Other)
2. Walk me through a typical case
    a. Assignment
    b. roles and responsibilities
    c. work flow
    d. documentation
    e. communication with NOC/victim
3. What are differences between cases from military communities?
    a. Differences in the agencies/ people you work with?
    b. Differences in the families?
    c. Differences in the victims (disclosure process/demeanor)?

   d. Differences in the types of cases?
   e. Differences in legal process?
4. What are your goals for these cases?
   a. What do you hope to accomplish?
   b. Obstacles
5. Tell me about the other agencies that you work with?
   a. military & civilian
   b. written protocols
   c. Is there an agency that you work particularly well with? Tell me about that (leadership, communication, successes)
6. Can you tell me about an aspect of these cases that is particularly difficult for you?
   a. Tell me about that
   b. What makes it difficult?
7. What suggestions do you have for improving the handling of these cases?
   a. For your agency
   b. For other agencies
   c. recommendations for working with NOC/victim
8. What else would you like to say about your experiences with this case/these cases?

APPENDIX H

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

1. Title:
2. Date created:
3. What kind of document is this?
4. Who is the author/creator of this document?
5. Why was this document created? Cite evidence
6. Who is the intended audience of this document?
7. Key information from document
8. Relationship to research questions
9. Relationship to other data
10. Underlying assumptions of what's included/excluded

APPENDIX I

EXAMPLE OF A DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Document Analysis Guide

1. Title: Statement of Ms. Stephanie Barna Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel & Readiness
2. Date created: March 8, 2018
3. What kind of document is this? Prepared testimony for the US Senate Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Personnel
4. Who is the author/creator of this document? Unclear, it is written as if it is the spoken testimony of Ms. Barna, but was clearly prepared in advance because it has references, and figures. Presumably created by someone in the office of the SECDEF Undersecretary for Personnel and Readiness.
5. Why was this document created? Created by DOD for presentation to a Congressional oversight committee. The document was created to persuade Congress that the DOD is being proactive in handling cases of domestic and child abuse.

Cite evidence. “I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to highlight the department’s efforts to keep our families and children safe and healthy.” “The department is committed to a military culture in which domestic abuse and child maltreatment of any kind are not tolerated, condoned, or ignored.”

6. Who is the intended audience of this document? Members of Congress

7. Key information from document
    a. outlines the Coordinated Community Response as the DOD strategy for preventing and responding to domestic and child abuse
    b. “Family Advocacy Program recognizes that there exist unique, military specific factors that may contribute to domestic abuse and child abuse and neglect incidents, and provides military specific support and services to servicemembers and their families.”
    c. “Although the victimization rate for child abuse and neglect per 1000 military children is approximately half that of the civilian sector, DOD is committed to doing ***all*** it can to prevent any occurrence of child abuse or neglect in our military families.”
    d. In 2013, DOD directed a comprehensive review of coordinated community response. Resulted in 37 recommendations. As of 2018 all recommendations have been addressed or implemented.
8. Relationship to research questions: RQ1: describes how the military is supposed to respond to cases of child maltreatment. RQ2: prescribes coordination with external civilian agencies, RQ3: acknowledges military specific risk factors

Underlying assumptions of what’s included/excluded. This document was created to show the DOD in the best possible light. The information is all positive, negative information is qualified such that the military is better comparatively to larger civilian society.

APPENDIX J

IRB APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Tucker Hall, Room 212
310 E. Campus Rd.
Athens, Georgia 30602
TEL 706-542-3199 | FAX 706-542-5638
IRB@uga.edu
http://research.uga.edu/hso/irb/

Office of Research
Institutional Review Board

EXEMPT DETERMINATION

October 16, 2017

Dear Larry Nackerud:

On 10/16/2017, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title of Study:	A Multiple Case-Study Exploration of Child Sexual Abuse in Military Communities
Investigator:	Larry Nackerud
Co-Investigator	[student of primary contact]
IRB ID:	STUDY00004154
Funding:	None
Grant ID:	None
Review Category	[review category]

The IRB approved the protocol from 10/16/2017 to [expiration].

Please close this study when it is complete.

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

https://ovpr-click-prod.ovpr.uga.edu/uga-ovpr/Personalization/MyProfile?Person=com.webridge.account.Person%5BOID%5BFFDBA4214628F943B9574DFEEA8643B9%5D%5D

[Name, Title]
University of Georgia
Institutional Review Board Chairperson