Psychology of Women Quarterly, **20** (1996), 229–265. Printed in the United States of America.

PREVENTING ACQUAINTANCE RAPE THROUGH EDUCATION

What Do We Know?

Kimberly A. Lonsway
University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign

Emerging information that rape primarily occurs between acquaintances has not only exploded our understanding of this problem, but forced a reexamination of our notions of prevention. In recent years, the vast majority of rape prevention programs have taken the format of educational workshops, with the underlying assumption that change in rape-supportive ideologies will decrease the actual incidence of sexual aggression. This article critically reviews such rape prevention education with particular focus on common techniques such as: "debunking" rape mythology, generating participant interaction, providing sexuality education and a feminist orientation, and avoiding confrontational approaches. Finally, theoretical and practical concerns are discussed regarding previous experiences of sexual victimization or perpetration, the conceptualization and use of outcome measures, issues of program facilitation, and processes underlying change in rape-supportive ideologies. It is concluded that future research must seriously address these many issues through thoughtful conceptualization and rigorous experimentation, so that the promise of rape prevention can be fully realized.

Within the American consciousness exists a stereotypic rape. The rape is perpetrated by a psychopathic man hiding in the bushes with a knife, waiting to attack an unsuspecting young woman as she walks by. The woman fights strenuously during the rape, and after the attack she pro-

Thanks go to Thom Moore, Louise Fitzgerald, Pat Morey, and the anonymous reviewers for their invaluable assistance in the preparation of this manuscript.

Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Kimberly A. Lonsway, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, 603 E. Daniel Street, Champaign, IL 61820. Email: klonsway@s.psych.uiuc.edu.

Published by Cambridge University Press 0361-6843/96 $7.50 + .10

ceeds immediately to her local police station to report the crime. When rape is assumed to fit such a stereotype, the "prevention" of rape is designed accordingly. Thus, rape prevention has historically involved such activities as shearing bushes, installing lights and alarm systems, or teaching women self-defense (Warshaw, 1988). It has only been in recent history that work by Mary Koss and others has exploded this stereotype and shed light on the reality of rape in our culture.

The monumental study conducted by Koss on 32 American college campuses revealed that not only had one in four women been the victims of rape or attempted rape, but 84% of these victims knew their attacker (Warshaw, 1988).[1] Such results have been replicated consistently, and are now generally assumed to reflect the extent of sexual assault both on campus (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; O'Shaughnessey & Palmer, 1989) and in the more general population (Koss, Woodruff, & Koss, 1991; National Victim Center, 1992; Russell, 1982; Walch & Broadhead, 1992). In the context of this emerging information, rape is generally defined as sexual penetration with the use of force or threat of force (or those situations in which no force is required, as when the victim is mentally incapacitated through alcohol or drug use, mental disability, lack of consciousness, etc.). Therefore, acquaintance rape is defined as rape that is committed by an individual known to the victim in some capacity: they could be friends, dates, lovers, former lovers or spouses, coworkers, neighbors, and so forth.[2]

As a result of this recent research, unprecedented levels of concern for the issue of acquaintance rape are now seen among medical and legal professionals, the media, and the general public. Yet an obvious lack of consensus remains about how to *address* the problem, because our new understanding of rape has challenged past assumptions and forced a reexamination of the very notion of rape prevention. As McCall (1993) recently stated, "sexual assault prevention programming remains a confused, scattered, and sporadic enterprise with little scientific underpinning" (p. 277). Thus, a wide range of strategies is seen in the literature, including: increased campus lighting; self-defense, counseling, and advocacy for women; educational presentations for high school students; community advertising campaigns; guided fantasy and role-playing programs for college students; and rehabilitation programs for convicted rapists. Indeed, a comprehensive review of rape prevention by Fischhoff, Furby, and Morgan (1987) included *1,140 possible strategies.* Unfortunately, despite this wealth of potential strategies, theoretical elaboration and empirical evaluation of rape prevention has been scant (Barth, Derezotes, & Danforth, 1991; Dallager & Rosen, 1993; Fischhoff, Furby, & Morgan, 1987; Haggard, 1991; Hanson & Gidycz, 1993; Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). Consequently, little is known about the effectiveness of any particular strategy or program.

Purpose of this Review

Recently, one of the most common strategies for rape prevention has been the educational program targeting ideological change, typically involving college students or other young adults. To that extent, an emerging consensus is being forged around the notion that educational efforts are needed to challenge cultural supports for rape (Anderson, 1981–82; Benson, Charlton, & Goodhart, 1992; Burt, 1980; Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). The purpose of this article is to review the current status of these educational programs, to discern what has been tried and learned.

Toward that end, databases in psychology and related fields (primarily sociology and education) from the past two decades were searched for examples of educational rape prevention programs. Only those that appeared in print were considered; unpublished manuscripts and conference presentations were generally not included. All educational programs characterized as rape prevention were initially considered, but only those presented with evaluative efforts were included in this review. Hence, all available evaluation studies were included, *regardless* of format, overall quality, theoretical conceptualization, targeted population, use of control/comparison groups, and so forth. Although not intending to minimize the importance of solely descriptive accounts of rape prevention, inclusion in this review required program evaluation toward the goal of evaluating, prioritizing, and modifying currently existing programs.

REVIEW OF RAPE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Programs Targeting Female Audiences

Perhaps the most common response to the problem of rape has historically involved installing better lighting and trimming shrubbery for better visibility, thus ignoring the fact that 80–90% of rapes are committed by acquaintances (Warshaw, 1988). Additionally, it is frequently argued that rape prevention requires teaching women assertiveness or self-defense skills (Barth et al., 1991; Mann, Hecht, & Valentine, 1988; Muehlenhard, Julsonnet, & Flarity-White, 1989). For example, Mann et al. (1988) suggested that although rape-supportive attitudes "create a climate in which date rape can exist, it is the passivity and lack of assertiveness of many individuals [i.e., women] that often allows date rape to manifest itself" (p.271). This argument is perhaps supported by research suggesting that more active or assertive responses can increase a woman's chances of deter-

ring a rape attempt (Bart & O'Brien, 1984; Levine-MacCombie & Koss, 1986; Ullman & Knight, 1991; Zoucha, Janice, & Coyne, 1993).

Critique of underlying rationale. Unfortunately, even the most successful programs advocating female avoidance or resistance of rape, although ostensibly aimed at rape "prevention," are perhaps better conceptualized as efforts toward "deterrence." Because men who rape select potential victims on the basis of vulnerability (Brownmiller, 1975), it makes sense that a deterred attempt will only result in the victimization of another, more vulnerable individual. Rape deterrence strategies can therefore only protect *individual women* (albeit with no guarantees), but can never reduce the vulnerability of *women as a group.* As Schewe and O'Donohue (1993) have concluded, "No one can be constantly and perfectly vigilant. Thus, no matter how well trained women become in avoidance, escape, and physical self-defense, they will be vulnerable to sexual assault *to the extent that there are men who will commit acts of sexual assault*" (p. 667–8).

Thus despite any success at deterrence, rape prevention strategies for women fail to function as real prevention, and one of their harmful side effects is the implicit (and often explicit) assumption that stopping rape is the responsibility of female victims rather than male perpetrators (e.g., Paglia, 1993). To counteract such notions, Feltey, Ainslie, and Geib (1991) have argued that:

> Females need to be educated and provided with assertiveness strategies, but we should not forget that males are the perpetrators of rape . . . We are too often unwilling to hold men accountable for rape, and as a result, women are held responsible for men's behavior and thus the problem of rape and the related issue of rape prevention. (pp. 246–7)

Although such programs for women might have value as a deterrence strategy, true rape prevention must target the real and potential perpetrators, thereby addressing the primary cause of rape itself—men's *motivation to rape.*

Critical review. Table 1 presents a review of three rape prevention programs targeted toward women, which suggests that all such programs have been effective at increasing female participants' awareness of rape and subsequently reducing their vulnerability (Gray, Lesser, Quinn, & Bounds, 1990; Hanson & Gidycz, 1993; Women Against Rape, 1980). Yet as Table 1 also illustrates, these evaluation efforts have relied almost exclusively on measures of attitudes and behavioral intentions reported immediately following program participation (with the notable exception of Hanson and Gidycz, who examined actual rates of sexual victimization among participants both before and several months after the program). Problems inherent in this evaluation strategy will be discussed at greater

Table 1

Programs Aimed Exclusively at Women

Description	*Evaluation*
Gray, Lesser, Quinn, & Bounds (1990)	
Examined the impact of vulnerability perceptions on undescribed "risk taking behavior" of college women, emphasis was placed on "personalizing" the program, but the strategy was not explicitly described	The authors suggested that "personalizing" the program increased both the women's perceptions of vulnerability and intentions to avoid "risk-taking behaviors"
Hanson & Gidycz (1993)	
"Objectives of the acquaintance rape prevention program were (a) to increase participants' awareness of the pervasiveness of sexual assault, (b) to dispel common myths about rape, (c) to educate participants regarding social forces that foster a rape-supportive environment, (d) to educate participants regarding practical strategies for preventing rape, (e) to alter dating behaviors associated with acquaintance rape among program participants, (f) to foster effective sexual communication for program participants, and (g) to reduce the incidence of sexual assault in a 9-week period among program participants" (p. 1047); undergraduate women were first provided with statistics, then completed a myth/fact worksheet, followed by a video of events leading up to an acquaintance rape; discussion followed, along with a video modeling protective behaviors; finally, questions were entertained and resource information provided	360 women in an introductory psychology course participated in the evaluation; all the women first completed the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Gidycz, 1987), a dating behavior survey, a sexual communication survey, and a sexual assault awareness survey in the beginning of the academic quarter; the treatment group then participated in the program whereas the comparison group did not; finally, all the women again responded to the outcome measures 9 weeks later at the end of the quarter; students who participated in the prevention program increased their awareness of rape and decreased their involvement in situational factors associated with sexual victimization; however, sexual communication strategies did not differ between the two groups; for those without a history of sexual victimization, the prevention program decreased the incidence of such victimization during the quarter, but this was not the case for women with a history of either moderate or severe sexual victimization
Women Against Rape (1980)	
Workshops were implemented among urban women that included discussion of "the politics of rape and feminist prevention strategies, confrontation training and self-defense" (p. S238); goals were empowerment of	Questionnaires were provided before and 3–6 months following workshop participation; women reported more accurate knowledge and less supportive attitudes about rape, more support for "social change prevention

(*Continued*)

Table 1

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
women at both individual and social levels; the primary goal was to alter women's perception and reality of themselves as vulnerable to rape; however, a secondary goal was to heighten community concern and responsiveness to the problem of rape	tactics," and greater understanding of women's oppression; they also reported greater willingness to confront their perpetrators, decreased fear, and heightened confidence in self-defense abilities; no such change was seen in a comparison group of community women who had not participated in the program

length below, but are seen in virtually all of the rape education programs reviewed presently.

Programs Targeting Mixed-Sex Audiences

Despite the shared cultural assumption that rape prevention is largely the responsibility of women, the majority of educational programs in this context have included both male and female participants. As the review of 15 such programs in Table 2 reveals, such interventions frequently focus considerable attention to issues of cross-sex communication and dating expectations (Haggard, 1991)—some even emphasize the "shared responsibility" of men and women for acquaintance rape (Holcomb, Sarvela, Sondag, & Holcomb, 1993; Holcomb, Sondag, & Holcomb, 1993).

As with the all-female interventions, most mixed-sex programs have reported desirable change in rape-supportive attitudes as a result of participation (Briskin & Gary, 1986; Dallager & Rosen, 1993; Fischer, 1986; Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992; Harrison, Downes, & Williams, 1991; Holcomb, Sarvela et al., 1993; Holcomb, Sondag, & Holcomb, 1993; Intons-Peterson, Roskos-Ewoldsen, Thomas, Shirley, & Blut, 1989; Johnson & Russ, 1989; Lenihan, Rawlins, Eberly, Buckley, & Masters, 1992; Mann et al., 1988; Nelson & Torgler, 1990). A few exceptions to this pattern, however, are of particular interest and will be discussed within the context of empathy induction techniques below (Borden, Karr, & Caldwell-Colbert, 1988; Ellis, O'Sullivan, & Sowards, 1992; Schaeffer & Nelson, 1993).

Unfortunately, these evaluation efforts possess several limitations that seriously restrict their potential for informing generalized conclusions regarding effectiveness. First, these evaluations have relied heavily on standard attitudinal assessment immediately following the intervention, as did the all-female interventions. Second, evaluation of several programs

Table 2

Programs for Mixed-Sex Audiences

Description	*Evaluation*
Borden, Karr, & Caldwell-Colbert (1988)	
45-min lecture on "rape awareness and prevention" addressed topics of "legal terms, biographical descriptions of a 'typical' rapist, rape trauma syndrome, prevention strategies, and available assistance" (p. 134); the program was conducted in a classroom setting and a second class served as a comparison group for evaluation	50 introductory psychology students (25 male, 25 female) received the Attitudes Toward Rape Questionnaire (Feild, 1978) and Rape Empathy Scale (Deitz, Blackwell, Daley, & Bentley, 1982) preceding the program and after a 4-week follow-up; despite the perception of program success among college students and staff, follow-up responses showed no change in rape-related attitudes; no change was also evident in a comparison class (n = 50, 25 male, 25 female)
Briskin & Gary (1986)	
College students took part in workshops of 5–25 participants in either residential settings, or as part of freshman orientation or a student organization; 24 myths and facts were presented in quiz format to stimulate discussion and encourage students to commit to choosing an answer, thereby examining personal beliefs "in a supportive and informative environment" (p. 207); in some formats, the presenter(s) read answers and lead group discussion, in others the participants broke into small groups to reach consensus on items; discussion frequently covered safety precautions, resistance strategies, victim responses, acquaintance rape issues, needs and issues for special populations, significant others, and proactive prevention of rape	Based on examination of "consumer satisfaction," the authors suggested that "the number of requests for programs was indicative of their perceived value . . . after many presentations numerous students and staff commented on the workshop's effectiveness in heightening their awareness of sexual assault on campus" (p. 208); the authors cite a weakness of the program as the difficulties in attracting male attendance, which they suggested could be overcome with improved advertising and outreach toward groups such as athletic teams, fraternities, freshman orientation, etc.
Dallager & Rosen (1993)	
This program compared students in a human sexuality course with those in an education course to see "if college students' attitudes toward rape myths and the acceptance of interpersonal violence changed after tak-	97 human sexuality students (34 male, 63 female) and 46 education students (13 male, 35 female) were provided the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale and Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (Burt, 1980) in the 2nd

(*Continued*)

Table 2

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
ing a 'typical' course in human sexuality" (p. 195); the program was expressly implemented with a "nonconfrontational" approach in 2 hours addressing "topics of sexual oppression and sexual misuse and abuse" (p. 195)	and 14th weeks of class; human sexuality students decreased their acceptance of rape myths but neither group changed their attitudes toward interpersonal violence; the authors cautioned that the effect size was small and that all students generally rejected the rape myths
Ellis, O'Sullivan, & Sowards (1992)	
A study was conducted to examine the impact of actual and/or contemplated exposure to a rape survivor; undergraduates in mixed-sex groups were asked "to consider a situation in which a close friend or relative came to them and told them that she had been sexually assaulted," (p. 891); then they were asked "to describe their initial reaction and what action they would suggest that the sexual assault victim take" (p. 891); students were also asked about actual acquaintance with a rape survivor	151 students (100 females, 51 males) participated in the contemplation exercise either before or after completing a 30-item questionnaire developed from the Myths About Rape Scale (Costin & Schwarz, 1987), the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, and the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (both Burt, 1980); following such contemplation, women became more rejecting of rape myths, whereas men became less rejecting of them; this divergence widened the preexisting gap in women's and men's attitudes; for both women and men, those acquainted with a rape survivor were more rejecting of rape myths
Feltey, Ainslie, & Geib (1991)	
The authors implemented a "date rape prevention program" for high school students that was "based on a feminist analysis of gender role socialization and is designed to help teenagers explore basic values and norms of American society and how these shape personal views on sexuality and sexual aggression" (p. 232); the 45-min lecture was presented by an experienced educator from a rape crisis program, and emphasized the role of gender role socialization in perpetuating sexual aggression; causes of rape were presented as lack of sexual communication, lack of re-	Prior to workshop participation, 378 high school students provided judgments about the acceptability of sexual coercion in 17 situations; a subsample of 188 students completed an identical posttest 6 weeks following the presentation; although gender was the leading predictor of judgments prior to workshop participation, level of experienced sexual coercion was after the program presentation; prior to the workshop, male participants were more tolerant of sexual coercion, whereas afterward those with experience of sexual coercion were, so that "if, in their

Table 2

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
spect for women, gender role expectations and peer pressure, and opportunistic situations	own experience, they had felt coerced, they will support coercion as normative" (p. 244); younger students were more accepting of sexual coercion, a result used to argue for earlier intervention
Fischer (1986)	
Examined the impact on college students' attitudes toward rape after taking a course in human sexuality; only one day of the class specifically addressed sexual aggression; some classes were presented with standard lecture format dealing primarily with local rape laws; others were presented in an undescribed "confrontational" format	561 students in a human sexuality course and 155 in introductory psychology were given pretest and posttest materials assessing rape-related beliefs and attitudes from surveys in Algeier & Hyde (1979), Mahoney (1983), Giarusso, Johnson, Goodchilds, & Zellman (1979), and Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp (1978); students' attitudes in the two classes were comparable at pretest and diverged after class participation; human sexuality students only reported decreased tolerance for rape, greater certainty in identifying a rape depiction, and more "liberal attitudes" toward women; the "confrontational" format resulted in greater tolerance for rape among men
Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus (1992)	
College students were exposed to either a live or videotaped workshop in a classroom setting; emphasis was on debunking common myths, providing accurate information about rape and a feminist reconceptualization of the problem; the presentation began with a fictitious rape scenario; use of a Solomon 4-group design allowed investigators to control for a number of confounds, including maturation, pretesting, history, loss of participants, instrumentation, statistical artifacts, etc.	582 students in an introductory sociology class were included in a 4-group Solomon design[a] using the Rape Supportive Attitudes Survey (Burt, 1980) and the Rape Blame Scale (Resick & Jackson, 1981); participation in the program (both formats) generated positive attitude change, and most change was in beliefs about the ideological nature of rape; least change was seen in those regarding race; sex of participant was not a determinant of program outcomes; pretesting served as an additional intervention, since pretested groups showed greater attitude change

(*Continued*)

Table 2

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
Harrison, Downes, & Williams (1991)	
Undergraduates in a speech communication class participated in one of two programs; all participants viewed a 7-min videotape of media clips "that are representative of print and TV advertising and use sexual themes to advertise clothing, perfume, and liquor" (p. 13), followed by scenes of a heterosexual couple on a date ending with sexual advances by the man and protestation by the woman; some of the students additionally participated in discussion sessions that included six opening questions, presentation of facts related to the video, and open discussion	51 women and 45 men participated in the study in one of the two workshop formats; all responded to the revised Attitudes Toward Rape Scale by Feild (1978) following participation and a subset received an identical posttest; pretesting effects were reported, suggesting that positive attitude change occurred simply as a result of pretesting sensitivity; men who participated in either program format reported desirable attitude change with respect to beliefs of victim-blaming and denial, but no difference was evident between the two formats; no such change was seen among female participants, possibly due to ceiling effects on women's pretest responses
Holcomb, Sarvela, Sondag, & Holcomb (1993)	
A male and female facilitator presented a 35-min workshop that began with an undescribed "consent scenario," after which "students were then told to try to determine when and how consent to have sex takes place; after the scenario, the cofacilitators recommended how men and women could prevent date rape" (p. 160)	331 students in a health education course were randomly assigned to either a treatment (n = 163) or comparison group (n = 168); all students provided posttest responses to the Date Rape Attitudes Survey (a forced-choice questionnaire of statements pertaining to date rape) immediately following participation (or nonparticipation); attitudes of workshop participants were reported to be significantly less tolerant of rape than those in the comparison group; an interaction effect suggested that the program had a greater impact on men's attitudes than women's
Holcomb, Sondag, & Holcomb (1993)	
"The guiding principle of workshop development was to increase awareness and generate discussions between men and women regarding date rape" (p. 155); the 50-min workshop emphasizes "the shared responsibility	Responses were collected from 330 male and 314 female students following workshop participation; the vast majority of participants reported they felt comfortable discussing the topic in a mixed-sex environment,

Table 2

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
of men and women for the occurrence of date rape" (p. 155); a male and female facilitator began with the 20-item forced-choice Rape Attitudes and Perceptions quiz, which is later discussed, then a scenario is presented of a heterosexual dating couple "to determine when and how consent takes place" (p. 157); finally, rape prevention recommendations were presented with critique	thought the workship was not too explicit, felt favorable toward the workshop format, and considered the issue of date rape deserving of workshop attention; approximately half the participants suggested changes in workshop format, and a very small minority of students felt the workshop had "placed the blame for the occurrence of date rape on their own gender" (p. 157)
Johnson & Russ (1989)	
Undergraduates were exposed to a number of speeches in what was ostensibly an impression formation task; some students read a piece on the historical mistreatment of women; in an additional "judgment task" students read a depiction of either a stranger or acquaintance rape	After reading the speech about women's oppression, 80 female and 80 male students reported less perceived responsibility and enjoyment of a victim in an acquaintance rape depiction but no change was evident with perceptions of stranger rape; men who read the speech reported less likelihood of rape; no effect of speech exposure was seen on comparable judgments of a female drunk driver
Lenihan, Rawlins, Eberly, Buckley, & Masters (1992)	
A 50-min class presentation was facilitated by one woman and one man (facilitators were either rape crisis or residence hall counselors); "instructional method included a combination of lecture, video presentations of date rape situations, plus sharing of a date rape experience by one of the presenters" (p. 333); information addressed rape's impact, statistics, definitions, and reasons for not identifying forced sex as rape, cultural supports for rape, characteristics of offenders, prevention suggestions, and local resources; videotaped vignettes depicted (a) a date rape scenario to illustrate issues of opportunity, attitudes, and consent and (b) a high school discussion to illustrate	821 students (503 female and 318 male) in an introductory health class participated in the study, conducted with a Solomon 4-group design and the Rape Supportive Attitudes Survey (Burt, 1980); pretests were conducted several days prior to the program and posttests were administered 1 month following; results suggested that the women, but not men, reported desirable attitude change not only as a result of program participation but also after pretesting assessment only; this divergent impact served to widen the preexisting gap between women's and men's rape-related attitudes; in addition, "the number of victims and significant others seeking help [from

(*Continued*)

Table 2
Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
gender perceptions of seduction versus rape; questions and discussion were encouraged throughout the program	an on-campus rape crisis center] has tripled since rape awareness programs have been introduced in this classroom setting" (p. 366)
Malamuth & Check (1984)	
The authors investigated educational debriefings for undergraduates after experimental exposure to sexually explicit depictions of consensual intercourse or violent portrayals of rape; students who read the rape story were given a brief written debriefing addressing rape myths and its impact on victims; students who read about consensual sex were given a debriefing about research in the area of human sexuality	Following experimental exposure and educational debriefings, 70 male and 73 female undergraduates were asked to rate a newspaper account of a rape on various dimensions; after the rape exposure and debriefing, students were less likely to believe that women have a "secret desire to be raped" and that women's behavior causes rape; they were also less likely to believe that "natural masculine tendencies," fear of homosexuality, or pornography are causes of rape
Mann, Hecht, & Valentine (1988)	
This undergraduate workshop utilized a fast-paced 15-min performance entitled "Big Girls Don't Cry" that presents "contemporary issues about assertiveness and dating" (p. 274); one group watched the dramatic performance only, whereas a second watched the performance and then participated in a 15-min discussion regarding sexual attitudes, gender scripts, and assertiveness; a third group participated in the discussion group only, whereas a fourth completed outcome measures without any program participation	92 participants (56 female and 36 male) reported change in rape attitudes following the dramatic performance (with or without subsequent discussion); students who participated only in the discussion reported no such change; the performance method was more effective for students with less experience of sexual aggression; no change in levels of assertiveness was seen with any of the interventions, yet an interaction effect at a 5-week follow-up suggested that assertiveness increased among participants with less experience of sexual aggression; greatest change was seen with both performance and discussion
Nelson & Torgler (1990)	
The authors were interested in comparing two methods of education with the goal of rape attitude change; they showed one experimental group an undescribed 30-min videotape titled "Someone You Know: Acquain-	Undergraduate psychology students participated in the video group (24 women, 9 men), rape brochure group (24 women, 7 men), and comparison group (16 women, 9 men); the short version of the Attitudes To-

Table 2

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
tance Rape" and exposed a second group to an undescribed brochure that took approximately 10 min to read, titled "What Women and Men Should Know About Date Rape;" a comparison group read a brochure of comparable format regarding career planning issues	ward Women Scale (Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982) and a revised version of the Forcible Rape Scale (Giarusso et al., 1979) were provided immediately before participating in the intervention and 1 week following such participation; positive attitude change was seen in all three groups suggesting that the intervention did not generate any impact beyond that of pretest sensitization

[a] Solomon 4-group design is described more generally in Campbell and Stanley (1963).

included the assessment of "consumer satisfaction" among participants. Such assessment fails to clarify whether the demonstrated effect indicates any real change in beliefs, attitudes, or behavior of participants. Based on modern conflict theory, it is possible to argue that the acceptance of rape myths[3] is functional and therefore consumer satisfaction might be highest for programs that require *no real change* on the part of participants. Meanwhile, such programs afford the complacency of presumably "doing something to prevent rape." As Borden et al. (1988) concluded, evaluation of rape education programs must go beyond such measures of consumer satisfaction. Finally, one of the evaluations suggested that only a small minority of male and female program participants felt that the workshop had "placed blame for the occurrence of date rape on their own gender" (Holcomb, Sondag, & Holcomb, 1993, p. 157). Although this result was presented as evidence of success for the program, some might question the appropriateness of this outcome among men.

Programs Aimed at Men

Despite the obvious logic of conducting rape prevention with men, such programs have only recently become popular, thereby receiving the attention they deserve. As Berg (1993) noted:

> A distinction exists between interventions that are merely *inclusive* of men and those that are specifically *designed* for men. Instead of emphasizing open communication, sexual assertiveness and/or relationship expectations, interventions designed specifically for men emphasize the importance of male responsibility and the ability to empathize. (p. 4)[4]

Table 3 provides descriptions of seven rape prevention programs targeting exclusively male audiences, and as with all-female and mixed-sex interventions, most of these programs have been reported as successful by the authors (Egidio & Robertson, 1981; Feltey et al., 1991; Gilbert, Heesacker, & Gannon, 1991; Gottesman, 1977; Lee, 1987; Malamuth & Check, 1984; Ring & Kilmartin, 1992). Again, however, "success" is generally conceptualized as attitude change measured immediately following program participation. Furthermore, an interesting and instructive exception is noted in which attitude change was actually seen in the "undesirable" direction (Berg, 1993). Because all-male programs offer the greatest promise in truly reaching the potential of rape prevention, such programs offer particular interest for future intervention and evaluation.

Conclusions and Cautions

As Tables 1–3 illustrate, the relevant literature paints a picture in which the majority of rape education programs are successful in generating positive change in rape-supportive attitudes and behaviors. Yet the accuracy of this picture is plagued by several important issues. First, the vision of programmatic success is called into question by publishing biases that might preclude the appearance of nonsignificant findings. Additionally, it is possible that individuals designing and implementing rape prevention programs are not generally those who publish evaluation reports in academic journals (Munoz, Snowden, & Kelly, 1979).

Critique of underlying rationale. More importantly, the vision of programmatic success is challenged by criticisms of the underlying rationale for rape prevention education. That is, the rationale for such programs rests on a number of assumptions: (a) It is possible to change rape-supportive beliefs and attitudes through education. (b) Attitude change can yield desirable outcomes such as: decreased sexual aggression, heightened empathy/awareness for victims, and increased awareness/resistance by women. There is considerable evidence reviewed here that educational programming can reduce the endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes, thus providing support for the first assumption. Support for the second assumption, however, is less direct.

There is, for example, substantial literature documenting a link between rape-supportive ideology and sexually aggressive behavior (Feild, 1978; Greendlinger & Byrne, 1987; Koss, Leonard, Beezley, & Oros, 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Murphy, Coleman, & Haynes, 1986; Reilly, Lott, Caldwell, & DeLuca, 1992). On the basis of this work, a recent review concluded that the relationship between rape myth acceptance and sexually aggressive behavior might be the truly critical one in this area (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Unfortunately, such evidence only reveals associations, rather than causality, and therefore does not

Table 3

Programs Aimed Exclusively at Men

Description	*Evaluation*
Berg (1993)	
College men participated in a 1½ hr workshop emphasizing the role of empathy in attitude change; rape myths were addressed for all participants; some listened to an audiotape of a female rape victim describing her experience whereas others heard an audiotape of a young man describing his rape by another adolescent male	54 men responded to the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al., 1978), the Rape Supportive Attitudes Survey (Burt, 1980), the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne, 1993), two measures of rape empathy (Berg, 1993; Deitz et al., 1982), and indices of likelihood to use force (Briere & Malamuth, 1983) or rape (Malamuth, 1981); contrary to expectations, the empathy intervention did not result in any differences in general empathy, rape empathy, or rape-related attitudes; men asked to empathize with the female victim actually reported greater likelihood of sexual aggression
Egidio & Robertson (1981)	
A program for fraternity men was developed with the goals "to increase self-awareness, to stimulate values clarification, to dispel the many myths and misconceptions concerning rape, and to overcome the ignorance that perpetuates the crime of rape" (p. 455); the 2-hr program entitled "Rape-Awareness for Men" was developed by the interfraternity council to deal with the issue from the male perspective; the format began with a questionnaire to assess rape awareness; lecture/discussion addressed such topics as legal definitions, local/national statistics, and sociology of the crime; two films were shown; then small-group discussion focused on prevention and other concerns	Assessment of "consumer satisfaction" was conducted only; the authors described a number of positive outcomes: "(a) feedback received from participants indicated a change of attitudes on the topic of rape and women in general; (b) IFC received much positive reinforcement and publicity for the sponsorship and development of the program; (c) two national fraternities expressed interest to further develop the program and include it in their educational programming nationwide; and (d) the program resulted in a timely and meaningful opportunity for fraternity members to work through their concern for social issues" (p. 456)
Gilbert, Heesacker, & Gannon (1991)	
"Psychoeducational intervention" for college men involved a combination of presentation and empathy induction techniques; men were educated	Among 75 undergraduate men, those who participated in the program reported decreased acceptance of the Rape Supportive Attitudes Survey

(*Continued*)

Table 3
Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
about socialization, communication between the sexes, dating roles, and the effects of rape-supportive beliefs/attitudes; men were also asked to empathize with a 14-year-old boy portrayed in an audiotaped depiction of forced sexual activity	(Burt, 1980); no such change was evident among a comparison group who completed evaluation materials without workshop involvement; the effect size was greater among men who reported less aggressive sexual histories; follow-up after 1 month indicated no differences between the two groups in willingness to volunteer time to a women's safety project
Gottesman (1977)	
"The purpose of the study was to examine the attitudes, reactions and responses of police officials to rape victims before and after a special training program" (p. 14); officers participated in small groups while on duty, and program format included lecture, discussion and demonstration with the following objectives: (1) "increase awareness of the policeman's own feelings and attitudes about the crime, the offenders and the victims of rape," (2) "provide information about the physical and emotional trauma experienced by the victim," (3) "provide factual information about the need for, and the procedure of, the physical examination at the hospital," (4) "provide information about the legal aspects of the crime and the policeman's role," and (5) "develop interviewing skills and intervention techniques so that the policeman might be of help to the victim while carrying out his legal responsibilities" (p. 15)	21 patrol officers from a large midwestern city participated in the study and were interviewed for 15–60 min both before and after program participation; following the program, officers: (1) retained the belief that women share responsibility for the crime, (2) increased their recognition of victim trauma, (3) increased their personal feelings about the crime's seriousness, (4) increased their knowledge of legal and medical procedures, (5) increased their felt need for more extensive training in handling rape cases and victims, and (6) developed "an overall more empathic and understanding approach to the rape victim" (p. 17)
Intons-Peterson, Roskos-Ewoldsen, Thomas, Shirley, & Blut (1989)	
College men were exposed to a 14-min pre-experimental debriefing film with professional actors discussing either the myths, facts, statistics, and consequences of rape (rape education) or the value of consideration and respect in sexual encounters (sex education); both films used "little known facts" to spark	105 undergraduate males provided pretest, posttest, and 2-week follow-up responses to the Rape Myth Scale (Burt, 1980), the Likelihood of Rape Index (Malamuth, 1981), and additional questions about dating, sex, and rape; men exposed to the sexually violent movie clips reported greater accep-

Table 3

Continued

Description	*Evaluation*
interest in students; following the films, students viewed clips from commercial movies depicting sexual violence, consensual sex, or nature scenes; students then made a series of judgments regarding a newspaper account of a rape trial and concluded with a postexperimental film to debrief with further discussion of rape myths and the consequences of pornographic materials	tance of rape myths, and men who viewed either of the pre-experimental debriefing films (rape or sex education) decreased rape myth acceptance following the final experimental debriefing; these effects persisted at a 2-week follow-up; men who viewed either debriefing film also judged a victim in a rape depiction more favorably and judged the perpetrator of the rape more harshly
Lee (1987)	
Developed a 2-hr "experiential" program for men; 20 min of didactic presentation addressed rape myths and facts with time for discussion; 40 min of guided empathy activities included listening to the story of a male rape victim and a man whose roommate is involved in sexual coercion; efforts were made to avoid intellectualization and emphasize emotional responses	24 undergraduate males were split into two groups, one of which responded to Feild's (1978) Attitudes Toward Rape Scale both before and after workshop participation; a second group responded only following participation; no pretesting effects were evident but students reported positive attitude change following program involvement
Ring & Kilmartin (1992)	
Male undergraduates participated in "Man to Man About Rape," a program "designed to educate men about male socialization, intimacy, violent behavior" (p. 82); a didactic component addressed gender development and intimacy along with the use of a film; the "experiential small group component" involved discussion, and several activities, including an exploration of how men's bodies are objectified and emotions repressed and a sexual role reversal to examine the objectification of women; the authors theorized that repression of emotions is one factor leading to aggression, so that teaching men to express emotions is one way of preventing rape	The male-led program reached approximately 30% of campus men through "outreach, advertising, and coordination with athletic teams and the interfraternity council" (p. 82); although only consumer satisfaction was assessed, the authors suggested that men began to understand how their own bodies are objectified and make connections to the objectification of women; men also allegedly increased their understanding of "the destructive aspects of male socialization" (p. 84); the men increased their willingness to participate in the program, and "reported feeling less defensive and more open to asking questions in male-led presentations" (p. 83); finally, the authors noted that many past participants were currently involved with the design and implementation of future programs

bear directly on the question of whether attitude change can actually reduce either sexual aggression or other rape-supportive behaviors. Furthermore, recent work has critiqued the notion of a clear or lawful link between attitudes and behavior (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), thereby challenging the very foundation upon which rape prevention programs are built. To that extent, the importance of further research into this attitude-behavior link cannot be understated within this particular context, and it is clear that this question is one with which the field of rape prevention must struggle in a meaningful and ongoing way.

Restriction to campus populations. Rape prevention efforts have also been limited by their almost exclusive reliance on college participants. This focus has occurred for a number of reasons, both theoretical and logistic. As with other fields of research, college students provide an easily accessible population for academic investigators. Yet college students constitute a population of particular interest for this area based on other reasons as well: "because the college years happen to coincide with the greatest period of risk for rape" (Warshaw, 1988, p.190). Of course, this heightened risk implies that many college-aged men have already established their patterns of sexual behavior, including sexual aggression (Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). Therefore, while retaining attention to the critical risk group of college-aged women and men, future efforts must also include additional age groups – especially younger students – to intervene before patterns of sexual behavior are begun.

CRITICAL COMPONENTS OF RAPE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Despite the considerable caution needed to review such a small and fragmented field of research, it remains necessary to examine past efforts for future guidance in the field of rape prevention. Toward that end, a preliminary attempt is made to summarize common elements of rape education, to discuss some of the relevant theoretical and practical issues, and to provide direction for future research in this area. Specifically, this review critically examines such common techniques in rape prevention education as: "debunking" rape mythology, generating participant interaction, providing sexuality education and a feminist orientation, and avoiding confrontational approaches. Unfortunately, despite their frequent use in rape prevention programs, these techniques remain virtually unexamined either theoretically or empirically.

Addressing Rape Mythology

Review of present efforts suggests that education explicitly targeting the misinformation of rape mythology is one of the most widely used techniques in rape education programs, and it is the strategy most commonly

associated with desirable attitude change (Fonow et al., 1992; Gilbert et al., 1991; Gray et al., 1990; Intons-Peterson et al., 1989; Malamuth & Check, 1984). Several authors have even provided the myths and facts in an interactive quiz format (Briskin & Gary, 1986; Egidio & Robertson, 1981; Hanson & Gidycz, 1993; Holcomb, Sondag, & Holcomb, 1993). Unfortunately, because the specific materials are generally unavailable for these programs, it is often unclear how the range of myths discussed varies between presentations. Furthermore, although most of the programs addressing rape mythology have reported positive attitude change following program participation, it is not altogether clear how the rape myths presented in the intervention map onto those in the post-intervention assessment.

Despite the general consensus that such an approach produces desirable attitude change, the success of this technique must be at least partly attributable to the almost exclusive reliance on rape myth scales for outcome assessment. Thus, the effect could likely be due to demand characteristics involved with discussing and then assessing endorsement of virtually identical rape myth statements. Alternatively, the effect could indicate true change; however, it is presently unknown whether such change has more general implications for thought and behavior. Future work can only address this issue by moving beyond traditional attitude scales as outcome measures, an issue addressed extensively below. Furthermore, the use of comparison groups can provide additional information regarding differential outcomes and the role of demand characteristics.

Interactive Participation

Following unsuccessful efforts to change attitudes through lecture presentations, Borden et al. (1988) concluded that such strategies were insufficient to implement attitude change. The authors argued for the introduction of "new, more dynamic, vivid interactive program formats to enhance the desired effects of consciousness raising, attitude change, and empathy toward rape" (p.135). Others have agreed that programs with the greatest effectiveness involve interactive participation such as role-playing and peer counseling, especially if the goals of the program include behavioral change (Barth et al., 1991).

As the review in Tables 1–3 indicate, participant interaction is an element common to many rape education programs and one that is generally reported to co-occur with desirable attitude change. Examples of such involvement include the use of group discussion in most programs, role-playing (Gilbert et al., 1991; Gray et al., 1990; Ring & Kilmartin, 1992), and interactive dramatic performance (Mann et al., 1988). In Gilbert's study, for example, male participants rated themselves as less comfortable immediately following the lecture material than they did following subse-

quent interactive discussion. Such interaction apparently played an important role in addressing the men's concerns, thereby easing their discomfort. Perhaps this process is one that renders interactive programs more successful than others. However, the idea that interaction increases the likelihood of attitude change is challenged by the findings that discussion did not enhance the impact of programs involving dramatic performance (Mann et al., 1988) or videotaped presentation (Harrison et al., 1991). Clearly, future research must examine the effect, and *process* of interaction in rape education, with special focus on the role of discussion as the most common technique for inducing participant interaction.

Sex Education and Feminist Orientation

One common understanding of acquaintance rape theorizes that it is an issue of sexual misunderstanding, with solutions anchored in sex education or training in "sexual communication" (Feltey et al., 1991; Fussman, 1993; Mann et al., 1988). In support of this idea, for example, two studies have reported that a semester in basic sex education has positively influenced rape-supportive beliefs and attitudes (Dallager & Rosen, 1993; Fischer, 1986). Thus, to the extent that acquaintance rape is considered an issue of sexual misunderstanding, education in human sexuality can be considered a reasonable solution.

Yet if acquaintance rape is truly an issue of power and dominance as feminists have theorized (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971; Russell, 1984), no discussion of human sexuality will be sufficient without an explicit exploration of gender inequality and male violence against women. Furthermore, Hanson and Gidycz (1993) have argued that women who are sexually victimized communicate about sexuality as clearly as those who are not victimized, but men who choose to perpetrate sexual aggression simply ignore the communication in pursuit of their own goals. To that extent, sexuality education might be insufficient to influence rape-related attitudes or behavior in the absence of material specifically addressing sexual violence.

Clearly, training in sexual communication might be an ineffective strategy of rape prevention if indeed perpetrators simply choose to ignore the most successful efforts at verbal negotiation. Consistent with these ideas, an explicit discussion of gender roles and the relative status of women appears to be related to desirable change in rape-supportive attitudes (Dallager & Rosen, 1993; Fonow et al., 1992; Johnson & Russ, 1989). Furthermore, upon closer examination it is revealed that the two studies reporting successful attitude change as a result of sexuality education involved programs that included explicit attention to issues of sexual aggression (Dallager & Rosen, 1993; Fischer, 1986). In conclusion, further research must examine which of the many components involved in sexuality

education have exerted the previously demonstrated influence on rape-supportive attitudes. Of paramount importance is the determination of whether sex education can impact rape-related attitudes *without an explicit discussion of rape or gender inequality*, and whether training in sexual communication can result in decreased risk for sexual victimization or perpetration.

Empathy Induction

Despite the presumed importance of empathy induction in rape education (Berg, 1993; CARE manual; Ellis et al., 1992; Gray et al., 1990; Lee, 1987; Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993), its role in such interventions is not presently understood. Because empathy leads to more situational attributions for the behavior of others, it is reasonable to suggest that individuals with more empathy for victims will be less likely to attribute rape to personal characteristics such as victim appearance or behavior, and more likely to blame the man or society for the attack (Berg, 1993). Among women, this idea has gained empirical support; all three programs aimed at increasing women's empathy for rape victimization have reported desirable attitude change (Ellis et al., 1992; Gray et al., 1990; Lee, 1987). However, among men the picture is not so clear.

Three programs for men have reported desirable attitude change with a strategy of empathy induction (Gilbert et al., 1991; Gray et al., 1990; Lee, 1987), whereas another two have not (Berg; 1993; Ellis et al., 1992). The reason for this discrepancy is especially unclear because the methods of "successful" and "unsuccessful" programs were rather similar. For example, in one program men were asked to imagine themselves as rape victims or as witnesses to sexual coercion (Lee, 1987), whereas in another they were asked to contemplate hearing that a friend or relative had just been raped (Ellis et al., 1992). The men reported desirable attitude change with the former but not the latter technique.

To clarify the issue, Berg (1993) directly compared these two empathy induction techniques. Among her sample of undergraduates, asking men to imagine themselves as rape victims did not produce attitude change, whereas asking them to empathize with a victimized friend did. Unfortunately, this attitude change was toward greater acceptance of rape myths and increased likelihood to sexually aggress. Such a result flies in the face of commonly presumed effectiveness with empathy induction in men's rape education. Based on her findings, Berg argued, "Given that acquaintance rape is a crime where the victim is female, males confronted with the task of empathizing with an acquaintance rape victim will more naturally assume the observer or aggressor role" (p. 20). This process may account for the finding that men consider acquaintance rape a less serious offense than do women (Stacy, Prisbell, & Tollefsrud, 1992). Because of this

difference, men may have some predisposition to respond nonempathically to a rape victim, and efforts at inducing male empathy for rape victimization must take this possibility into account.

Perhaps overcoming men's predisposition toward perpetrator identification requires an amount of time for processing possible only in long-term interventions. As Schaeffer and Nelson (1993) have suggested, "A more effective means of education might be found in extended programs that explore sexual coercion in depth; it may not be reasonable to expect attitudes that have developed over many years to be changed by a few hours of education" (p. 178). Others have also argued that time constraints might constitute the primary limiting factor in the effectiveness of prevention programs (Barth et al., 1991), and this limitation is a critical one to consider in this field of almost universally short-term interventions.

Future work must explicitly examine the question of male empathy, to determine which conditions are necessary to reduce undesirable and unsupportive attitudes toward rape victims. Until such time, the implementation of these techniques based on their commonly assumed, but empirically undemonstrated, utility must either proceed with extreme caution or cease altogether.

Confrontational Approaches

Fischer (1986) concluded that the use of a "confrontational" format *decreases* the likelihood of success in rape prevention programs, even leading to undesirable backlash effects in her evaluation study. This conclusion was perhaps further supported by the positive attitude change seen in a program deliberately designed to be "nonconfrontational" (Dallager & Rosen, 1993). It makes sense that inducing defensiveness and alienation in participants *does not* lead to desirable attitude change; perceived attack does not generally yield enthusiastic cooperation. Unfortunately, there is a common misconception that rape education *inevitably* involves and encourages confrontation; indeed, it is often argued that feminist rape education simply perpetuates Victorian-era gender stereotypes by portraying men as sexual brutes and women their helpless victims (Crichton, 1993; Graeber, 1993; Guttmann, 1990; Kaminer, 1993; Matalin, 1993; Morrow, 1994; Roiphe, 1993; Will, 1993). This misconception represents one possible explanation for the low attendance at most voluntary rape prevention programs—especially by men (Briskin & Gary, 1986; Ring & Kilmartin, 1992).

In this regard, it is important to note that although educational programs challenging rape culture *do* require confrontation of established ideologies, such interventions *do not necessitate a style of personal confrontation.* Neither do such interventions necessitate personal confrontation among participants as a measure of success. Indeed, it is possible that

participation in rape education programs of longer duration would allow greater time to meaningfully process the material as well as sufficient context to establish trusting relationships among program participants. Such time and security might be two of the essential elements needed to generate the respect and open communication desired between the sexes. Future research must address this concern, by experimentally manipulating the style of presentation and assessing differential outcomes. Because this issue forms the basis of a widely held misconception regarding rape prevention, it is a particularly important one to understand for maximal success in this field.

Previous Experience of Sexual Victimization/Perpetration

Unfortunately, one element that appears to limit the potential impact of rape education is participants' past experiences of sexual victimization and perpetration. Both Feltey et al. (1991) and Mann et al. (1988) reported that greater experience of sexual coercion increased participants' resistance to messages encouraging attitude change. Furthermore, Hanson and Gidycz (1993) reported that women without a history of sexual victimization were at decreased risk for such victimization following their program, whereas no such change was seen with survivors of sexual victimization.

Although it is possible that past sexual victimization has functioned in some rape education efforts to decrease the likelihood of change among participants, it is also possible that such personal experiences might serve in some instances as challenging but motivating factors for women in voluntary programs. Again, a discrepancy in impact might be observed between traditional programs of only an hour or two and those of longer duration. That is, perhaps the greater involvement in programs of a longer duration might allow women who have personally experienced sexual victimization to overcome the initial emotional obstacles and deal with victimization experiences in a meaningful way that fosters significant change.

With respect to the experience of sexual perpetration among men, Gilbert et al. (1991) concluded that more desirable attitude change was seen among those men who reported less aggressive sexual histories. Unfortunately, this is the only study to date that has examined the influence of this vital factor. Clearly, both of these factors—past experience of sexual victimization or perpetration—constitute issues that are essential for a complete understanding of the process and outcomes of rape education. Further research must seek to differentiate the moderating influence of each and explicate their subsequent implications for theory and practice in the field of rape prevention. To the extent that such programs are likely to be less effective with individuals who have experienced sexual victimization or perpetration, it is possible that techniques should be expressly developed for this common and more resistant group of individu-

als. Perhaps strategies that are effective with these particularly resistant individuals will also work with the more general population, whereas the reverse will not be true—successful techniques for the general population might not always work for individuals with victimization or perpetration histories. Given the universally high rates of sexual victimization and perpetration, these issues are clearly critical for the future of rape prevention programming and deserve much more serious consideration than they have previously enjoyed.

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE PERSUASION LITERATURE

In addition to the specific literature regarding rape education reviewed above, the design and implementation of any educational evaluation necessitates a theoretical perspective on the formation and change of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Clearly, any suggestion that attitude change is easy is simply wrong. First, as Eagly and Chaiken (1993) have argued, attitudes are formed over a long history of direct and indirect experience with an attitude object. Second, attitudes are not generally the result of mere exposure but are typically theorized to be functional for the individuals holding them—this is perhaps particularly true in the domain of rape mythology (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). To that extent, attitudes will generally remain resistant to influence attempts, and this resistance has both cognitive and motivational components (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). For example, it is suggested when a communicator advocates the extreme position that an audience "must" change their attitudes (as in the "confrontational" style discussed earlier), influence attempts are likely to produce reactance and oppositional outcomes (Worchel & Brehm, 1970). Furthermore, attitudes are generally considered more resistant to change when they are held with greater intensity and commitment, as well as heightened personal importance (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). In this particular context, it is likely that beliefs regarding rape will indeed be held with heightened intensity and commitment, and to that extent resistance would seem to be virtually inevitable when attempting to produce change.

Unfortunately, only one theory has seriously addressed the issue of resistance to attitudinal change. McGuire's (1964) theory of inoculation was proposed to address this question, and it posits that although similar in initial impact, two-sided arguments remain more resistant to change in the long-term than one-sided messages. That is, exposure and attack of countermessages in the initial communication are hypothesized to serve as "inoculation" for individuals against future countermessages. Although there are no easy answers to the question of resistance to attitudinal change, it clearly deserves consideration in any educational intervention and preliminary recommendations might include the use of apparently "balanced" rather than "biased" educational strategies.

Because of the difficulties in overcoming resistance to attitudinal change, we must examine the theoretical perspectives and empirical information regarding the influence process to maximize the likelihood of producing successful outcomes. For example, Petty and Cacioppo's elaboration likelihood model offers an empirically based perspective on persuasion that incorporates variables with both facilitating and inhibiting moderating influences. More recently, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) have proposed a theoretical conceptualization of attitude formation and change that also has important implications for educational interventions. Finally, a variety of characteristics of communication source and message have been associated with greater likelihood of producing successful attitude change, and these variables require consideration in the design of future rape prevention programs.

Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model

To address the limitations of previous attitude theories such as Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975), a more empirically based conceptualization of the influence process has been offered by Petty and Cacioppo (1981, 1986a, 1986b). As stated previously, their elaboration likelihood model consequently offers useful theoretical and empirical information that can be applied to the field of rape prevention education. For example, the model appears useful for the field as a conceptual framework to specify the types of variables to manipulate and assess in educational evaluation. First, Petty and Cacioppo have emphasized the importance of a number of factors in the persuasion process, including: individual motivation, direct exposure/knowledge/expertise, task importance/personal relevance, time pressure, distractions, anxiety, and exposure to unexpected message content. All of these variables have been associated with the relative likelihood of argument-based processing, and are thus important to optimize for increased effectiveness. Second, the authors have documented a number of variables thought to influence peripheral route (nonargument based) processing. These factors include perceived source expertise and consensus information. Clearly, successful prevention programs will need to address and incorporate these many variables to increase the likelihood of change among participants' rape-supportive thought and behavior.

Eagly and Chaiken's Model

In contrast with the more elaborate specificity of earlier models such as Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) or Petty and Cacioppo's, contemporary conceptualizations of attitude theory such as Eagly and Chaiken's (1993) represent a more general, schematic understanding of the theoretical issues—such models also return the construct of attitude to its traditional

theoretical preeminence. Specifically, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) theorize attitude to be an inferred construct, which is seen as the primary force mediating cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses to stimuli denoting an attitude object. Cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses are subsequently viewed as expressions of the underlying attitude—this attitude represents only a general evaluative essence with respect to the attitude object. Finally, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) have proposed a complementary model of attitude formation and change that includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes.

It is clear that effective influence attempts in the field of rape prevention will need to consider each process hypothesized as important in Eagly and Chaiken's (1993) conceptualization of attitude theory. To that extent, application of the theory yields three important conclusions in this context. First, their conceptualization underscores the importance of an individual's attitude as an underlying evaluative orientation, in contrast with the earlier emphasis on beliefs as the fundamental cognitive structures. Program participants never begin as "blank slates" but carry with them considerable attitudinal baggage that is both deeply ingrained and powerful in moderating the impact of any persuasion attempt. This attitudinal orientation will vary between individuals and groups, and should guide the tailoring of any rape education program for a particular audience.

Second, the theory suggests that attitude change can occur through any of the three antecedent processes—cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Successful rape prevention programs can therefore take advantage of each processing route. For example, in addition to providing information through the *cognitive* medium, rape prevention programs can also address *emotional* issues underlying participant resistance. They can also generate specific *behaviors* by participants through interactive exercises, in the hope of pushing along the process of attitudinal change. Finally, the theory highlights the importance of cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses in assessing a comprehensive profile of outcomes from any educational intervention. This conclusion echoes the call for increased and improved outcome assessment to be discussed below. All of these recommendations flow directly from the theoretical literature regarding attitude formation and change. They therefore hold great potential for informing the improvement of rape prevention education.

Source and Message Characteristics

In addition to presenting theoretical models for attitude formation and change, a brief discussion is warranted regarding some of the characteristics of communication source and message that have been empirically associated with greater effectiveness in influence attempts. First, multiple sources of persuasion have been associated with greater impact than single

communicators (Harkins & Petty, 1981, 1987). Such multiple sources can be incorporated easily into educational interventions by using more than one instructor. Second, various communicator characteristics are positively associated with heightened influence, such as perceived expertise, trustworthiness, status, likability, and attractiveness (see reviews by Chaiken, 1986; McGuire, 1985). These characteristics clearly merit consideration when designing instructional content and style for rape prevention programs.

With respect to message characteristics, repetition appears to be associated with influence in a curvilinear fashion. That is, Cacioppo and Petty (1979, 1985) demonstrated that messages have increased impact when the number of exposures varies from one to three, however, increasing the number of exposures beyond three is associated with decreasing influence. In addition, for audiences predisposed toward message content, it appears that one-sided arguments are more effective, whereas two-sided arguments are preferable for those predisposed to disagree with the message. All of these factors are obviously important to consider when designing and evaluating any educational intervention for rape prevention, as well as tailoring a program for particular audiences with known characteristics.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Rape prevention education clearly holds great potential in challenging public misconceptions and tolerance of rape—possibly even with decreasing the prevalence of actual sexual aggression. Yet such interventions must be subject to the type of scrutiny and ongoing evaluation that has been previously neglected. First, proper experimentation must be conducted with these programs, in which the element under investigation is manipulated and various outcomes are compared (Harrison et al., 1991; Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). Second, a number of concerns must be addressed that were originally posed by Schewe and O'Donohue (1993), including: the lack of clear goals for rape prevention programs, the neglected distinction between statistical and clinical significance in change outcomes, the lack of follow-up assessment, the unaddressed issue of social desirability in outcome measures, and the use of "low-risk" (generally rape-rejecting) populations (Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). These many recommendations are vital for the future success of rape prevention, yet other areas of concern include: the conceptualization and use of outcome measures, questions of who facilitates rape education programs, and the processes underlying change in rape-supportive ideologies.

Outcome Measures

Fundamental to the success of rape prevention evaluation is the question of which outcome measures are appropriate for assessing change. As stated repeatedly, past evaluations have relied almost exclusively on written re-

sponse measures, frequently Likert-style questionnaires of rape beliefs and attitudes. This strategy is based on the previously stated assumption that changes in rape-related attitudes are directly related to changes in sexually aggressive behavior. However, rape prevention programs have not generally assessed changes in actual sexual aggression because "accurately measuring reductions in the incidence of rape is a monumental, long-term, and possibly unattainable goal" (Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993, p. 672). Yet understanding the impact of rape prevention programs on actual rape incidence represents the ultimate goal in this field and must be seriously pursued to determine whether well-intentioned efforts are having an effect on actual sexual aggression that is positive, negligible, or even negative.

To assess rape proclivity indirectly, Schewe and O'Donohue (1993) have proposed a number of behavioral measures, including the punishment of female confederates in learning experiments and conformity paradigms where the participant is placed in a group determining rape as justifiable. As an interesting example of such assessment, Malamuth and Thornhill (1994) have recently developed a measurement technique for "conversational domineeringness" among men – a male communication style operationalized by one-upmanship, criticism, denigration, bragging, and verbally aggressing against female conversational partners. The authors have reported that this construct is associated with self-reported sexual aggression, thereby yielding promise for use in the evaluation of rape prevention programs. That is, if such behaviors are related to behavioral sexual aggression yet devoid of the logistic difficulties in assessing actual rape incidence, they constitute outcomes with information regarding the way in which men truly interact with women.

Of course, reduction of rape incidence is the explicit goal of rape prevention programs; however, a wide range of implicit ones might include more directly measurable behaviors (Holcomb, Sarvela et al., 1993). For example, willingness to participate in a future acquaintance rape workshop could serve as an indicator of change (Ring & Kilmartin, 1992), as could willingness to help anti-rape causes by volunteering money or time (Gilbert et al., 1991). Willingness to seek help regarding personal experiences of sexual victimization could serve as an important outcome of rape education (Lenihan et al., 1992), although increased reporting or help-seeking by rape survivors could create the false impression that rape education fosters a heightened incidence of the problem. In addition, Hanson and Gidycz (1993) conceptualized women's experience of sexual victimization as a variable of interest, and these authors assessed risk factors for victimization such as dating behaviors and sexual communication. Outcome measures could also be developed to assess support for peers with victimization experiences, personal confrontation of sexist and rape-supportive comments, or thought and behavior regarding the female fear of rape. Finally, outcomes could be assessed with judgments about partic-

ular rape cases (Intons-Peterson et al., 1989), and analog methods could measure behaviors that would otherwise be unobservable.

Although the field must reduce its almost exclusive reliance on attitudinal outcome measures, such measures do nonetheless constitute an area of interest and importance to the field. Furthermore, in addition to the measures of rape attitudes used in the vast majority of previous efforts, outcome measures could assess other beliefs and attitudes theorized as rape-supportive, such as attitudes toward women, gender roles, and sexual inequality. Finally, to provide a rich expression of ideological change, participants could write a story about the "typical" rape victim, or hypothetical events between characters following an expression of sexual nonconsent.

Outcome measures and gender of participants. In addition to improving the range and quality of outcome measures, future research could also evaluate change with relation to group differences among program participants. Obviously, gender of the program participants constitutes one critically important variable moderating the influence of rape education programs (Fischer, 1986; Fonow et al., 1992; Harrison et al., 1991; Lenihan et al., 1992). Yet despite the obvious importance of gender as a moderating variable, the theoretical and practical implications of this influence have not generally been articulated. Clearly, men and women react differently to rape education programs based on their differential relationship to the topic. Furthermore, although it appears obvious that the underlying purpose and goals of rape prevention programs differ by gender, so might the effectiveness of specific materials, intervention strategies and techniques, communication style, program facilitators and context, time length, and so forth.

Of particular importance is the question of how to identify and communicate the payoff for men in eliminating sexual violence. Specifically, why would men be motivated to give up the power over women that is gained via the incidence and threat of rape? In contrast, women's motivations and "payoff" for rape prevention are more obvious. Yet neither of these issues has received the consideration they deserve with respect to the differential goals, strategies, and techniques in rape education programs for women versus men. It is reasonable to suggest, for example, that the examination of these differences might support the conclusion that single-sex programs are a more appropriate format than those with participants of both sexes. That is, because some men are rape perpetrators and many women rape survivors, it is possible that the issues and techniques relevant for each gender are too different to reconcile within a single program format.

Outcome measures and other group differences. In addition to the obvious variable of participant gender, some authors have argued that

socioeconomic and cultural variables might also affect rape vulnerability and response to rape prevention programs (Barth et al., 1991; Scott, Lefley, & Hicks, 1993). To that extent, evaluations should be conducted to determine program relevance for various ethnic, cultural, or socioeconomic groups; such work could guide change toward increased effectiveness (Holcomb, Sarvela et al., 1993; Simon, 1993). In addition, the examination of a police training program by Gottesman (1977) constitutes the single effort toward evaluating education among populations with such a critical impact on rape victims. Future work must begin to examine other such important populations as legal and medical personnel, rape crisis volunteers, and counseling staff who have frequent contact with rape survivors.

Conclusions regarding outcome measures. Clearly, much conceptual and empirical work is needed to develop appropriate outcome measures for rape prevention programming. Attention must focus not only on the issue of *which* outcome measures to use, but also *when* to use them and *with whom*. Furthermore, future research must address the general lack of follow-up demonstrating any longevity of change (Holcomb, Sarvela et al., 1993). Several programs have conducted follow-up investigations, but most occur only a few weeks after program participation (Borden et al. 1988; Feltey et al., 1991; Fonow et al., 1992; Gilbert et al., 1991; Intons-Peterson et al., 1989; Lenihan et al., 1992; Mann et al., 1988). In this climate of increasing economic pressures, the future of rape prevention programs may well depend on our ability to empirically demonstrate their utility and longevity of impact beyond more than a few weeks (Bennett, 1977). Appropriate development and utilization of outcome measures constitute a necessary part of this important evaluative effort.

Program Facilitation

Another important area for future research pertains to the issue of rape education facilitators. Several authors spoke directly to the need for male facilitators when working with male audiences (Barth et al., 1991; Berkowitz, 1992; Lee, 1987); they have suggested that an all-male environment might be a safer one for men to express greater openness and honesty around such sensitive issues. Toward that end, several authors have recommended research to compare the effectiveness of male versus female facilitators of rape education programs (Holcomb, Sarvela et al., 1993; Lee, 1987). In addition, several authors have recommended that campus programs be facilitated by peers who are respected leaders, to generate positive peer pressure for change as well as modeling of alternative attitudes and behaviors (Berkowitz, 1992; Caron, 1993). Clearly, the issue of who facilitates rape education is an important one, yet the advantages of same-

gender environments and peer facilitators remain unexamined empirically.

Finally, in his 1984 article, Winkel described a model of change with rape misconceptions that depends on subjective "weights" ascribed to both communicator and receiver. The author argued that informational campaigns are likely to lead to undesirable "boomerang" effects (as seen in Berg, 1993; Ellis et al., 1992) unless specific precautions are taken to "overweight" the message of the communicator. Such overweighting can be achieved through perceived similarity between communicator and receiver opinions, the accomplishment of change in relatively small increments, and the perception of greater numbers and diversity among communicators. Although empirically unexamined in this context, many of these concerns echo those in the more general persuasion literature discussed previously. To that extent, those recommendations could be used to guide research into facilitator selection. Furthermore, it is possible that future work could explain the relative success of programs with Winkel's theoretical model versus others.

Process of Change in Rape Education

Finally, a completely new area for future research pertains to the process of *how* rape education leads to desirable outcomes. For example, how do rape myth presentations lead to successful attitude change? Which myths are easiest or most beneficial to change? Which presentation method can lead to the most powerful change outcomes? For example, Fonow et al. (1992) reported that the beliefs most amenable to change in their educational intervention pertained to the sociological and ideological nature of rape, whereas those most resistant to change dealt with issues of race. Such results suggest a possible hierarchy of resistance regarding beliefs about rape—one that might be essential to take into account when designing and evaluating rape education programs. One possible methodology to assess such underlying processes would be to collect written reactions from participants throughout the course of a longer term intervention. Other methods are also possible, yet it is clear that such efforts are needed to understand the underlying *process* of change in rape education programs.

Conclusions

This review appears to present more questions than answers. To the extent that future research vigorously pursues these issues through experimentation and evaluation, however, rape education will likely improve with the ever-evolving interface of theory, research, and practice. As Briskin and Gary (1986) have optimistically concluded regarding rape prevention:

> There are many benefits of such programs. At a basic level, they increase individual and campus-wide awareness of appropriate resources in the event of a sexual assault. Also the programs allow victims in the audience to realize that they are not alone and that many others have endured similar experiences . . . Finally, the programs impart knowledge, which is a form of empowerment. Empowerment enables one to cope effectively by using new strategies to reduce the chances of a sexual assault, and it can help change attitudes that tend to place blame on the victim and allow sexual assault to continue. (p. 208)

I hope review and guidance for the field of rape prevention can help it attain these ideals and work toward realizing the promise of truly eliminating sexual violence.

First draft received: January 5, 1996
Final draft received: March 20, 1996

NOTES

1. The vast majority of rape victims are identified as female and perpetrators as male (Poppen & Segal, 1988). This should not, however, restrict our attention and empathy for male survivors of sexual assault, a very hidden population (Anderson, 1981–1982).
2. The term *acquaintance rape* is generally not assumed to include incest (sexual abuse or assault between family members), "authority rapes" (such as those perpetrated by teachers, coaches, doctors, etc.), spousal rape, or assaults on children (Warshaw, 1988). In addition, there is some lack of clarity as to when exactly a "stranger" becomes an "acquaintance," but for general purposes an acquaintance is considered someone known to the victim prior to the attack.
3. The construct of rape myths is defined as "attitudes or generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). Unfortunately, the rape prevention literature has generally failed to distinguish between the construct of rape myths and other rape attitudes. Future work must explore and clarify this often neglected distinction.
4. There is, however, an additional reason for including men in rape prevention efforts—estimates suggest that 1–7% of men will become the victims of acquaintance sexual assault (Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988; Murphy, 1984; Sandberg, Jackson, & Petretic-Jackson, 1987).

REFERENCES

Algeier, E., & Hyde, J. S. (1979). Instructor's manual for *Understanding Human Sexuality*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Anderson, C. L. (1981–82). Males as sexual assault victims: Multiple levels of trauma. *Journal of Homosexuality, 7*, 145–162.

Bart, P. B., & O'Brien, P. H. (1984). Stopping rape: Effective avoidance strategies. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 10*, 83–101.

Barth, R. P., Derezotes, D. S., Danforth, H. E. (1991). Preventing adolescent abuse. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 11*, 193–205.

Bennett, J. R. (1977). A model for evaluation: Design for a rape counseling program. *Child Welfare, 56*, 395–400.

Benson, D., Charlton, C., & Goodhart, F. (1992). Acquaintance rape on campus: A literature review. *Journal of American College Health, 40,* 157–165.

Berg, D. R. (1993). *The use of rape-specific empathy induction in rape education for college men: A theoretical and practical examination.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign, IL.

Berkowitz, A. (1992). College men as perpetrators of acquaintance rape and sexual assault: A review of recent research. *Journal of American College Health, 40,* 175–181.

Borden, L. A., Karr, S. K., & Caldwell-Colbert, A. T. (1988). Effects of a university rape prevention program on attitudes and empathy toward rape. *Journal of College Student Development, 29,* 132–136.

Briere, J., & Malamuth, N.M. (1983). Self-reported likelihood of sexually aggressive behavior: Attitudinal vs. sexual explanations. *Journal of Research in Personality, 17,* 315–323.

Briskin, K. C. & Gary, J. M. (1986). Sexual assault programming for college students. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 65,* 207–208.

Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38,* 217–230.

Cacioppo, J. T., & Petty, R. E. (1979). Effects of message repetition and position on cognitive response, recall, and persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37,* 97–109.

Cacioppo, J. T. & Petty, R. E. (1985). Central and peripheral routes to persuasion: The role of message repetition. In L. F. Alwitt & A. A. Mitchell (Eds.), *Psychological processes and advertising effects* (pp. 91–111). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Campbell, D. T., & Stanley, J. C. (1963). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research.* Dallas, TX: Houghton–Mifflin.

CARE Manual, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, Office of Women's Programs.

Caron, S. L. (1993). Athletes as rape-awareness educators: Athletes for sexual responsibility. *Journal of American College Health, 41,* 275–276.

Chaiken, S. (1986). Physical appearance and social influence. In C. P. Herman, M. P. Zanna, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Physical appearance, stigma, and social behavior: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 3, pp. 143–177). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Costin, F., & Schwarz, N. (1987). Beliefs about rape and women's sex roles: A four-nation study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2,* 46–56.

Crichton, S. (1993, October 25). Sexual correctness: Has it gone too far? *Newsweek,* 52–56.

Dallager, C., & Rosen, L. A. (1993). Effects of a human sexuality course on attitudes toward rape and violence. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 19,* 193–199.

Deitz, S., Blackwell, K., Daley, P., & Bentley, B. (1982). Measurement of empathy toward rape victims and rapists. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43,* 372–384.

Donat, P. L., & D'Emilio, J. (1992). A feminist redefinition of rape and sexual assault: Historical foundations and change. *Journal of Social Issues, 48,* 9–22.

Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes.* San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Janovich.

Egidio, R. K., & Robertson, D. E. (1981). Rape awareness for men. *Journal of College Student Development, 22,* 455–456.

Ellis, A. L., O'Sullivan, C. S., & Sowards, B. A. (1992). The impact of contemplated exposure to a survivor of rape on attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 22,* 889–895.

Feild, H. S. (1978). Attitudes toward rape: A comparative analysis of police, rapists, crisis counselors, and citizens. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36,* 156–179.

Feltey, K. M., Ainslie, J. J., & Geib, A. (1991). Sexual coercion attitudes among high school students: The influence of gender and rape education. *Youth & Society, 23,* 229–250.

Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research.* Reading, MA: Addison–Wesley.

Fischer, G. J. (1986). College student attitudes toward forcible date rape: Changes after taking a human sexuality course. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 12,* 42–46.

Fischhoff, B., Furby, L., & Morgan, M. (1987). Rape prevention: A typology of strategies. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2,* 292–308.

Fonow, M. M., Richardson, L., & Wemmerus, V. A. (1992). Feminist rape education: Does it work? *Gender and Society, 6,* 108–121.

Fussman, C. (1993, October). Consent of a woman. *Lears,* 32–33.

Giarusso, R., Johnson, P., Goodchilds, J., & Zellman, G. (1979). *Adolescent cues and signals: Sex and assault.* Paper presented at meeting of the Western Psychological Association in San Diego.

Gilbert, B. J., Heesacker, M., & Gannon, L. J. (1991). Changing men's sexual aggression-supportive attitudes: A psychoeducational intervention. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38,* 197–203.

Gottesman, S. T. (1977). Police attitudes toward rape before and after a training program. *Journal of Psychiatric Nursing and Mental Health Services, 15,* 14–18.

Graeber, L. (1993, September 19). Sexual beasts vs. delicate vessels. *New York Times,* p. 41.

Gray, M. D., Lesser, D., Quinn, E., & Bounds, C. (1990) The effectiveness of personalizing acquaintance rape prevention: Programs on perception of vulnerability and on reducing risk-taking behavior. *Journal of College Student Development, 31,* 217–220.

Greendlinger, V., & Byrne, D. (1987). Coercive sexual fantasies of college men as predictors of self-reported likelihood to rape and overt sexual aggression. *The Journal of Sex Research, 23,* 1–11.

Griffin, S. (1971). Rape: The all-American crime. *Ramparts, 10,* 26–35.

Guttmann, S. (1990, July). How date-rape "education" fosters confusion, undermines personal responsibility, and trivializes sexual violence. *Reason,* 22–27.

Haggard, W. K. (1991). The feminist theory of rape: Implications for prevention programming targeted at male college students. *College Student Affairs Journal, 11,* 13–20.

Hanson, K. A., & Gidycz, C. A. (1993). Evaluation of a sexual assault prevention program. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 61,* 1046–1052.

Harkins, S. G., & Petty, R. E. (1981). Effects of source magnification of cognitive effort on attitudes: An information-processing view. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40,* 401–413.

Harkins, S. G., & Petty, R. E. (1987). Information utility and the multiple source effect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52,* 260–268.

Harrison, P. J., Downes, J., & Williams, M. D. (1991). Date and acquaintance rape: Perceptions and attitude change strategies. *Journal of College Student Development, 32,* 131–139.

Helmreich, R. L., Spence, J. T., & Gibson, R. H. (1982). Sex-role attitudes: 1972–1980. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 8,* 656–663.

Holcomb, D. R., Sarvela, P. D., Sondag, K. A., & Holcomb, L. C. (1993). An evaluation of a mixed-gender date rape prevention workshop. *Journal of American College Health, 41,* 159–164.

Holcomb, D. R., Sondag, K. A., & Holcomb, L. C. (1993). Healthy dating: A mixed-gender date rape workshop. *Journal of American College Health, 41,* 155–157.

Intons-Peterson, M. J., Roskos-Ewoldsen, B., Thomas, L., Shirley, M., & Blut, D. (1989). Will educational materials reduce negative effects of exposure to sexual violence? *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 8,* 256–275.

Johnson, J. D., & Russ, I. (1989). Effects of salience of consciousness-raising information on perceptions of acquaintance versus stranger rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 19,* 1182–1197.

Kaminer, W. (1993, September 19) What is this thing called rape? *New York Times,* pp. 39–41.

Koss, M. P., & Gidycz, C. A. (1987). Sexual Experiences Survey: Reliability and validity. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53,* 422–423.

Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and

prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55*, 162–170.

Koss, M. P., Leonard, K. E., Beezley, D. A., & Oros, C. J. (1985). Nonstranger sexual aggression: A discriminant analysis of the psychological characteristics of undetected offenders. *Sex Roles, 12*, 981–992.

Koss, M. P., Woodruff, W. J., & Koss, P. G. (1991). Criminal victimization among primary care medical patients: Incidence, prevalence, and physician usage. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 9*, 85–96.

Lee, L. A. (1987). Rape prevention: Experiential training for men. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 66*, 100–101.

Lenihan, G. O., Rawlins, M. E., Eberly, C. G., Buckley, B., & Masters, B. (1992). Gender differences in rape supportive attitudes before and after a date rape education intervention. *Journal of College Student Development, 33*, 331–338.

Levine-MacCombie, J., & Koss, M. P. (1986). Acquaintance rape: Effective avoidance strategies. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 10*, 311–319.

Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1994). Rape myths: In review. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18*, 133–164.

Mahoney, E. R. (1983). *Human Sexuality*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Malamuth, N. M. (1981). Rape proclivity in males. *Journal of Social Issues, 32*, 138–157.

Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1984). Debriefing effectiveness following exposure to pornographic rape depictions. *The Journal of Sex Research, 20*, 1–13.

Malamuth, N. M., & Thornhill, N. W. (1994). Hostile masculinity, sexual aggression, and gender-biased domineeringness in conversations. *Aggressive Behavior, 20*, 185–193.

Mann, C. A., Hecht, M. L., & Valentine, K. B. (1988). Performance in a social context: Date rape versus date right. *Central States Speech Journal, 3/4*, 269–280.

Matalin, M. (1993, October 25). Stop whining! *Newsweek*, 62.

McCall, G. J. (1993). Risk factors and sexual assault prevention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 8*, 277–295.

McGuire, W. J. (1964). Inducing resistance to persuasion: Some contemporary approaches. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 191–229). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

McGuire, W. J. (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed., Vol. 2, pp. 173–257). New York: Random House.

Morrow, L. (1994, February 14). Men: Are they really that bad? *Time*, 51–60.

Muehlenhard, C. L., & Cook, S. W. (1988). Men's self-reports of unwanted sexual activity. *Journal of Sex Research, 24*, 58–72.

Muehlenhard, C. L., Julsonnet, M. I. C., & Flarity-White, L. A. (1989). A cognitive-behavioral program for preventing sexual coercion. *The Behavior Therapist, 12*, 211–214.

Muehlenhard, C. L., & Linton, M. A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34*, 186–196.

Munoz, R. F., Snowden, L. R., & Kelly, J. G. (1979). *Social and psychological research in community settings*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Murphy, J. E. (1984, August). *Date abuse and forced intercourse among college students*. Paper presented at the Second National Conference for Family Violence Research, Durham, NY. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (1991). *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime*. New York: Wiley.

Murphy, W. D., Coleman, E. M., & Haynes, M. R. (1986). Factors related to coercive sexual behavior in a nonclinical sample of males. *Violence and Victims, 1*, 255–278.

National Victim Center. (1992). *Rape in America: A report to the nation*. Report prepared by the Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center. Charleston, SC: Medical University of South Carolina.

Nelson, E. S., & Torgler, C. C. (1990). A comparison of strategies for changing college

students' attitudes toward acquaintance rape. *Journal of Humanistic Education and Development, 29*, 69–85.

O'Shaughnessey, M. E., & Palmer, C. (1989). *Sexually stressful events survey.* University of Illinois, Urbana–Champaign, IL.

Paglia, C. (1993, January/February). It's a jungle out there, so get used to it! *Utne Reader*, 61–65.

Payne, D. L. (1993). *The assessment and structure of rape myths.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign.

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1981). *Attitudes and persuasion: Classic and contemporary approaches.* Dubuque, IA: Brown.

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986a). *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change.* New York: Springer–Verlag.

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986b). The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 19, pp. 123–205). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Poppen, P. J., & Segal, N. J. (1988). The influence of sex and sex role orientation on sexual coercion. *Sex Roles, 9*, 689–701.

Reilly, M. E., Lott, B., Caldwell, D., & DeLuca, L. (1992). Tolerance for sexual harassment related to self-reported sexual victimization. *Gender and Society, 6*, 122–138.

Resick, P., & Jackson, T. L. (1981). Attitudes toward rape among mental health professionals. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 9*, 481–490.

Ring, T. E., & Kilmartin, C. (1992). Man to man about rape: A rape prevention program for men. *Journal of College Student Development, 33*, 82–84.

Roiphe, K. (1993, June 13). Date rape's other victim. *New York Times Magazine*, 26–68.

Russell, D. E. H. (1982). The prevalence and incidence of forcible rape and attempted rape of females. *Victimology: An International Journal, 7*, 81–93.

Russell, D. E. H. (1984). *Sexual exploitation: Rape, child sexual abuse, and workplace harassment.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Sandberg, G. G., Jackson, T. L., & Petretic–Jackson, P. (1987). College dating attitudes regarding sexual coercion and sexual aggression: Developing education and prevention strategies. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 23*, 302–310.

Schaeffer, A. M., & Nelson, E. S. (1993). Rape-supportive attitudes: Effects of on-campus residence and education. *Journal of College Student Development, 34*, 175–179.

Schewe, P., & O'Donohue, W. (1993). Rape prevention: Methodological problems and new directions. *Clinical Psychology Review, 13*, 667–682.

Scott, C. S., Lefley, H. P., & Hicks, D. (1993). Potential risk factors for rape in three ethnic groups. *Community Mental Health Journal, 29*, 133–141.

Simon, T. (1993). Complex issues for sexual assault peer education programs. *Journal of American College Health, 41*, 289–291.

Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. L., & Stapp, J. (1978). *Masculinity and femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecedents.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Stacy, R. D., Prisbell, M., & Tollefsrud. (1992). A comparison of attitudes among college students toward sexual violence committed by strangers and by acquaintances: A research report. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 18*, 257–263.

Ullman, S. E., & Knight, R. A. (1991). A multivariate model for predicting rape and physical injury outcomes during sexual assaults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 724–731.

Walch, A. G., & Broadhead, W. E. (1992). Prevalence of lifetime sexual victimization among female patients. *Journal of Family Practice, 35*, 511–516.

Warshaw, R. (1988). *I never called it rape.* New York: Harper & Row.

Will, G. F. (1993, October 24). Rape crisis feminism victimizes women. *Chicago Sun Times*, p. 49.

Winkel, F. W. (1984). Changing misconceptions about rape through informational campaigns: A model. *Victimology: An International Journal*, 9, 262–272.

Women Against Rape. (1980). A rape prevention program in an urban area: Community action strategies to stop rape. *Signs*, 5, 238–241.

Worchel, S., & Brehm, J. W. (1970). Effects of threats to attitudinal freedom as a function of agreement with the communicator. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *14*, 18–22.

Zoucha, J., Janice, M., & Coyne, A. (1993). The effects of resistance strategies on rape. *American Journal of Public Health*, 83, 1633–1634.