

Working Paper #5

The "A Man" Campaign: Marketing Social Norms to Men to Prevent Sexual Assault

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Editor's Note

An emerging "edge" in the social norms field is the application of the model to issues of violence and diversity. While the literature on social norms now contains a number of studies documenting successful interventions for alcohol and tobacco use, there are few, if any, examples of successful interventions for these other issues. The last Working Paper addressed issues of homophobia in a small group setting, but was not empirically evaluated. This latest addition to the literature presents the first successful application of the social norms model to issues of violence prevention that has been carefully evaluated. Susan Bruce is to be complimented for her thoughtful, innovative, and well-documented effort to expose college men to anti-rape messages. Her program also provides an example of the synergy between program elements that can increase the effectiveness of social norms marketing campaigns.

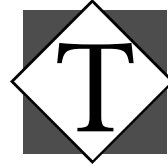
This is the fifth Working Paper of seven to be issued this year. Each Working Paper focuses on a particular aspect of theory, research, methodology, or application of the social norms approach. The goal is to help advance the field of social norms by providing a lively forum for best practices, controversial issues, and creative applications. Each Working Paper is a "work in progress" rather than a final statement and is offered to stimulate thought and discussion.

We are extremely interested in your comments on each Working Paper. You can send them to Alan Berkowitz, Editor of *The Report on Social Norms*, or to the authors of each paper.

Thank you!

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This paper describes James Madison University's (JMU) social norms marketing program to reduce coercive sexual behavior among heterosexual men. JMU is a coeducational state university in a rural location with an enrollment of over 14,000 students, primarily undergraduate. The program is based on two models – the socio-cultural theory that coercive behavior by men is rooted in traditional male socialization and social norming theory. A socio-cultural approach to rape prevention views sexual assault as a result of the normal socialization process for men (Berkowitz, 1992; Kilmartin, 2001). Currently there are a number of different programs emphasizing men's responsibility for preventing sexual assault based on research suggesting that effective programs for men are all-male, interactive and involve peers (Berkowitz, 2002).

Research indicates that men overestimate other men's sexual activity, adherence to rape myths and willingness to use coercion to get sex, suggesting the appropriateness of a social norms approach to sexual assault prevention (Berkowitz, forthcoming). Kilmartin and his colleagues (1999) found that men overestimate the prevalence of sexist beliefs among men and underestimate men's discomfort with behaviors that objectify women, thus leading men to consider sexism to be the norm. They also documented increased accuracy in men's perception of other men's discomfort with sexist attitudes

after only a three-week social norming campaign.

Project Design. The JMU "A Man Respects a Woman" project was developed through a grant from the Virginia Department of Health in the 1999-2000 academic year and continued on a limited scale without funding the following year. The long-term goal was to reduce sexual assault among JMU women as measured by the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Gidycz, 1985) and through archival data. Short-term objectives included increasing accurate perceptions of non-coercive sexual behavior norms and reducing self-reported coercive behaviors by men. The project contained three interrelated components: 1) a social norms marketing campaign directed at men, 2) a theater presentation addressing male socialization issues, and 3) male-to-male peer education.

A quasi-experimental design was used with four male-only organizations recruited to serve as the treatment group. These groups posted social norms marketing flyers in their living and working areas and attended two educational programs: Dr. Christopher Kilmartin's play, *Crimes Against Nature* (a solo performance piece that addresses male socialization issues) and a presentation by a male peer education group. Four additional groups were used as a comparison group. They received no specific social marketing or sexual assault education interventions. Although the eight groups were not randomly selected, they were randomly assigned to the treatment or control condition.

Survey Development. The College Date Rape Attitudes and Behavior Survey (Lanier and Elliot,

1997) and the Discomfort with Sexism Scale (Kilmartin et. al, 1999) were adapted to form an evaluation instrument and to develop social norming messages. The College Date Rape Attitudes and Behavior Survey measures men's rape-supportive attitudes and behaviors and was adapted to also assess perception of the "average JMU male's" attitudes and behaviors. The Discomfort with Sexism Scale examines men's level of comfort in sexist situations, and was adapted to reflect local student language and situations with the assistance of several male student leaders. Six additional questions were added to examine bystander and other rape-supportive behaviors.

The resulting 82-item JMU Attitudes and Behaviors Survey (JMU-ABS) instrument was administered to the eight all-male organizations in the treatment and control conditions in October 1999 (see survey instrument on page 7). In addition, it was administered in classes drawn from all schools and class years, with students in eleven academic classes completing the first 41 questions of the JMU-ABS (assessing their own attitudes and behaviors) and students in another eleven classes completing the 41 perceptions of how the "average JMU male student" would respond. Including the eight all-male organizations, a total of 425 men and 304 women completed the JMU-ABS sections assessing their own behaviors and attitudes, and 464 -four men and 367 women completed the perceptions survey. Data from women was used for comparison purposes.

The Sexual Experiences Survey was adapted to include several JMU-specific questions about past-year experiences and was mailed to a random sample of 1,726 students drawn by Administrative Computing Services, with two follow-up reminders. Four hundred fifty-five surveys were returned for an overall return rate of 32.5% (42.1% for women and 21.9% for men.). Women's experiences were similar to national data (Koss, 1988).

Social Norms Media Development.

Two all-male focus groups were conducted to learn about JMU men's assumptions about the causes of sexual assault in order to develop credible and appropriate prevention messages. Focus groups are frequently used in social norms campaigns to help with message development and student response to messages (Fabiano and Lederman, 2002). A random sample of eighty men was contacted by e-mail to request their participation with a target of 6-8 participants per group. The groups were conducted in campus meeting rooms by trained male graduate student facilitators. Each participant received \$10 for participating.

The focus group questions addressed men's definitions of consent and sexual coercion as well as their beliefs about effective prevention messages and bystander behavior (failing to speak up when uncomfortable with a peer's attitudes or behaviors). Despite multiple requests for participation, only four men attended the first group and three attended the second group. In an effort to reach more students, an additional group was planned, but only one student signed up. Although the \$10 incentive had been very successful in recruiting first year students to participate in other projects, it may have been too small for upperclass students.

There was some consensus among the men that focusing on 1) male self-control, 2) avoiding alcohol use, and 3) the importance of communication in relationships would be the best way to approach men about the issue of sexual coercion. The men tended to blame drinking as the "real" source of sexual assault. They believed that women and men needed to take responsibility for their actions, especially when alcohol was involved. However, much of the conversation focused on women's responsibility for self-protection. When the men were challenged to think of how men could prevent sexual assault, they focused almost exclusively on the

role of alcohol, although some brought up men's need to have self-control in any situation. A few voiced their belief that rapists can't be controlled because they are psychologically aberrant or that the only way to educate men is to use scare tactics. Generally, the men believed that sexual assault education for men is too challenging unless the University somehow mandates it. The focus groups also revealed that many of the men were truly confused about what actions constitute sexual coercion.

The three messages selected initially were based on positive normative survey data that reflected one of the themes described above, and for which there were underestimations of healthy behaviors. The three messages were:

- n 9 out of 10 JMU men stop the first time their date says "no" to sexual activity (self-control theme)
- n 4 out of 5 JMU men believe that alcohol and other drugs affects their sexual decision-making (alcohol theme)
- n Over half of JMU men believe talking about sex doesn't destroy the romance of the moment (communication theme)

Message and Poster Design.

To design the posters, a graphic arts instructor agreed to conduct a design competition for the social norms project as a class assignment. The class received a brief lecture on the project and the social norms approach and each student submitted a series of poster designs. The Health Promotion staff and several peer educators selected the top three designs based on creativity, appropriateness to campus culture, and potential printing costs. Each set was pre-tested with at least 50 men through intercept surveys at health fairs and in residence hall common areas.

The top two designs were then pre-tested with focus groups utilizing the e-mail strategy described above to recruit participants. Each group discussed only one set of posters. Additional men were

recruited through the Department of Athletics, the Center for Multicultural and International Student Services and the Office of Residence Life.

The focus group questions were designed to help us understand how JMU men would respond to the posters. There was a concern that men might misinterpret the messages and that the campaign might trigger defensive responses that would be counter-productive to project goals. Conducting the groups with the potential flyers was one of the most valuable components of the campaign. A number of important issues were identified that were not clear through the intercept surveys. In addition to asking students what they liked and didn't like about the posters, men were also asked if there were any parts of the flyers that seemed inappropriate, offensive, or made them angry. These questions often elicited unexpected responses.

One of the posters combined traffic signs with the normative messages. Although the men liked the use of familiar elements in a new way, they felt that

the emphasis was too much on the graphic design and too little on the message content. Suggestions to improve the flyers focused on color and increasing the font size so that the main message would be more easily understood. However, in the end all the men all felt that the message was negative. One stated, "It's making you stop and slow down. It tells you to 'Limit, Stop, Yield.'" Instead of telling men what to do, it focused on what not to do. In addition, the men disagreed over whether using campus-specific statistics would increase or decrease credibility. Some thought that men might feel defensive as a result, while others believed specificity to JMU men was more powerful

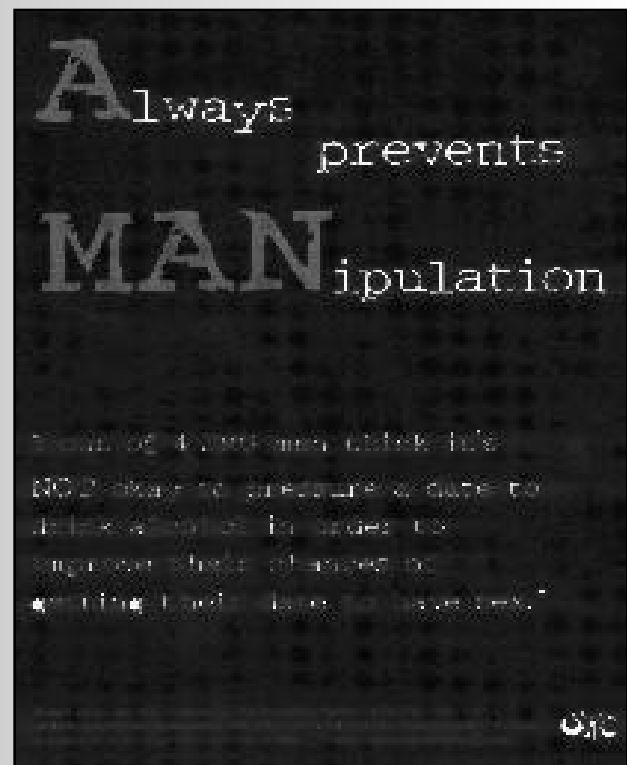
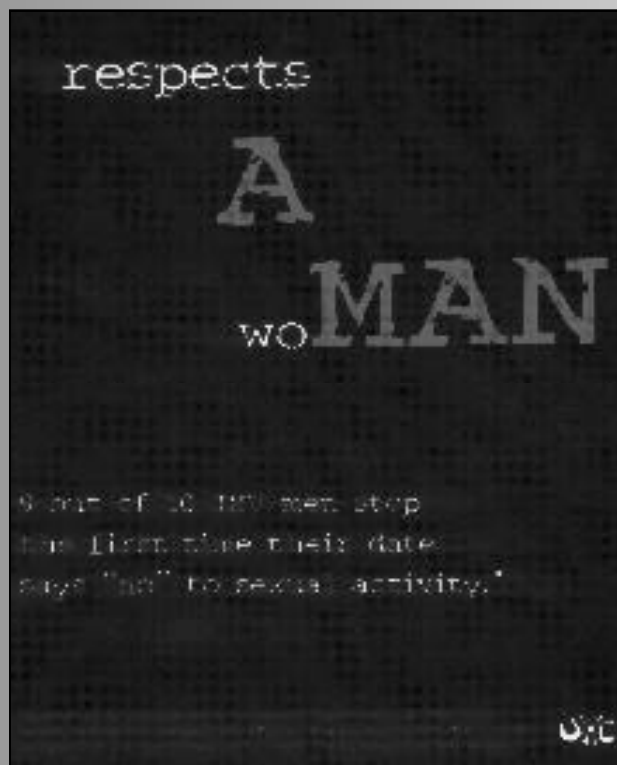
The "A Man" flyers also generated a great deal of discussion. Most agreed that the layout was positive and eye-catching and that the dual message would make men think about the deeper issues of sexual violence. They liked the emphasis on being a man and most agreed with the general statements and

statistics. While some said the statistics were "suspect" and that men were "faking good behavior," others thought the numbers were too low. There was some discussion about using an actual percentage instead of "4 out of 5" or "9 out of 10." There was also a tendency to see the message as "how to prevent regretted sex" on the male's part instead of how to prevent raping a woman.

This question about inappropriate content brought up several new interpretations of the flyer. Several men described the alcohol message as referring to "beer goggles" or regretted sex on the part of the man instead of focusing on sexual aggression or rape. Several men thought that the communication message was referring to condom use, not consent for sexual activity.

As a result of this information the project coordinators decided to use the "AMan" series. It generated the greatest level of discussion and men considered the message to be more positive than the traffic sign series. The consent message was amended to include the

Two of James Madison University's (JMU) "A Man" Posters



statement "Talking about it can make sure you have consent." After several attempts to clarify the "4 out of 5 JMU men believe that alcohol and other drugs affects their sexual decision-making" statistic so that most men would perceive the message to be about sexual coercion and consent, the coordinators decided to find another statistic that would better communicate the message. The three final messages were:

1. A Man Respects a Woman: 9 out of 10 JMU men stop the first time their date says "no" to sexual activity.
2. A Man Always Prevents Manipulation: 3 out of 4 men think it's NOT okay to pressure a date to drink alcohol in order to improve their chances of getting their date to have sex.
3. A Man Talks Before Romance: Most JMU men believe talking about sex doesn't destroy the romance of the moment. Talking about it can make sure you have consent.

A revised version of the three designs was re-tested through 50 intercept surveys. Men liked the revised messages and very few appeared defensive when presented with the posters, especially as compared to the original design. The student who designed the flyers received \$100. The flyers were posted in the treatment group areas from spring break through the end of the academic year. A website was developed to provide students with an opportunity to provide feedback on the messages and campaign, although none did.

Complimentary Program Components. As noted earlier, the JMU project contains three interrelated components: 1) the social norms marketing campaign, 2) a theater presentation addressing male socialization issues, and 3) male-to-male peer education. These programs elements were designed to be synergistic and mutually-reinforcing.

Crimes Against Nature is an 80-minute solo performance piece that examines masculinity with a humorous and personal approach. It addresses male socialization issues, including acceptance of rape myths and perception of peer acceptance of rape supportive attitudes and behaviors. Dr. Kilmartin performed *Crimes Against Nature* in the fall of 1999. In addition to an evening performance that was attended by the men in the four treatment groups and several hundred other students, the play was held in the afternoon as a staff development program for the Division of Student Affairs. Over 600 students, faculty and staff attended one of the two performances. Following each performance Dr. Kilmartin discussed issues raised by the play with audience members and the following day he participated in a brown bag discussion for faculty and staff on ways to facilitate student learning on men's issues. Pre/post program evaluations indicate that participants confronted their own attitudes and behaviors and were "more likely to expand their view of 'Ideal Man' to include more traditionally 'feminine' characteristics" such as gentle, nurturing, caring, etc." (Kilmartin, 1998).

The original plan for the male peer education program was to adapt an existing model to address JMU-specific social norms and issues. Presentations would build on the issues raised in *Crimes Against Nature* and the social norms marketing campaign by focusing on reducing acceptance of rape myths and increasing accurate perceptions of positive normative sexual behaviors. Unfortunately, the coordinators of the peer education group selected a program that did not address these issues and did not include social

norming information. Thus, by failing to directly address how coercive behavior by men is rooted in traditional male socialization, the presentations may have undermined the social norming media instead of supporting and building on them. It is not known if the project would have had a stronger impact with the inclusion of this material in the group sessions or the use of a different workshop format.

Year One Evaluation. In spring 2000 one treatment group was no longer affiliated with JMU and another group didn't schedule the educational program post-test. The survey was administered to the four comparison groups and two remaining treatment groups in April 2000 as a post-test. Five additional questions were added to assess which programs the students attended and to determine if members of the comparison group were exposed to any of the interventions. Only a small percentage of the comparison group (4%) attended or saw any of the three interventions.

The pre-testing data identified statistically significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups. The comparison groups reported more healthy behaviors and perceptions than the treatment groups as well as more accurate perceptions of the average JMU male's behaviors, although only one item (coercive behaviors) showed significant differences between the two groups.

TABLE 1. SIGNIFICANT TREATMENT GROUP CHANGES (YEAR 1)

- Decreases in the % of men believing that the average JMU man:
- has sex when he is intoxicated
 - won't stop sexual activity when asked to if he is already sexually aroused
 - makes out in remotely parked cars
- Changes in the percentage of men who indicated they:
- "stop the first time my date says 'no' to sexual activity" (increase)
 - agree that "When I want to touch someone sexually I try it and see how they react"

At the post-test for the treatment groups, eight of the twelve perception scores improved in the desired direction, three with statistical significance ($p < .10$). For the self-reported attitudes and behaviors, seven of the ten behavioral measures and one of the two attitude measures improved scores in the desired direction, two with statistical significance ($p < .10$).

In contrast to these positive results, the perception gap increased for members of the comparison groups and perceptions of seven of the twelve behavioral and attitude items moved in the undesired direction (but without statistical significance). For self-reported attitudes and behaviors, seven of the ten behavioral measures and both of the attitude measures moved in the undesired direction, two with statistical significance ($p < .10$). There was a significant increase in the percentage of men who reported that they "have sex when my partner is intoxicated" and who indicated "If I could have sex with someone without their permission and no one would ever find out, I would do it."

In summary, at the end of year one, the treatment group improved on a number of measures, while undesirable attitudes and behaviors increased in the control group during the same period.

Year Two Implementation. In year two the program was expanded to include the entire campus. Social norms flyers were posted throughout JMU, as well as in all-male areas including locker rooms, residence halls bathrooms, and fraternity houses. *Crimes Against Nature* was presented in the fall, and the male peer education group continued offering presentations to male-only groups. A variety of materials developed during the first year of the project, including phone cards, pencils, magnets and lanyards, were distributed with the "A man respects a woman" message. The treatment groups were not exposed to any additional programs.

Year Two Evaluation. The instrument was administered to the

seven remaining treatment and comparison groups in April 2001 as a one-year follow-up (including one of the treatment groups that did not take the initial follow-up survey). The instructors who administered the original survey agreed to participate in the post-test. Students in eleven classes completed the questions assessing their own attitudes and behaviors, and students in another eleven classes completed the questions assessing their perceptions of how the "average JMU male student" would respond. Including students in the seven treatment and comparison groups, 340 men and 348 women completed the JMU-ABS assessing their own behaviors and attitudes and 305 men and 318 women completed the sections assessing their perceptions of the "typical" JMU man.

The results of the second year, campus-wide post-test indicated that men on campus had become more accurate in their perceptions of other men's behaviors. Ten of the twelve behavioral and attitude perception scores improved in the desired direction, three with statistical significance ($p < .10$). Both of the attitude measures indicated significant change in the

desired direction. Four of the ten self-reported behavioral measures changed in the desired direction, one with statistical significance ($p < .10$). Of the six behavioral items that changed in the undesired direction, one item ("I have sex when my partner is intoxicated") changed significantly ($p < .05$).

In the 2001 follow-up treatment group post-

test, men continued to become more accurate in their perceptions of other men's behaviors. Eight of the twelve behavioral and attitude perception scores improved in the desired direction, two with statistical significance ($p < .10$). Of the remaining behavioral items, three remained above 1999 baseline levels and the one item that declined in 2000 also declined in 2001. For self-reported attitudes and behaviors, both of the attitudinal measures improved and one of the ten behavioral measures improved from 2000 levels. Of the remaining nine behavioral items, three remained above baseline levels, three moved in the undesired direction each year, and three items that improved in 2000 dropped below 1999 baseline levels in 2002.

The 2001 follow-up post-test for the control groups indicated that in comparison to the 2000 data, men became more accurate in their perceptions of other men's behaviors. Nine of the twelve behavioral and attitude perception scores improved in the desired direction, one with statistical significance ($p < .01$). Of the remaining behavioral items, two did not drop below 1999 baseline levels

TABLE 2. SIGNIFICANT ALL-CAMPUS CHANGES (YEAR 2)

Decreases were found in the percentage of men who believe the average JMU man:

- "has sex when his partner is intoxicated"
- "won't stop sexual activity when asked to if he is already sexually aroused"
- wants "to touch someone sexually I try it and see how they react"

Decreases were found in the percentage of men who indicated:

- they "believe that talking about sex destroys the romance of the moment"
- they think it is "okay to pressure a date to drink alcohol in order to improve one's chances of getting one's date to have sex"
- "when I want to touch someone sexually, I try and see how they react"

An increase was found in the percentage of men who indicated:

- "I have sex when my partner is intoxicated"

See the "A Man" website for more complete information: <http://www.jmu.edu/healthctr/aMan>

and the one item that did decline from 1999 levels also declined in 2000. For control group self-reported attitudes and behaviors, both of the attitude measures improved in the desired direction and eight of the ten behavioral measures improved from 2000 levels, one with statistical significance ($p < .10$). Of the remaining behavioral items, one behavior moved in the undesired direction each year, and the other item improved in 2000, but dropped in 2001 to below 1999 baseline levels.

In summary, at one-year post-test, when the whole campus was exposed to the campaign, treatment group improvements declined slightly but continued to be positive, and the negative trend for the control group was reversed, with a number of positive changes.

Discussion. This campaign suggests that a social norms media campaign can be successful in changing heterosexual men's attitudes and behaviors regarding sexual intimacy with women. Additional focus groups would have been helpful to understand how men interpreted the messages and to know if post-test responses were due to greater self-awareness. Intercept surveys could have assessed message saturation, believability, and impact. Unfortunately the Sexual Experiences Survey was not re-administered in 2001. Collection of this data in 2001 and again in 2003 would have allowed the campus to identify any emerging trends.

The researchers do not know how men interpret the "90% of men stop the first time their date says no" survey question. Warshaw (1988) indicates that men who engage in coercive behavior may believe they have consent when in fact they do not. More research is needed to understand how men interpret issues of consent and to develop survey questions which capture these behaviors more precisely.

Although a slight rebound effect was seen among the treatment groups at the one-year follow-up, it is impressive

to see lingering positive effects. The original impact seen at the end of the first year may have resulted from the synergy of the three interventions within a short time period along with the impact of having a male authority figure within their organization attend the educational sessions with them.

The impact of the campaign on women is unknown, but several outcomes are possible. Some female survivors might feel empowered to know that most men are not like the man or men who have assaulted them, while others may feel greater self-blame. These women might blame themselves for always "picking the wrong guy." Some women who have not had coercive experiences might become more cautious and/or fearful in their actions. Conducting focus group with women to see how they interpret the messages would have been advisable.

Recommendations and Lessons Learned. The JMU campaign may have been successful due to a synergy of the three interventions. Men had several structured experiences dealing with masculinity issues while simultaneously seeing the social norms messages. Thus, it may be that the most effective use of a social norms marketing campaign is as a supplement to small group educational programs. In the absence of separate educational programs, alternative methods should be developed for creating structured discussions about the social norms media.

There is always a risk that students exposed to a media campaign will not have opportunities to process the information with trained peers or staff. As a result, pre-testing of campaign materials, especially with focus groups, is essential to ensure that unintended effects of the campaign are minimized. Focus groups can also help ensure that the messages are clearly understood by the target population.

Studies have shown that men are more comfortable, less defensive and

gain greater benefits from single-sex educational programs (Berkowitz, 2002, Kilmartin, 2001). For this reason, social norms marketing campaigns to reduce sexual coercion by men could be more effective when displayed in areas where women are generally not present (e.g., locker rooms, bathrooms, all-male residence hall floors and fraternity houses). Displaying posters in predominately mixed-gender areas could create greater defensiveness among men and decreased male social pressure to take responsibility for sexual assault.

To further advance the field, valid, reliable surveys are needed to assess positive, non-coercive behaviors among men. Although most instruments focus on men's acceptance of rape myths and engagement in coercive sexual behaviors, some newer surveys also include questions on perceptions of norms (*Social Norms Quarterly*, Spring 2002).

It is also imperative to have comprehensive administrative support. The JMU campaign benefited from a high level of support from staff in the Department of Athletics and in the Greek Affairs Office. Campus-wide support, particularly from faculty, will allow for a unified, consistent philosophy to be delivered throughout the campaign. A core group of male faculty, staff and student leaders should be identified and recruited to serve as an advisory board for the project. These men can help guide the campaign and strategize additional steps to reduce coercive and bystander behaviors among men.

Finally, campuses conducting similar campaigns need to understand their campus culture in order to design appropriate interventions. The project described in this paper was well suited to the JMU environment, but might be quite unsuccessful in another. Other campuses working on this issue need to know how men perceive the problem of sexual coercion as well as which issues and approaches resonate with them as

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James Madison University Attitudes and Behaviors Survey

**Based on the scale below, state your perceptions of the following statements:
A = Strongly Agree; B = Agree; C = Neutral; D = Disagree; E = Strongly Disagree**

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Males and females should share the expenses of a date.. "maybe."</p> <p>2. I believe that talking about sex destroys the romance of that particular moment.</p> <p>3. Most women enjoy being submissive in sexual relations.</p> <p>4. If a woman dresses in a sexy dress she is asking for sex.</p> <p>5. If a woman asks a man out on a date then she is definitely interested in having sex.</p> <p>6. In the majority of date rapes the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.</p> <p>7. A man is entitled to intercourse if his partner has agreed to it but at the last moment changed her mind.</p> <p>8. Many women pretend they don't want to have sex because they don't want to appear "easy."</p> <p>9. A man can control his behavior no matter how sexually aroused he feels.</p> <p>10. I believe that alcohol and other drugs affect my sexual decision-making.</p> <p>11. The degree of a woman's resistance should be a major factor in determining if a rape has occurred.</p> <p>12. When a woman says "no" to sex what she really means is</p> | <p>13. If a woman lets a man buy her dinner or pay for a movie or drinks, she owes him sex</p> <p>14. Women provoke rape by their behavior.</p> <p>15. Women often lie about being raped to get back at their dates.</p> <p>16. It is okay to pressure a date to drink alcohol in order to improve one's chances of getting one's date to have sex.</p> <p>17. When a woman asks her date back to her place, I expect that something sexual will take place.</p> <p>18. Date rapists are usually motivated by overwhelming, unfulfilled sexual desire.</p> <p>19. In most cases when a woman was raped she was asking for it.</p> <p>20. When a woman fondles a man's genitals it means she has consented to sexual intercourse.</p> <p>21. Rape can occur between two college students – even if they seem to be a normal couple who is often seen together at parties.</p> <p>22. Women secretly enjoy "cat calls" or being whistled at on the streets.</p> <p>23. Using sexual coercion is wrong and unacceptable.</p> |
|---|---|

**Based on the scale below, state your perceptions of the following statements:
A = Very Comfortable, B = Comfortable, C = Unsure, D = Uncomfortable, E = Very Uncomfortable**

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>24. I stop the first time my date says "no" to sexual activity.</p> <p>25. I have sex when I am intoxicated.</p> <p>26. I have sex when my partner is intoxicated.</p> <p>27. When I want to touch someone sexually I try it and see how they react.</p> <p>28. I won't stop sexual activity when asked to if I am already sexually aroused.</p> <p>29. I make out in remotely parked cars.</p> <p>30. When I hear a sexist comment I indicate my displeasure.</p> <p>31. When I witness a male hitting on a woman and I know she doesn't want it, I intervene.</p> <p>32. When I witness a situation in which it looks like a female will end up being taken advantage of, I intervene.</p> <p>33. If I could have sex with someone without their permission and no one would ever find out, I would do it.</p> <p>34. While talking with a friend about a woman he likes, he says, "I took her out for dinner and a movie and we didn't even hook up."</p> | <p>35. Your roommate says to you, "Michelle is such a bitch, she wouldn't even tell me what I missed in class this morning."</p> <p>36. You are getting ready to go on a date when your roommate walks in with a bottle of tequila. He says to you, "If you give her a couple shots of this, she'll loosen up."</p> <p>37. You ask a male friend about a woman in one of your classes. He says, "She's hot, but she's a slut."</p> <p>38. You're walking to class when your friend brags, "I hooked up the last four weekends."</p> <p>39. You walk into your room and your roommates are watching porn.</p> <p>40. Your friend is telling you about relationship problems he's having with his girlfriend. He says that, "If she wasn't so good in bed, I would have dumped her a long time ago."</p> <p>41. You're at D-Hall and your friend tells you, "She wants me" just after a pretty woman walks by.</p> |
|---|--|

(The questions were then repeated with the instructions to "indicate how you think the AVERAGE JMU MALE STUDENT would respond.")

Continued from page 6

potential solutions. Campuses need to understand their campus history on sexual assault and know how women frame this issue. Kilmartin (2001) has developed an excellent resource for professionals to examine their campus climate and make plans for change.

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