Time Out!

The case for reducing youth exposure to beer advertising during televised college sports
Redefining the Alcohol-Sports Connection

Since 2003, the Campaign for Alcohol-Free Sports TV, a project of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, has worked to reduce youth exposure to alcohol promotions during college sports telecasts. The Campaign cited sports’ central role in American life and its use by coaches, parents, teachers, and others to help build character, teamwork, leadership, and promote physical activity among young people. Unfortunately, youth who tune into televised sports are also bombarded with messages that promote the pleasures and rewards of drinking. Since alcohol is the number one drug of choice – and problem drug – among teens and college students, it makes little sense to allow youth-oriented sports to be exploited by alcohol marketers to promote consumption among underage consumers and instill lifelong drinking habits that could lead to disease and addiction. The connection of alcohol marketing and sports is least defensible in the college environment, where administrators almost daily confront serious alcohol-related problems among their students and invest heavily – in time and money – in ways to prevent and reduce those problems.

Most people we have encountered in the course of the Campaign have either embraced its central premise – that alcohol advertising is inappropriate in college sports – or have acknowledged the disconnect between the missions of higher education and sports, on the one hand, and marketing beer during college sports telecasts on the other. Even those who opposed changes in conference and NCAA policy, including college presidents, student athletes, athletic directors, and sports executives, have conceded that point. Long-standing habits and (perceived) financial dependence on beer advertisers are hard to change, particularly in rough economic conditions that threaten broadcast revenues and athletic department budgets. Who wouldn’t want to hold onto the easy money, usually the first money through the door? As is too often the case, with few exceptions, core values and principles were sacrificed to the need to raise money to maintain or expand worthwhile sports programs.

Nonetheless, in its short history, the Campaign for Alcohol-Free Sports TV spurred nationwide discussion and consideration of change, recruited hundreds of allies inside and outside the world of academia and sports, and made measurable progress in breaking the connection between alcohol advertising and college sports. The following report provides a brief retrospective of the Campaign, its rationale, and its successes.

We have many people to thank for making the Campaign and its accomplishments possible. We wish to acknowledge the Barkley Fund and the Joseph and Harvey Meyerhoff Charitable Funds for their generous support and for their inspiration, commitment, and project vision. Their core support, together with donations from hundreds of CSPI members, allowed the Campaign to hire two skilled project managers and develop a wealth of new information and advocacy regarding alcohol advertising in sports television. We also appreciate the thoughtful guidance and strategic advice offered by Noel Perry and Terry Rubenstein during the Campaign. The project’s National Advisory Board provided useful suggestions and feedback along the way, and several of its members participated actively in Campaign advocacy activities. We also thank the hundreds of college presidents, athletic directors, and coaches who, in their hearts and minds, understand the validity and importance of the Campaign’s objectives, and collaborated with us to focus national attention on the strange mix of alcohol advertising and college sports. Lastly, we greatly appreciate the participation in the Campaign of hundreds of varied health, safety, youth, alcohol-prevention, and faith based groups and their contributions to its accomplishments.
Underage Drinking Prevalence and Problems

Underage drinking in the United States often begins in high school and blossoms in college. Early alcohol use has been associated with heavier alcohol use and alcohol dependence later in life. Countless research studies document the pervasiveness of underage drinking among young people and the related consequences.

- Underage drinkers consume as much as 19.7 percent of all alcohol consumed in the U.S.\(^1\)
- In a 2008 survey of 12\(^{th}\) graders, 72% report having consumed alcohol and 55% reported having been drunk at least once in their life.\(^2\)
- Alcohol is a significant factor in the four leading causes of death among persons ages 10 to 24: (1) motor-vehicle crashes, (2) unintentional injuries, (3) homicide, and (4) suicide.\(^3\)
- Young people who begin drinking before age 15 are four times more likely to develop alcohol dependence than those who begin drinking at age 21.\(^4\)
- Research shows that alcohol use by young people may cause long-term harm to their developing brains, including damage to proper learning and memory functioning, compared to older drinkers.\(^5\)
- In addition to the social costs, the economic cost to Americans of underage drinking totals nearly $62 billion annually,\(^6\) and the cost of alcohol-related teen violence and delinquency totals an estimated $29.4 billion annually.\(^7\)

College Student Alcohol Use

Problems resulting from underage drinking and excessive alcohol consumption still plague most college campuses and are considered to be among the most pressing concerns facing college administrators.

Who drinks and how much?

- In a 2005 nationwide survey of college students, 44.8 percent of students were classified as “binge” drinkers—consuming five or more drinks on at least one occasion in the past 30 days.\(^8\)
- College students had more occasions of heavy drinking within the past 30 days than non-college adolescents of the same age (40 percent vs. 35 percent).\(^9\)
- College students who drank at least once a month during their senior year in high school had a more than three times greater likelihood to begin binge drinking in college than students who drank less frequently in high school.\(^10\)
- College males have a higher prevalence of heavy drinking occasions (50 percent) compared to college females (34 percent).\(^11\)

"Universities are often afraid to reveal that they have a problem with alcohol, although everyone knows it anyway."

— President Robert L. Carothers, University of Rhode Island
Problems for alcohol-users

- In 2005, 12.3 percent of full-time college students met the DSM-IV diagnostic criteria for alcohol abuse and 7.7 percent met the criteria for alcohol dependence.\(^\text{12}\)
  - Heavy alcohol use by college students can lead to alcohol-related problems, such as increased risky behavior, lowered GPAs, and lowered income potential.\(^\text{13}\)
  - At least 50 percent of college student sexual assault cases are attributed to alcohol abuse. 62 percent of men blamed alcohol for committing rape. Women felt more responsible for sexual assault if they had consumed alcohol beforehand.\(^\text{14}\)
  - 13.6 percent of college students (15.6 percent male and 12.5 percent female) reported having unprotected sex in the past 12 months as a result of their own drinking.\(^\text{15}\)
  - Underage students more often did something they regretted, forgot where they were or what they did, caused property damage, got into trouble with police, and/or got hurt or injured when they used alcohol, compared to of-age students.\(^\text{16}\)
  - Students experiencing 3 or more alcohol-induced blackouts show signs of problem-drinking; they tend to drink more often and more heavily, have lower GPAs, began drinking at an earlier age, drank more during their senior year in high school, and often have had others express concerns about their drinking.\(^\text{17}\)
- The annual toll of alcohol among college students 18-24 years old is substantial, including an estimated 1,700 unintentional injury deaths, 599,000 unintentional injuries, 696,000 assaults, and more than 97,000 students are victims of alcohol-related sexual assault or date rape.\(^\text{18}\)

Alcohol-related problems experienced by other students, colleges, and the community

- The most common consequences of other students’ high-risk drinking include: property damage and vandalism (both on and off campus), fights and interpersonal violence, sexual assault, and disruption to other students’ quality of life.\(^\text{19}\)
- Colleges and universities often end up paying the tab for student drinking: campus property damage (dorms, concerts, stadiums, etc.); lost tuition from drop outs and failures; college personnel who have to deal with the alcohol-related issues; college counseling centers; security staff; administrative hearings on academic and disciplinary cases; legal costs of suits against college for liability; strains in the relationship between colleges and the surrounding community; a diminished reputation; and the time lost and stress felt by college administrators and personnel who work on alcohol-related issues.\(^\text{20}\)
- People living within one mile of a college campus report more community problems such as noise, disturbances, vandalism, and drunkenness than those living more than one mile from campus.\(^\text{21}\)
College Sports Fans and Student Athletes

Underage drinking, excessive consumption, and alcohol problems often convene prominently in college sports. College athletes and sports fans tend to consume more alcohol than other students. News stories abound covering negative fan behavior fueled by alcohol and student athletes suspended for underage drinking and alcohol-related offenses.

- According to a National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) study on the substance use habits of college student-athletes, 74.7 percent of athletes attending NCAA Division I schools used alcohol, 74.5 percent of athletes at NCAA Division II schools, and 81.5 percent of athletes in NCAA Division III schools used alcohol. 22
- College students who were sports fans were more likely to engage in binge drinking behavior, including adopting extreme drinking styles and participating in drink price specials and beer-company-sponsored promotions. 23
- 49 percent of students attending colleges where 40 percent or more of the student body identified themselves as sports fans felt three or more negative effects of alcohol use. 24
- One study found that heavier than usual drinking among college students is associated with high-profile athletic events. 25
- A University of Texas study found that students at that school drank more alcohol on football game days compared to well-known drinking days such as News Year’s Eve and Halloween. 26

College Athletes in the News...

Florida football player Davis cited for underage drinking (Independent Florida Alligator, 1/30/08)

Breathalyzer test percentages available for two football players cited for underage drinking (The Daily Collegian Online, 8/20/07)

Gullikson continues to practice following citation for underage drinking (Badgers Blog, 1/9/08)

Georgia’s Humphrey suspended 3 games after arrest for underage drinking (Associated Press, 2/7/08)

UConn players suspended due to alcohol violations (USA Today, 1/28/08)

Underage drinking latest issue for South Carolina QB Garcia (ESPNU, Associated Press, 3/24/08)

Virginia QB kicked off the team (Associated Press, 9/18/08)

Wisconsin LB Casillas cited for drunken driving (Associated Press, 9/17/08)

Notre Dame TE Yeatman suspended for season (The Sports Network, 10/15/08)

Georgia DT Wood suspended for 1 game after DUI (Associated Press, 10/19/08)

Iowa football coach Kirk Ferentz suspends his son from team (The Canadian Press, 10/17/08)

FSU’s Preston Parker dismissed from team (CBS4 Tallahassee, 2/2/09)

OU basketball player arrested (Associated Press, 2/8/09)
Excessive Alcohol Consumption Often Leads to Game Day Problems

College sports have grown in popularity and involve many game-day activities and traditions. Unfortunately, some traditions — such as tailgating — often focus on excessive alcohol consumption and ignore the true meaning of the game: spirited competition between teams. Excessive drinking sometimes leads to out-of-control fans damaging property and alcohol-fueled riots wreaking havoc in college communities. Many colleges nationwide are cracking down on tailgating and implementing policies to discourage binge drinking and reduce alcohol-induced, unruly fan behavior.27

Game Day Actions Taken by Some Colleges to Reduce Alcohol-Related Fan Behavior

- Banning kegs, beer balls, and other large sources of alcohol in tailgating areas.
- Increasing enforcement of underage drinking laws.
- Prohibiting drinking games (beer pong) and paraphernalia (tunnels) that encourage the rapid consumption of alcohol.
- Limiting tailgating activities to before and after the game only.
- Providing an alcohol-free tailgating area that encourages a family-friendly environment.

Tailgating and Fan Behavior in the News...

MU to cut back on tailgaters’ time at Reactor Field (Missourian, 10/21/08)

UNH Homecoming nets 65 arrests, most alcohol-related (Foster’s Daily Democrat, 10/20/08)

Police make 35 arrests at football game (The Observer Online, 9/30/08)

Game day = binge day: Collegians’ festivities called hypocritical; steps taken to cut arrests (Indystar.com, 10/26/08)

IU: Beer drinking contests overshadow real game (Indystar.com, 10/26/08)

Penn State riot: Borough, university turn focus to prevention (Centredaily.com, 10/28/08)

Joy over win turns destructive (Centredaily.com, 10/26/08)
Alcohol Advertising and Young People

Youth Find Alcohol Ads Appealing and Attractive

- Sports content in beer ads increases advertising appeal to white male underage youth.\(^{28}\)
- Image advertising attracts youth to alcohol.\(^{29}\)
- High school students find beer commercials more visually appealing than public service announcements (PSAs).\(^{30}\)
- Youth likeability of beer ads is strongly associated with a greater intention to purchase the brand and its products.\(^{31}\)

Ads Affect Youth Awareness, Attitudes and Beliefs

- Watching television and sports contributes to youths’ intentions to drink as adults.\(^{32}\)
- Children’s awareness of alcohol ads influences their drinking beliefs, knowledge, and intentions to drink.\(^{33}\)
- Alcoholic-beverage logos on products that appeal to children (i.e. toy cars, beach balls, basketballs, toy cans, etc.) may prepare them for future drinking and can encourage brand recognition and loyalty.\(^{34}\)
- Young teens who had greater knowledge of beer advertisements had more positive views of drinking and anticipated drinking alcohol as adults.\(^{35}\)
- Exposure to media and alcohol advertisements significantly predict adolescents’ knowledge of beer brands, preference for beer brands, current drinking behaviors, beer-brand loyalty, and intentions to drink.\(^{36}\)

Ads Influence Youth Alcohol Consumption

- Positive responses to beer advertising in sports and entertainment programming predicted alcohol use among both male and female adolescents.\(^{37}\)
- Television alcohol advertisements have a significant effect increasing adolescent alcohol consumption.\(^{38}\)
- Exposure to and enjoyment of alcohol ads influence alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems.\(^{39}\)
- Evidence from other countries shows that complete bans on all alcohol advertising reduce alcohol misuse.\(^{40}\)
- Youth who saw more alcohol ads and lived in markets with greater alcohol advertising expenditures drank more.\(^{41}\)
- Several recent studies link increased exposure to alcohol advertising with increased quantity and frequency of drinking and intentions to drink among teenagers.\(^{42}\)

"We need to understand that children start following athletics at the age of nine or ten. These beer ads are highly appealing to them. When beer companies say their ads aren’t directed at young people, I find it hard to believe.

-- Dean Smith, former head basketball coach, University of North Carolina, in A Coach’s Life."
Beer Ads Target Young Viewers and Encourage Heavy Consumption

Beer companies spend tens of millions of dollars each year to advertise their products on college sports telecasts — primarily during football and basketball games. Alcohol advertising during college sports telecasts reinforces and normalizes drinking behavior among young people and appeals to a young population of sports fans, who comprise a key beer marketing target for encouraging heavy use and future dependency on alcohol.

- Beer is the alcoholic beverage of choice among young people in the U.S.  
- 59 percent of beer is consumed in hazardous amounts.
- Heavy drinkers (including many who are underage) are a key market that drives beer sales. Ten percent of beer drinkers consume 43 percent of the beer in the U.S.
- Alcohol ads that use humor, youth-oriented themes and music, animals, and creative and funny animation are more appealing to young people than product-oriented elements of alcohol commercials.
- Australian school children found alcohol ads that contained humor and mascots appealing and associated alcohol products with being young, male, sporty, and humorous.

Beer Advertising and College Sports

- Anheuser-Busch is the exclusive alcohol beverage sponsor of the college football Bowl Championship Series through 2010.  
- During the 2008 NCAA basketball tournament — a series of games watched by millions of young people — two brewers (Anheuser-Busch and SAB-Miller) were among the top 5 leading advertisers. The beer category was the second largest, behind automobiles, accounting for $42.8 million in ad expenditures.
- A recent comparison of beer advertising during the 2008 NCAA tournament and 2008-2009 Bowl Championship Series (BCS) football games found the NCAA “Final Four” games had twice the number of beer ads as appeared during the college football bowl games.
- One prominent bowl game, the Chick-Fil-A Bowl, which features teams from ACC and SEC athletic conferences, allowed no beer ads, in-stadium beer signs, or game sponsorships. According to Sports Business Journal, the 2007 game was also alcohol-ad-free and raked in revenues that matched those of other college bowl games, including a few in the BCS. Similarly, the Big Ten Sports Network, now in its second year, refuses to accept alcohol advertising, deeming it inconsistent with its brand. It continues to be successful.

"It's inconsistent to say you want to discourage underage drinking and turn around and huckster the stuff on your broadcasts."

— Andy Geiger, former Athletic Director, Ohio State University
Current NCAA Policy on Televised Beer Advertising is Flawed

The NCAA’s current rules regarding televised beer advertising defy logic, contradict reason, and conflict with the purposes and noble goals of the organization. Rather than protect young people and promote the core values of sports and learning, they principally advance the interests of beer marketers eager to reach the college demographic.

- The alcohol advertising guidelines are inconsistent with NCAA general advertising policy. The NCAA’s advertising and promotional standards plainly “exclude those advertisements and advertisers …that do not appear to be in the best interests of higher education and student-athletes.” The Association’s standards emphasize that advertisers affiliated with NCAA events should not “cause harm to student-athlete health, safety, and welfare; bring discredit to the purposes, values or principles of the NCAA; and negatively impact the best interests of intercollegiate athletics or higher education.” Promoting beer drinking, a prominent cause of persistent health, safety, and academic problems in college life, is not in the best interests of higher education, sports, or student welfare.

- NCAA beer-advertising policy is inconsistent with other NCAA alcohol-related policies, as well as the alcohol-related policies of many of its members. NCAA advertising rules prohibit ads for cigarettes, other tobacco products, organizations promoting gambling, and alcoholic beverages, yet they permit ads for beverages with alcohol content of 6% or less (beer)! The NCAA also prohibits all on-site alcohol advertising during its tournament events and forbids the sale of all alcoholic beverages.

- Current policy pretends that beer is tantamount to a non-alcoholic beverage. In fact, beer is the primary source of binge drinking and intoxication among young people, and the principal source of alcohol-related harm. Despite education and prevention efforts targeting students, high-risk alcohol consumption and alcohol-related problems occur with alarming regularity in college settings. College administrators recognize the hypocrisy of airing commercials for the very product that causes them, and others on and around the campus, so much distress.

- NCAA has contractual authority to disallow all alcohol advertising from its telecasts. Beer advertising would likely be replaced by ads for other products. Legally, the NCAA has the right to exclude beer advertising at its discretion. Rather, it chooses to put the interests of beer marketers over those of its members, their students, and its own reputation. Industry data suggest that the NCAA tournament has solid support among advertisers; and demand for advertising time has steadily increased revenues for the CBS television network – up 24% between 2007 and 2008. With 300 different advertisers since 1998, new potential advertisers in the market each season, and revenues going up, there is a strong likelihood that replacement advertisers would fill, even in the short run, all – or most – of the gap created by excluding beer advertising.

- NCAA policy and practice cozy up to the beer industry as a leader and resource for “responsibility.” An NCAA spokesman once defended beer advertising as a means to educate the public and young people about “responsibility.” Brewers are in business to sell beer and make a profit — not to reduce heavy drinking. NCAA’s close relationship with big brewers, relying on them for money and messaging assistance, yields platitudes — not prevention. The NCAA advertising policy creates a conflict of interest and exposes a chummy relationship with brewers, in particular, Anheuser-Busch, a major funder of its responsibility programs.
• NCAA can do more to restrict beer ads, as evidenced by the Bowl Championship Series (BCS). CSPI looked at advertising during the three 2008 NCAA “Final Four” basketball games and the 2008-2009 college football bowl games, specifically focusing on games within the Bowl Championship Series (BCS). The analysis discovered that a higher percentage of beer ads appeared during the 2008 NCAA “Final Four” than during the 2009 BCS games. 12% of all ads aired during the three NCAA “Final Four” games promoted beer, and beer represented the 2nd most advertised product category. In contrast, only 6% of all BCS game ads monitored promoted beer, which was the 7th most advertised product category.
Campaign for Alcohol-Free Sports TV

College Project Demonstrates Progress

The Campaign for Alcohol-Free Sports TV, a project of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, worked to reduce the exposure of young people to alcoholic beverage advertising on televised sports.

- The Campaign has initiated the “College Commitment” (see sidebar) pledge, asking colleges and conferences to eliminate alcohol advertising during college sports telecasts. Since 2005, 372 NCAA-member schools (1/3 of the NCAA) and 16 conferences — have signed on. The effort’s state-specific initiative in Maryland recruited 17 of the 21 colleges in that state.

- More than 225 national, state, and local organizations including the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the American College Health Association, and scores of other health, youth, sports, and alcohol control groups have endorsed the Campaign.

- Coaching greats Dean Smith, Tom Osborne, John Wooden, Joe Paterno, Jim Calhoun, Bobby Bowden, John Calipari and others have publicly joined Campaign initiatives.

- Partly in response to Campaign efforts, the Big Ten Conference decided against accepting alcohol ads on its Big Ten Sports Network launched in August 2007 with Fox Cable Network. Big Ten officials concluded that alcohol ads are inconsistent with the conference brand.

- The Chick-fil-A Bowl, featuring teams from two high-profile college conferences (ACC and SEC) — prohibits all beer advertisements, in-stadium signs, and sponsorships.

- In August 2008, more than 400 Division I college presidents, athletic directors, and football and basketball coaches called on the NCAA Executive Committee to ban all alcohol ads—including beer. Although the Committee rejected that appeal, Chairman Dr. Michael Adams of the University of Georgia acknowledged that “[beer advertising] is inappropriate in (college sports)...” That statement reflects a new recognition at the NCAA that profiting from promotions to drink is at odds with the NCAA’s mission and colleges’ responsibilities to students and the broader community.

- In 2009, 12 beer ads ran during the Final Four basketball games, compared to 23 beer ads in 2008, almost a 50% reduction. In 2008, the beer category ranked 2nd behind automobiles in the total number of ads. In 2009, the beer category slipped well below the top five. Likewise, unlike in 2008, the NCAA adhered to its self-imposed “restriction” of 120 seconds of alcohol advertising per game this year.

The College Commitment

We know the importance of giving young people clear messages about the risks of underage and excessive drinking. We support efforts to minimize the exposure of young people to alcohol advertising during broadcasts of games involving our school. We commit to the following actions to promote alcohol-free sports telecasts of athletic games and programs involving our school:

College Level:
We will establish an institution-wide policy that prohibits alcohol advertising on locally produced sports programming (i.e., coaches shows, spring football games, women’s basketball, etc.), beginning with all future broadcast contracts.

Conference Level:
We will promote and vote to adopt a policy at the conference level directing conference commissioners to eliminate all alcohol advertising from conference television and radio broadcasts, beginning with all future broadcast contracts.

NCAA Level:
We will vote to adopt a policy at the NCAA level directing the organization to eliminate all alcohol advertising from NCAA television and radio broadcasts, beginning with all future broadcast contracts.

For Bowl Championship Schools:
We will vote to adopt a policy for the Bowl Championship Series to eliminate all alcohol advertising from the Bowl Championship Series television and radio broadcasts, beginning with all future broadcast contracts.
Summary

Alcohol is the drug of choice among young people in the United States and a significant factor in the four leading causes of death among persons ages 10 to 24. Underage and excessive alcohol consumption among college students is prevalent, with 44% of students being identified as “binge” drinkers. Binge drinking can lead to problems for the drinker (injuries, alcohol poisoning, falling behind in school work, fights, and sexual assault) and for other students (“babysitting” a drunken student, sleep and study disruptions, assault, and vandalism). For some, drinking during college may lead to life-long addiction and other health-related problems and costs.

The problems associated with underage and excessive drinking are often evident during college sporting events. The true intent of college athletics — spirited competition among talented student athletes — often takes a back seat to game day traditions that revolve around alcohol. Excessive drinking sometimes leads to out-of-control fans and alcohol-fueled riots in college communities. Many colleges have implemented policies to discourage binge drinking and reduce alcohol-induced, unruly fan behavior.

Alcohol advertising during college sports telecasts reinforces and normalizes drinking behavior among young people. Although alcohol ads are only one factor in encouraging consumption, research demonstrates that restricting those messages can help reduce the pressure on young people to drink. Reducing underage drinking potentially improves health and safety and decreases the likelihood of future addiction and life-long health-related costs.

Colleges, where tragic and costly student alcohol problems abound, and where administrators commit substantial funds to prevent and reduce those problems, simply should not be collaborating with beer marketers and broadcasters to push beer consumption. That practice undermines campus alcohol prevention messages and demeans the missions of higher education and college athletics.

9 Reasons Why Alcohol Ads Don’t Belong in College Sports

1. Alcohol is the number one drug of choice among young people.
2. Underage drinking and excessive alcohol consumption threaten student health and safety.
3. The costs of student drinking plague college campuses nationwide.
4. Underage drinking, excessive consumption, and alcohol problems often convene prominently in college sports.
5. Alcohol advertisements encourage young people to drink.
6. Beer advertisements undermine the educational missions of colleges and the NCAA.
7. Alcohol ads are not an essential source of revenue for colleges and the NCAA.
8. Americans overwhelmingly support restrictions on alcohol advertising during televised college sports.
9. Arizona State, Ohio State, Texas Tech and the Universities of Florida, Minnesota, and Nebraska are among 372 NCAA-member schools and 16 athletic conferences supporting a national effort to eliminate alcohol advertisements in college sports.
Ask yourself this question: If aspirin were the leading cause of death on college campuses, do you think chancellors, presidents, and trustees would allow aspirin commercials on basketball and football telecasts? They wouldn’t, not for a minute.

-- Dean Smith, former head basketball coach, University of North Carolina, in *A Coach’s Life.*
References

12. The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA) at Columbia University. (March 2007). Wasting the best and brightest: Substance Abuse at America's colleges and universities. New York, NY.