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Abstract

The study conducted involved assessing students from a Southeastern public university during two academic years, after their participation in an all-male sexual assault peer education program. The study findings revealed that 79% of 184 college men reported attitude change, behavior change, or both. Furthermore, a multistage inductive analysis revealed that after seeing The Men's Program, men intervened to prevent rapes from happening. Participants also modified their behavior to avoid committing sexual assault when they or a potential partner were under the influence of alcohol. Implications for future research were discussed.

Keywords

rape, prevention, program, behavior, men

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The price of rape to people in the United States, particularly to women on college campuses, is extremely high. One in four college women have survived rape or attempted rape at some point during their lifetime (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2006). In addition, between 3% and 5% of college women experience rape each year during their college experience (American College Health Association, 2005; Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss, & Wechsler, 2004).

Scope and Impact of Rape

The price paid by these women is high physically and emotionally. Survivors are significantly more likely than women in the general population to suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; McFarlane et al., 2005); in fact, rape survivors are the largest population in the nation with PTSD (Campbell & Wasco, 2005). The financial price is rarely considered in discussions about rape. In 2005, sexual assault cost Minnesota \$8 billion (Miller, Taylor, & Shepherd, 2007). Quality of life losses dominate the costs of sexual violence (88% of total costs). These costs result from subsequent sexually transmitted infections, pregnancy, suicide acts, and substance abuse. Sexual violence in Minnesota resulted in an estimated 12,700 STIs, 1,500 pregnancies, and 750 abortions. Sexual violence is expected to cause 8,400 victims to start to abuse alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs and 1,800 to kill themselves or require medical treatment for self-inflicted injuries. In Minnesota, sexual assault costs 3.3 times as much as alcohol-impaired driving (Miller et al., 2007).

Emotional, physical, and financial costs tend to be measured regarding women. It is no surprise, therefore, that rapists are almost always (98%) men (Sedgwick, 2006). In addition, 9% of college men admit to acts meeting the legal definition of either rape or attempted rape (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004). Though few men rape, most rape is committed by men; therefore, focusing on those who cause the problem seems to have the greatest likelihood of success for addressing it. It also makes sense for a promising defense against rape to include training in bystander intervention to help change the culture in which the behavior occurs (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007). Such bystander approaches involve training people to intervene, rather than stand by and ignore, when a situation occurs that is dangerous to other individuals.

The cause of rape has been traced in part to a culture in which men receive support, even permission, from each other to sexually assault women through their direct encouragement or by ignoring problematic behavior (Katz, 2006; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2008). The bystander intervention model goes to this root cause of sexual assault by attacking a primary foundation supporting rape—the peer support some men obtain for intercourse without consent. Though contrary to public assumption, most men who commit sexual assault are

not arrested for their crimes, but rather are “undetected” and operate without impedance from friends, police, or campus administrators (Lisak & Miller, 2002).

Several different types of men have been the focus of rape prevention efforts, including those in fraternities (Choate, 2003), student athletes (Chandler, Dewayne, & Carroll, 1999), and first-year men (Lonsway & Kothari, 2000). Although targeting groups who have a higher incidence of rape is a worthwhile strategy, to end rape all men must be reached. Additionally, regardless of whether an individual is part of a high-risk group, any man is a potential bystander who can intervene to help prevent a rape situation from occurring (Banyard et al., 2007).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used for the development of the program evaluated in the present study was belief system theory. Belief system theory postulates that to produce lasting attitude and behavior change, interventions must be designed to maintain people’s existing self-conceptions (Grube, Mayton, & Ball-Rokeach, 1994). Self-conceptions are the roles people try to live up to and the people they strive to be. In the context of changing attitudes and behavior, Grube et al. concluded that it is possible to change attitudes and behaviors by using a single intervention. Such lasting change usually results from bringing persuasion targets to the point where they become dissatisfied with their current values and seek to change them to maintain self-enhancing perceptions (Grube et al., 1994).

Though men do not perceive themselves to be potential rapists, they do perceive themselves to have the potential to help survivors and to be people who can intervene when a rape situation might occur (Scheel, Johnson, Schneider, & Smith, 2001). They also perceive themselves to be potential bystanders who can intervene successfully to prevent a rape (Banyard et al., 2007). By approaching men in line with these self perceptions, presenters of The Men’s Program (Foubert, 2005) have been able to have long-term success changing men’s attitudes and behavior (Foubert, 2000; Foubert, Newberry, & Tatum, 2007). Educating men as helpers also makes a great deal of sense given that the most common person a female survivor tells about what happened to her is a friend, followed by a family member (Ahrens, Campbell, Ternier-Thames, Wasco, & Sefl, 2007).

The Men’s Program

In addition to being grounded in belief system theory (Grube et al., 1994), The Men’s Program has been based in the literature on effective rape prevention programming methods (Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Schewe, 2002). The findings of a meta-analysis showed that programs presented to all-male audiences are more

effective than those presented to coeducational audiences (Brecklin & Forde, 2001). In addition, as men increase their empathy with survivors, understand rape trauma, and have more aversion to rape, they report less likelihood of raping (Schewe, 2002). Schewe also reported that depicting a man as a survivor *always* led to lowering rape myth acceptance or likelihood of raping yet depicting a female survivor in programs for men either increased men's rape myth acceptance or their likelihood of sexual aggression. Therefore, presenters of The Men's Program show a DVD (One in Four, 2000) describing a male-on-male rape experience designed to teach men how a rape experience might feel.

After the video is shown, presenters process the video, noting the presumably heterosexual orientation of the perpetrators (Lisak, Hopper, & Song, 1996), and they follow this by making connections between a male-on-male and a male-on-female rape experience to facilitate empathy toward rape survivors. Later, men are taught how to support a rape survivor. Men then learn the basics of defining sexual consent and hear strategies for confronting peers as bystanders when they overhear others tell jokes about rape, act in ways that demean women, or brag about abusing women. Following that, men are taken through a guided imagery of a woman close to them who experiences rape under the influence of alcohol while a bystander watches and does nothing. This emphasis on alcohol-related situations is particularly important given that most rape in college involves alcohol (Lisak & Miller, 2002). Participants then brainstorm ways that they could intervene in situations where an alcohol-related rape might occur. The program itself lasts about 1 hr and is usually presented by four undergraduate male peer educators, often part of peer education groups named One in Four (see www.oneinfourusa.org).

Previous research with fraternity men and student athletes has shown evidence of lasting attitude and behavior change resulting from this program (Foubert & Cowell, 2004; Foubert & Perry, 2007). Participants suggested adding material to address the impact of alcohol on intimate situations, in particular, how to intervene as a bystander when the potential for a sexual assault is present (Foubert & Cowell, 2004). Several months after program participation men showed signs of changed behavior by responding to open-ended questions that they avoided telling a rape joke or confronted others when one was told (Foubert & Perry, 2007). The version of The Men's Program evaluated by the Foubert and Perry study did not include elements used in the present study emphasizing bystander intervention in alcohol-related situations.

The Present Study

Comprehensive literature reviews have noted that no study has ever shown a change in college students' sexual assault behavior resulting from a program

(Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Schewe, 2002). A study of The Men's Program recently found quantitative results that first-year men who see it at the beginning of their first year in college and join a fraternity commit fewer and less severe acts of sexual assault than fraternity men who do not see it (Foubert et al., 2007). Thus, in a controlled experiment, men who saw The Men's Program committed less sexual assault than those who did not.

Although it adds to the literature to know that fewer and less severe incidents of sexual assault are committed by men who see The Men's Program, this result raises more questions than it answers. The use of qualitative methods helps us to understand the perceptions of men of this approach to rape prevention on a far deeper level. For example, in what ways does the program produce a change on choices men make in alcohol-related intimate situations? How do men intervene when they see another man about to commit rape? Given the open-ended nature of these research questions, we determined that they could be best answered through qualitative methods, given their postpositivistic nature and the fact that they lend themselves best to a constructivist paradigm. A constructivist paradigm allows for the voices of participants to form the emerging analytical themes, instead of having a priori structure imposed upon them (Patton, 1990). Prior studies on health promotion research and practice have shown that although logical positivism is the most often used paradigm in health promotion research with its related quantitative methods, a constructivist paradigm has great potential to resolve many unanswered questions in the health promotion arena (Labonte & Robertson, 1996). In this present study, we sought to answer two overarching research questions:

1. In what ways does The Men's Program influence first-year men's attitudes toward alcohol-related sexual assault 2 academic years after program participation?
2. Does participating in The Men's Program motivate men who see it to behave differently, particularly in alcohol-related intimate situations two academic years after program participation? If so, how?

Method

Participants

Participants in this study consisted of 184 first-year men who attend a mid-sized Southeastern public university with an undergraduate enrollment of approximately 5,000 students. As a required orientation session, first-year men saw The Men's Program during September of 2005. Of the first-year male population on this campus, 90% participated throughout their first year

(Foubert et al., 2007). For the present longitudinal sample, the 184 first-year men consisted of 55% of eligible participants who completed usable surveys at the end of their sophomore year. All participants were enrolled fulltime and were traditional age (19 to 21 years old at the end of the academic year). Approximately 60% lived on campus; 13% were men of color.

Materials

At the end of their sophomore year participants were asked to respond in writing to the following four open-ended questions:

1. Compared to before you participated in the One in Four program, are any of your attitudes now different as a result of seeing the program? If so, what attitudes?
2. More specifically, are any of your attitudes toward intimate sexual activity under the influence of alcohol different as a result of seeing the One in Four program? If so, what attitudes?
3. Since seeing the One in Four program, have there been any situations in which you have behaved any differently in any situation as a result of seeing the program? If so, please describe in detail how you behaved differently.
4. More specifically, was there any situation since seeing the One in Four program involving alcohol and potential or actual intimate sexual activity where you or others you were with behaved differently as a result of seeing the One in Four program? If so, please describe in detail how you or they behaved differently.

Procedure

At the end of 2 academic years after seeing The Men's Program, research assistants went door to door through residence halls, off campus, and through the mail for study abroad and transfer students to administer and collect written follow-up surveys that included the aforementioned four open-ended questions. Researchers made at least five attempts to visit each potential participant's residence until the person either refused participation or was found present and agreed to participate. A 55% overall return rate was achieved for the survey. Each research assistant achieved approximately the same return rate for his surveys. They explained that participation was voluntary and that responses would remain anonymous. In return for completing the study, each participant received a \$10 gift card to a local convenience store. When each

participant was finished with his survey, he was handed an envelope containing several other completed surveys, into which he placed his own survey to help insure anonymity.

Results were analyzed by a faculty member and a graduate student. Both had training, coursework, and experience using qualitative methods and were well versed with the process used. Male researchers were used to analyze data to best understand the common male language and meaning of the statements made by participants. We analyzed the responses to the questions using Patton's description of a multistage inductive analysis. As an analysis that is part of a constructivist paradigm, there was no a priori structure imposed on the voices of participants. Researchers identified key terms and phrases by reviewing the responses provided by the participants. Researchers next identified themes that helped organize participants' responses, paying particular attention to identify what seemed meaningful to the participants. These steps afforded researchers the opportunity to suggest meaning, draw conclusions, and understand the data more holistically. Next, consideration of "causes, consequences, and relationships" (Patton, 1990, p. 422) occurred whereby researchers attached meaning to findings grounded in the words of participants and drew conclusions to help illuminate, understand and extrapolate the data. As Patton suggested, researchers suggested possible meanings; asserted potential conclusions about how some phenomena may have led to some outcomes; and made informed hypotheses about linkages and interpretation of the data. Initially, researchers coded the data separately. After all individual data coding took place by both coders, a consensus coding scheme was reached utilizing a common analysis framework to guide the process. Initial disagreements in coding schemes were resolved by reconsideration of participant responses to maintain the voice of participants as the top priority.

Results

When results for the open-ended questions were analyzed, we found that a large majority of participants reported long-term change. Specifically, 145 participants (79%) reported that their attitudes and/or their behavior changed because of the program. The wording of the questions asked participants to report attitude and behavior change only if they deemed that it was a direct result of having seen The Men's Program. Thus nearly 4 out of 5 program participants reported attitude and/or behavior change directly attributable to seeing The Men's Program.

As far as broad categories of change or no change were recorded by respondents, 74 (40%) reported both attitude and behavior changes, 59 (32%)

reported only attitude changes, 12 (6%) reported only behavior changes, and 39 (21%) of participants reported no changes in attitudes or behaviors.

Attitudes

The first and second questions asked, “Compared to *before* you participated in the ‘One in Four’ program, are any of your attitudes different now as a result of seeing the program? If so, what attitudes?” and, “More specifically, are any of your attitudes toward intimate sexual activity under the influence of alcohol different now as a result of seeing the ‘One in Four’ program? If so, what attitudes?” Five themes emerged from responses to these questions: (1) alcohol can be dangerous, (2) rape is very serious, (3) I now understand the trauma of rape better, (4) communication is critical to consent, and (5) attitudes reinforced.

Alcohol can be dangerous. A total 61 participants (46%) who reported attitude changes discussed modifying the way they viewed the use of alcohol in social and intimate situations. Men who reported attitude change in the way they used alcohol reported doing so in two ways. About 40 participants discussed the need to be more careful during intimate situations with the other sex when alcohol was involved. One participant wrote that he “is more cautious when it comes to sexual activity when alcohol is involved.” Another said, “I realize I need to be very clear/careful when mixing sex and alcohol.” Another participant commented, “I’ve become more aware of the influence alcohol has and how it can be dangerous.” Though many of these responses hinted at the possible dangerous consequences of mixing alcohol and sex, they did not specifically state that the participant believed in refraining from sexual activity when drinking.

A second subcategory of alcohol-related comments ($n = 20$) involved statements that intimacy under the influence of alcohol was inappropriate. The most basic statements in this category indicated that sex while drinking is ill advised and “should just never mix.” One participant explained, “I think people should always watch to see how much they drink or if they do get rowdy do it in a safe environment. Whenever alcohol becomes involved, steer clear from girls as far as physical [sic] goes.” Men who elaborated on their attitudes discussed how sex under the influence may lead to regrettable consequences, as one man stated when he wrote, “I think that sexual activity under the influence of alcohol or drugs can be a very slippery slope. Alcohol and intimate relations are not a safe combination because one or both parties can make mistakes that they will regret for their life.” Another commented, “The Men’s Program allowed me to become more aware of the fact that

alcohol may cause some to do things they don't want to . . . so it be the right/smart thing to do to only have intercourse while both parties are sober." Even when participants were in committed relationships, some reported that they still believed that they should refrain from sexual activity when drinking. This was exemplified by one participant who said, "I just know that alcohol and sexual activity tends not to be a good idea. I even try not to get into sexual anything with my girlfriend when one of us/both of us have been drinking."

Rape is very serious. One fourth of participants ($n = 33$) who reported attitude changes said that they understood the dynamics surrounding and seriousness of rape much better after seeing the program. Participants stated, "I realize that rape is normally not someone jumping out of the bushes, but normally occurs between acquaintances," and "I understand that sex is a choice and should not be forced upon anyone. The video showed rape as a power struggle." Another participant commented, "I am much more aware of how and when sexual assault can occur. I now know how important it is that, especially at colleges, sexual assault and rape can be taken as serious as possible." Showing greater understanding of ways to help a survivor, one participant said, "I still find it difficult to think that I would be able to contain my rage at another man if he harmed a woman that I know, but I realized that that course of action does not solve anything."

Some added that they understood rape to be a more common issue than before seeing the program. One man wrote, "I have a much better understanding of the magnitude and frequency in which rape occurs on college campuses, and I better understand the seriousness of rape." Another commented "I am definitely now much more aware of how big a problem this is, after being presented with all of these stats." Furthermore, one student said, "I see rape as a much more serious issue than before especially after discussing its lasting emotional effects on the victim."

I now understand the trauma of rape better. The third category, in which almost one quarter of participants reporting attitude changes fell ($n = 30$), included those who reported a greater understanding of the trauma women go through during and after a sexual assault. Noting this trauma one participant wrote, "I am more understanding of the harsh reality and physical and emotional stress that occurs to the victim." Another wrote, "I now have a better understanding of what it would feel like to be raped after having seen the film. The film did a good job of showing men what women go through during and after a rape." In addition, discussing the effects of rape on women after the incident, one student explained, "I now understand how much more of a stigma it can be to be a rape victim, and the terrible ordeal they go through after the rape has occurred." Another student wrote, "I also understand better

now why some women don't report rape—it makes a spectacle of something that a woman would prefer to forget.”

Communication is critical to consent. The fourth theme, consisting of almost one fifth ($n = 24$) participants who reported attitude changes, consisted of the importance of communication and consent during sexual activity. A few participants noted the relationship between alcohol and consent. One participant wrote, “There's little in the way of consensual sex when alcohol is involved,” and another said the he was now “more concerned with getting definite consent before engaging in sexual activity.” Discussing the importance of communication, one said, “It's been a while, but I definitely communicate more in intimate situations now than I did before.”

Attitudes reinforced. The final theme, describing those students whose attitudes were reinforced by the Men's Program, consisted of 14% of all participants ($n = 26$). Though some said that their attitudes were “the same as before,” 2 participants elaborated saying, “I've always been against rape and my high school did a good job raising awareness early on, so one in four reaffirmed my beliefs,” and “Not really. I always thought rape was bad and didn't think women deserve it for any actions they did.” Thus, these participants did not experience any attitude change per se; however, their attitudes were apparently already similar to those that the program sought to bring about.

Causes, consequences, and relationships. Given that 2 academic years passed, it is noteworthy that participants were able to refer to attitude changes and attribute them to specific program aspects. In response to questions about whether The Men's Program had any effect on their attitudes, an overwhelming majority wrote that it had. Some responses to this question were more consistent with change in knowledge than attitudes. One example of this was a response noting a greater awareness about the prevalence of rape due to the statistics presented in the program. Most others conveyed a deeper attitudinal response, such as reporting increased awareness of understanding how and when sexual assault can occur combined with a feeling that rape be taken as seriously as possible. It is interesting that some wrote about their behavior in response to a question about attitudes. It may be that participants wanted to write down all of their feedback in response to initial questions. It appeared that a cause of participants attitude change was that the program was presenting new information to them. Participants reported consequences of seeing the program were changed attitudes related to program goals including how to establish consent, increased victim empathy, increased understanding that intoxication can negate consent, and better understanding of rape trauma. When participants reported that they did not learn new information, they often reported that the program reinforced their current beliefs. The relationship

between the program and its goals appear to match strongly when participants' responses to open-ended questions are analyzed.

Behavior

In response to the third and fourth questions, participants reported whether their behavior had changed as a result of seeing The Men's Program. Question 3 was, "Since seeing the 'One in Four' program, have there been any situations in which you have behaved any differently in any situation as a result of seeing the program? If so, please describe in detail how you behaved differently." Question 4 was, "More specifically, was there any situation since seeing the 'One in Four' program involving alcohol and potential or actual intimate sexual activity where you or others who were with behaved differently as a result of seeing the 'One in Four' program? If so, please describe in detail how you or they behaved differently." Nearly half of participants ($n = 85$, 46%) reported specific behavior changes 2 academic years after seeing The Men's Program. These changes included a wide range of behaviors that not only contributed to the prevention of sexual assaults but also challenged the way language was used to perpetuate a culture that condones rape. The following five themes emerged: (1) I intervene to keep my friends safe, (2) no sex with alcohol, (3) acting on a deeper understanding of communication and consent, (4) stop joking about rape, and (5) no situations have arisen.

I intervene to keep my friends safe. One fifth of participants who reported a behavior change ($n = 21$) described specific ways of intervening to keep their friends safe. These behaviors ranged from helping friends anticipate risky situations to reporting that they intervened in an attempt to prevent alcohol-related sexual activity from occurring. A large group of these participants ($n = 11$) reported that they looked out for their friends at parties and other events where alcohol was present. Men explained that they looked out for their female friends to make sure other men did not take advantage of them and they looked out for their male friends to make sure they didn't drink too much or become forceful around women. One participant wrote, "Me and my friends look out for each other and any girls who looked like they were getting into dangerous situations." Another said, ". . . I tend to moderate my friends' (guys and girls) drinking when I see it is leading them to sexual activity they wouldn't otherwise participate in. . . ." Another form of proactive behavior involved taking women back to their own rooms safely at the end of the night. One participant commented, "I have made sure the young females close to me have been safe when walking alone and understood the

potential for sexual assault.” Another said, “Yes, I don’t let any girls that I know walk alone late at night.”

The second subcategory in this group ($n = 10$) included participants who intervened when they thought a sexual assault was about to occur. In these situations, participants intervened and made sure their male or female friends were more aware of their actions and the potential consequences. One said, “There was one time when a friend was going to engage in sexual activity with a girl who was really drunk. Me and a couple of other guys intervened because the girl seemed out of it. . . . They ended up not having sex.” Another story of taking a male friend aside was told by a participant who wrote, “. . . I have had to talk to them about what they are getting into, and trying to do.” Finally, one participant described how he got a woman out of a “potentially scary situation.” The proactive behaviors described by these participants included actions that presumably prevented sexual assaults from occurring as well as actions that were aimed at getting men to understand their behaviors and consequences of them.

No sex with alcohol. The second theme to emerge from the data consisted of men who reported cases where they realized the negative consequences of sexual activity while under the influence and chose to refrain from such activity. These 9 participants, consisting of 11% of the students who reported a behavior change, described how they refrained from sexual activity when either they or a woman they were with in an intimate situation were intoxicated. Some students took action before a sexual situation occurred to ensure they did not engage in any unwanted activity. For example, one man said, “When I consume alcohol I distance myself from hanging out with just one girl and hang out with groups.” When sexual activity was likely to occur, participants stopped things from progressing even if both parties may not have appeared overly intoxicated. One man wrote,

A woman had consumed alcohol, and although she wasn’t passing out drunk and seemed coherent, we refrained from sexual activity. Regardless of my personal views of rape and alcohol, I’m aware that situations can easily be misconstrued and get out of control, and I don’t want to risk having that happen to a woman, or me.

Similarly, another participant said, “A girl had been drinking a lot and wanted to hook up. I asked that she talk to me when sober. She said she didn’t have the courage to talk about it when sober, so I said it shouldn’t happen at all.”

Acting on a deeper understanding of communication and consent. Almost 10% of participants who reported behavioral changes ($n = 8$) explained that

they better understood the importance of openly communicating with their partner and making sure she consented. One student wrote that he was “much more careful and attentive with [his] partner,” and another wrote, “When making out, I’m slower to do stuff and quicker to back off if a girl says ‘that’s enough.’ I say, ‘I’m sorry, was that over the line.’” Finally, one participant wrote that he stopped when a girl said no.

In addition, participants also described the potentially harmful effects alcohol can have on one’s actions and ability to communicate. Discussing the influence of alcohol, one participant wrote, “I try to be less pursuant of sexual activity with my girlfriend. When I’m drunk, understanding that sometimes I do not realize her intentions or how I go about the issue,” and another said that he was “more aware of how communication is important when dealing with intimate situations, and more aware of my actions towards women once drinking.”

Stop joking about rape. The fourth behavioral category, consisting of just fewer than 10% of those who reported behavioral change ($n = 7$), related to jokes about rape. These students explained that they stopped making rape jokes and using the word *rape* out of context. One student said that he is now “respectful and ceasing *rape* humor jokes with friends.” Another student wrote, “I do not use the term ‘rape’ arbitrarily or as a verb to describe an unfortunate situation (e.g., ‘I got raped by that exam. . .).” Another reported that he has “tried to get other people to stop joking about rape.”

No situations have arisen. Finally, 29 participants (16%) reported that no situations had arisen where they had behaved differently. These responses included comments such as “The situation hasn’t arisen” and “I’ve not been in a situation where such a thing would come up.”

Causes, consequences, and relationships. One major relationship between the program and its participants was that a sizeable number of men were motivated to intervene in situations where rape seemed imminent. A consequence of this intervention was that it appears that cases of rape may not have occurred. The cause of this intervention, as reported by participants, was their seeing The Men’s Program. This was perhaps the most noteworthy result of the present study. An equally desirable result was men’s increased self-discipline after they and/or women they were with in potentially intimate situations had consumed alcohol. Several men reported that the program influenced them to change their behavior and that as a consequence they did not engage in intimate activity with a woman when alcohol was involved. This provides evidence of a relationship between materials added to The Men’s Program encouraging men to avoid alcohol-related intimate encounters and their subsequent avoidance of them.

Discussion

This study evaluated the impact of a repeatedly researched and consistently updated rape prevention program, The Men's Program (Foubert, 2005), on a group of college men who saw a revised version of this program that added bystander intervention training in alcohol-related situations. This addition was shown in a quantitative study to lead an experimental group of men who joined fraternities to commit fewer incidents of sexual assault during a 7-month period than a control group of like men who did not see the program (Foubert et al., 2007).

The purpose of the present study was to determine whether men who saw The Men's Program during their first month of college would report any effects on their attitudes and behavior at the end of their sophomore year. To the surprise of the authors, a higher percentage of participants reported attitude and behavior changes at the 2-year follow-up (79%) than at a 7-month follow-up reported in a previous study (66%; Foubert, Tatum, & Godin, *in press*).

The present study showed evidence of attitude and behavior change 2 years after program participation following a single intervention. Aside from the fact that nearly 4 out of 5 participants reported either attitude or behavior change two academic years after program participation, the most noteworthy finding of the present study was that participant responses offered evidence that fewer rapes occurred and that they credited this to seeing The Men's Program. Participants described incidents in which they saw male friends about to rape intoxicated women, they intervened, and the incident stopped. It is important to note that just because such incidents stopped at the time, they may have continued later. Others described how they did not engage in intimate behavior when they or a potential female partner was intoxicated. Still others reported being more responsive when they heard, "No." These results attest to the strength of influence of program's effects to change behavior 2 years after participation.

Those who reported attitude change at times showed that such change set the stage for behavior change. For example, many reported changes in attitudes focusing on alcohol-related sexual assault. Such change focused on the dangers of mixing alcohol and intimate activity and a newfound understanding of the importance of avoiding sexual contact when intoxicated. They also reported evidence of the empathy and understanding necessary to connect with the survivor experience and better help them recover.

Similar to the qualitative results found by Foubert et al. (*in press*) 7 months after seeing The Men's Program, the present study found men to report an

increased understanding of rape, a greater understanding that alcohol and intimacy are a dangerous combination, and that intervening when a friend appears to be attempting to hook up with an intoxicated woman is something that one should do. In the current study, there was a stronger theme of action to intervene when one saw an alcohol-related sexual assault about to occur, to curb one's inclination to engage in alcohol-related intimate encounters, and to look out for the safety of intoxicated friends who might be at risk for committing or falling victim to sexual assault. This strong theme of action may be due to the fact that the study took place two academic years after seeing the program, giving more time for these situations to occur.

In addition, in the present study, we were able to broaden our understanding of the program's impact over time by asking participants to use their own words. In doing so we discovered a much wider variety of impact areas. This suggests that quantitative measures might not be sophisticated enough to pick up on what qualitative questions elicit. This lends credence to using data triangulation methods when determining programmatic impact.

Quantitative studies of this program (Foubert et al., 2007) have only been able to show program effects asked by measures used. For example, prior studies of this program used the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale to assess attitude change. This scale only has one item relating to alcohol (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). This is a major deficit given that in 72% to 81% of cases in which a man rapes a woman (college students), the woman is intoxicated (Lisak & Miller, 2002; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004). Thus, one of the primary measures used to determine the efficacy of The Men's Program and other rape prevention programs does not measure the kind of sexual assault most common among college students. Thus, this study added to the literature by assessing the impact of men's perceptions of the program in their own words unencumbered by the limitations of a survey that doesn't substantially assess alcohol-related variables.

Men's responses to questions in this study greatly expand our understanding of what responses on quantitative pretest scales reflect. For example, the present study revealed that male participants understood that mixing alcohol and sexual activity was a dangerous practice, that they became more careful in such situations. Many saw alcohol-related intimacy as inappropriate and developed a heightened concern with consent. These attitudes were discovered by providing men with the means to comment on the program in their own words. Established quantitative measures are not so specific as to measure whether participants view alcohol-related sexual activity as appropriate. Even if such measures existed, having participants express these ideas in their own words maintains the authenticity of their responses.

Men's responses that they decided not to have sex when they or their partner was intoxicated were simpler to find through qualitative methods. In prior studies, quantitative methods assessed acts of perpetration before and after seeing the Men's Program. By using qualitative methods, we were able to ask participants to report what decisions they made and why. The stories elicited from written responses provided data that could be interpreted and categorized into themes, providing a more detailed picture of programmatic impact. In addition, we were able to determine that the message of The Men's Program to avoid mixing alcohol and intercourse got through to some participants.

There were no comments in the present study either reflecting program participant's confrontation of explicitly sexist comments or confronting "hook-up" stories told after the fact that were cases of sexual assault. Though some participants reported confronting jokes about rape, men likely need more than just a small section of a 1-hr program to understand the dynamics of sexism to understand its dynamics and feel compelled to confront it. In addition, though many participants intervened to help prevent a potential rape situation from occurring, it did not seem that they were compelled to confront a situation after the fact. Regarding the program evaluated in this study, it can be inferred from the lack of comments about confronting peers sexist comments that more program development in this area is warranted. Though it may be difficult to explain all of the dynamics of sexism in a small section of a one hour program, a program revision in this area could lead to improved results. In addition, from the lack of comments regarding confronting peers who discuss their recent experiences that meet the definition of sexual assault, more program development in that area is needed.

Research has established the importance of active bystander intervention and the ability of programs to produce such change (Banyard et al., 2007). Interestingly, men perceive that their friends are less willing to intervene to prevent rape than they themselves are willing (Stein, 2007). Though this suggests that men misperceive their friends' willingness to intervene, it does indicate that men are more willing to intervene to begin with than we might otherwise suspect. When given the opportunity to reflect on the importance of intervening and the training to do so, such as with the program used in the present study, incidents of rape can be prevented.

Limitations

This study took place on only one campus in the Southeast and is limited by the fact that students from only that highly selective campus were sampled.

Though many more students were sampled than for most qualitative studies, depth of responses was sacrificed for breadth of responses. The response rate of 55% of the original survey population for a 2-year follow-up can be considered good; however, we do not know how the other 45% of participants would have responded. We also don't know how men not exposed to the intervention would respond. It could be that maturation could lead to attitude and behavior change.

That more participants in this study reported attitude and behavior change (79%) than in an earlier study (66%) with only a 7-month follow-up (Foubert et al., in press) could mean that participants had more time to use the material learned in the program. It could also be that the participants who were located were also those who were more likely to use the program material than those who were not located and/or did not respond. It could also be that men were writing about the times they were using the material they learned from the program but not writing about the times when they did not use the material in the program. Future research should assess not only when the material from the program was used but also how often it wasn't used. A specific question asking participants to report about incidents in which they did not intervene in accordance with material they learned in the program would be instructive to help improve the program and to better pinpoint its precise effects on participants.

Another limitation of this study is the sample included 13% students of color and not enough of any population was sampled to discuss differences by racial group. In addition, the study was limited in that open-ended questions were used on a written survey, which did not afford the researchers the opportunity to ask follow-up questions or to probe for more detail in participant responses. Also, given the anonymous nature of these surveys, researchers were unable to conduct individual member checking to assess the trustworthiness of our interpretations. Given that the method of data collection used was self-reported questionnaires, the present study relies on the accuracy of the statements made by participants. Given that this was a study about sexual assault, one could reasonably expect a higher level of social desirability in responses than in other studies given participant motivations to be perceived as good guys and not as rapists.

Implications

This study suggests that adding bystander intervention training focusing on alcohol-related situations to an empathy-based peer education program can be successful in motivating men to intervene as bystanders to prevent rape.

Such programs can also successfully encourage men to change their own behavior so that they make different decisions resulting in avoiding nonconsensual activity and more effective consensual practices. Further research using in depth interviews or focus groups with program participants could add depth to our findings to help clarify what about the program led to changes and how it can be further improved. In addition, future research with program participants on multiple campuses with a mixed quantitative and qualitative design is a logical next step in the research on the effects of this and other similar programs to determine the generalizability of these findings.

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