



Building Cultures of Respect and Non-Violence

A review of literature concerning adult learning and
violence prevention programs with men

RESPECT & RESPONSIBILITY PROGRAM

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The Respect & Responsibility Policy

The *Respect & Responsibility Policy* was launched by the AFL in November 2005 to address the issue of violence against women. The Policy's broad intention is to firmly position the AFL as a leader in advocating cultural change that will lead to safe and inclusive environments for women and girls, across all levels of Australian Football.

The target areas for implementation of the Policy during its first two years of operation include:

- the introduction of model anti-sexual harassment and anti-sexual discrimination procedures across the AFL and its 16 Clubs;
- training and education for AFL Players (that may also be customised for players in state leagues);
- changes to the player rules governing "conduct unbecoming";
- the development of resources for community clubs to ensure safe, supportive environments for women and girls; and,
- the development of an AFL led public education campaign

The emphasis of the program is on designing initiatives and program approaches that gain support from within the football community, where Clubs at the national state and local level recognise the unique role they play in promoting a consistent message with respect to women's and girl's treatment and participation. To this end, the Program's success will also be measured by the extent to which organisational responses are transferable and sustainable for the wider football community.

This Policy commitment has been supported by all AFL Clubs and has received strong endorsement from the AFL playing groups.

For more information about the *Respect & Responsibility Program* activities or to download a copy of the

Respect & Responsibility Policy, go to www.afl.com.au/GameDevelopment/WomenGirls/RespectResponsibility



Executive Summary

Literature Review

A review of literature was undertaken to explore best practice principles and contemporary approaches to adult learning and behaviour change to address gender-based violence prevention. This focused on professional sporting and other settings, as well as those using 'peer mentor' approaches. It is however important to note from the outset that there is no Australian evidence that male sports players have more violence-supportive attitudes or a greater likelihood of perpetrating violence than any other men.

Preventing sexual assault⁽ⁱ⁾

Primary sexual assault prevention aims to lessen the likelihood of sexual violence through education, attitude and behaviour change strategies. One of the rapidly emerging areas of violence prevention concerns behaviour change education with men, which is informed by three insights:

1. prevention efforts must address men because largely it is men who perpetrate this violence;
 2. constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping sexual assault and domestic violence;
- and
3. men have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women.

Violence prevention efforts have been developed for particular institutional and cultural contexts, including college fraternities, sports, and the military, because of reports of high rates of violence against women.

Sport and violence against women

A considerable amount has been written in North America about the propensity for violence among men who participate in contact and team sports. Contemporary research has also begun to identify more precisely the factors associated with violence-supportive norms and behaviours. Sexist peer norms and cultures are a key risk factor for men's perpetration of sexual violence. Other key factors in professional sport which have been hypothesised to increase male players' risks of perpetrating sexual assault are: that codes of mateship necessary for team work may intensify sexism and override personal integrity; the aggression inherent in some sports; celebrity status and entitlement; and 'groupie' culture and sexualisation and subordination of women.

While some of these factors may shape male athletes' attitudes and behaviours, there is no Australian evidence that male sports players have more violence-supportive attitudes or a greater likelihood of perpetrating violence than any other men.

(i) Sexual assault can be broadly defined as any kind of sexual activity to which a person does not consent. It is constituted by any kind of unwanted sexual contact or attention, and can include inappropriate touching, and any kind of vaginal, anal or oral penetration, or attempted penetration. It also includes voyeurism, exhibitionism, harassment and rape, and can be perpetrated by people in intimate relationships, as well as acquaintances and strangers. Sexual assault is also known as rape, sexual violence and gender based violence, (Australian Government Office for Women, 2006).



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Adult Learning Principles

Adult education

A number of factors have been identified as relevant to working with adults in educational settings. These include the notion that adults are autonomous and *self-directed and use accumulated life experiences and knowledge* as a foundation of learning. Adults are *goal-oriented and relevancy-oriented, requiring* learning to be applicable to their work or other responsibilities to be of value to them. They have a practical focus and need to be shown respect as learners. Much adult learning is non-formal, and is essentially a social process. Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) has also been identified as particularly relevant to adult learning.

Behaviour change theory models

Social psychology has developed a number of theoretical models for attitude and behaviour change which may also be appropriate for adult learning. The nature of these models and examples of their use are discussed in this report. **The Elaboration likelihood Model (ELM)** argues that lasting attitude and behaviour change occurs when participants are motivated to hear a message, able to understand it, and perceive the message as relevant to them. **The Social Ecological Model** suggests that the problem of violence against women is essentially one of culture and environment, rather than one of psychological or biological deficits in individuals. **The Social Norms Approach** suggests that the majority culture, or normative environment, may support an individual's beliefs and behaviours and seeks to achieve change through social marketing. The Social Norms approach aims to shift men's perception of social norms by revealing the extent to which other men also disagree with violence or are uncomfortable with common norms of masculinity. **The Community of Responsibility Model** is based on the premise that everyone in a community has a role to play in ending violence against women.

The Stages of Change Model (SCM) suggests that behaviour change is a process, and that at any given time, individuals are at different levels of motivation or readiness for change. People at different points in the process of change can benefit from different interventions.

There are many similarities between these models, and it is possible to identify some overarching principles that may be useful in planning prevention programs. These include identifying violence against women as a social issue that goes beyond individuals, and needs to be addressed at, and involve all levels of society, not only men. Nonetheless, interventions with men are an important part of the overall solution, because their normative environment may support individual men's beliefs and behaviours. Men who are approached as bystanders and witnesses to violence, and not as potential perpetrators, are more likely to be motivated to learn how to intervene to prevent violence. Programs must address participant's readiness for change by providing information identifying norms and clarifying values, facilitating the development of skills, and positively supporting change. This includes understanding the concept of consent and how it differs from coercion, and how to intervene to stop or prevent violence from occurring in the first place.



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Evaluations

Internationally, the field of sexual assault prevention includes a wide variety of educational interventions with boys and men, including those that address constructions of masculinity and socialization, capacity for victim empathy, understanding of consent, and belief in rape myths. In Australia, nearly all interventions with males regarding violence prevention are delivered to boys and young men in schools, but only a few educational programs address adult men. In assessing the most effective forms of violence prevention education, one difficulty is that we often do not know what has worked or not worked in existing violence prevention education. Most interventions have not been formally evaluated, and many existing evaluations are poorly designed. Post-intervention assessments often are made only immediately after the program or only weeks later and there is no longer-term follow-up. Where education programs have been evaluated, they show mixed results.

Strategies

In summarising recent literature on violence prevention education among men, Berkowitz (2001a, 2004b) argued that effective violence prevention programs have five key features, and these offer a useful overview of the features of programs which are more likely to produce lasting change in the attitudes, values and behaviours. Berkowitz proposes that:

1. effective prevention programs are *comprehensive*, in that they address and involve all relevant community members and systems.
2. programs are *intensive*, in that they offer learning opportunities that are interactive, involve active participation, are sustained over time and have multiple points of contact with reinforcing messages.
3. effective programs address *cognitive, affective, and behavioural domains*: what people know, how they feel, and how they behave.
4. effective programs are *relevant to the audience*. They are tailored to the characteristics of the participants and acknowledge the special needs and concerns of particular communities. They focus on peer-related variables, use peers in leadership roles, and emphasize the relationship of sexual assault to other issues.
5. effective programs offer *positive messages* which build on men's values and predisposition to act in a positive manner (Berkowitz 2001a, 2004b).

The literature supporting the application of each of these strategies and suggesting ways they may be applied is examined in this review.

Program Models

While a wide variety of programs were identified in the review, three main frameworks that use the one-time awareness/education workshop and resources were identified as potentially being applicable to the goals of the Australian Football League's (AFL) *Respect and Responsibility Program*. These programs use empathy induction, conditions of consent and bystander interventions (Berkowitz, AD, 2002), and all use an awareness raising/educational workshop approach, with some variations. The *Mentors In Violence Prevention (MVP)* program uses a bystander model to empower participants to



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take an active role in promoting a positive climate for change. The program presents traditional constructions of masculinity and manhood as central to the problem of men's violence against women, as well as the basis of potential sources of prevention. The project specifically encourages participants to use their stature among their peers on campus to promote healthier attitudes and behaviours towards women. The MVP has been evaluated and found to be effective in realizing its goals.

The *Men's Program* focuses on building victim empathy and on teaching men how to help women recover from a rape experience. It has been extensively evaluated and, although most evaluations have been internal, it appears that the all-male peer education format for rape prevention programs with men has been shown to be effective in decreasing rape myths and reported likelihood of engaging in offending behaviour.

The *Rape Prevention Program for Men* aims to bring men's discomfort with the opportunistic and coercive behaviour of some men into the open so that discomfort with the behaviour can be shared and acted on. It also teaches guidelines for consenting sexual intimacy. The program uses peer education around scenarios that portray an intimate encounter between a man and a woman, men's discomfort with other men's language, and behaviour and men's experience of pressure from other men to be sexually active. Some internal evaluations have indicated the social norms component is often one of the important ingredients associated with program effectiveness.

Adult learning and behaviour change principles: a summary

The evidence compiled in this review of the literature on adult behaviour change and violence prevention programs suggest that good practice education programs with men should be:

- **Respectful:** this implies using a positive, asset based approach. The participants should be treated as bystanders to violence as opposed to potential perpetrators. By maintaining a focus on cultural norms, skill building, respect for self, others and the team, participants should leave with the message that they can do something.
- **Goal oriented:** participants should have a clear understanding about why they are doing the training and what the training aims to achieve.
- **Relevant to them:** this is related to the training goal, but if participants have clearly identified expectations for the training, rather than feeling that they are expected to attend, they are more likely to actively participate.
- **Practical:** this is related to relevance. What will they get out of the training that is useful to them now or in the future?
- **Autonomous and self directed:** this is achieved through the process, not the content. Training should be interactive and participants should have some input to the shape of the program.
- **Focussed on the environment and changing social norms.** Assumptions about peer group/club norms being an asset, and care of the self and others being a norm can help to establish a climate of trust and acceptance. Participants need to feel that they each have a role to play, whether it is personal, or in support of team mates, or the women they know.



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- **Capacity building:** Identify dominant positive norms to re-frame assumed (negative) norms. Enhance capacity and build skills to help them to feel like they can be effective bystanders (framed as helping team mates, team spirit, i.e. a culture of responsibility and respect).
- **Increase receptiveness** and engagement with prevention messages and decrease defensiveness.
- **Teach and practise skills:** bystander skills for effective intervention in social situations, and for practising mutual consent.



Introduction

This review of literature will focus on the following research questions:

- What are considered best practice principles for adult learning to address gender violence prevention and behaviour change?
- What models and practices have been used in contemporary approaches to the education of adults in relation to the prevention of violence against women, both in professional sporting and other settings?
- In what ways have peer mentor programs in related areas (e.g. schools and universities) been used for gender violence prevention and education?

Background

Sexual assault and rape prevention

Sexual assault⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ prevention can be categorised as primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary prevention aims to lessen the likelihood of sexual violence through education and attitude and behaviour change strategies. Secondary prevention refers to reducing opportunities for violence by supporting individuals who are at risk of perpetrating violence, and tertiary prevention centres on violence interventions and victim safety (Flood, 2004).

In Australia until recently, the term domestic violence was used in anti-violence policies, and this term incorporated sexual assault (Carmody, 2005). Australian Governments have instituted a number of programs to address the issue of sexual violence, but most have focused on tertiary levels of intervention – providing victim centred care after a sexual assault occurs to reduce further harm, as well as intervention (and similar) legal orders to protect those who are threatened by ongoing violence, and a range of other policies to protect victims. Other social policy initiatives in Australia have included recommending education programs in schools, broadly focused social marketing campaigns, and crime prevention strategies (Carmody & Carrington, 2000). Considerable resources have been committed by Australian Governments to the elimination of violence against women, including the *Partnerships Against Domestic Violence*, the *National Initiative to Combat Sexual Assault* programs, the media campaign *Violence Against Women, Australia Says No*, and funding for the *Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse* and the *Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault*. Future plans focus on research and pilot projects to enhance previously developed research and good practice, training for nurses in regional and rural areas to assist them to respond to domestic violence, training for the criminal justice sector on sexual assault, and “Mensline”, which will provide counselling and education for

(ii) Sexual assault can be broadly defined as any kind of sexual activity to which a person does not consent. It is constituted by any kind of unwanted sexual contact or attention, and can include inappropriate touching, and any kind of vaginal, anal or oral penetration, or attempted penetration. It also includes voyeurism, exhibitionism, harassment and rape, and can be perpetrated by people in intimate relationships, as well as acquaintances and strangers. Sexual assault is also known as rape, sexual violence and gender based violence. (Australian Government Office for Women 2006).



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men at offices around Australia (Australian Government Office for Women, 2006).

One of the rapidly emerging areas of violence prevention concerns behaviour change education with men. Violence prevention programs aimed at men have proliferated in North America on college (university) campuses. Violence prevention education with men has been prompted by three insights:

1. prevention efforts must address men because largely it is men who perpetrate this violence;
2. constructions of masculinity play a crucial role in shaping sexual assault and domestic violence; and
3. men have a positive role to play in helping to stop violence against women (2005- 2006).

Violence prevention work with men has also been inspired by particular developments, such as findings regarding the prevalence of violence against women and high-profile incidents of sexual assault. For example, a United States (US) study with college students in the 1980s found that in a one year period, one in four undergraduate women had reported experiencing sexual assault, and the vast majority of these assaults were committed by acquaintances (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987).¹ The US Federal Government responded to these findings by legislating to require all Federally funded campuses to have rape or sexual assault prevention programs available for all students (Berg, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). These programs are not exclusively directed towards men: some are directed to women only, and others to mixed sex groups. However, in the past two decades increasing numbers of prevention programs have addressed men-only groups. A growing body of literature provides evaluations of such programs, and we return to this in a later section.

Violence prevention efforts also have been developed for particular institutional and cultural contexts, including college fraternities, sports, and the military, either in response to perceptions of high rates of violence against women in such contexts or reflecting the goal of developing programs appropriate to local contexts. Here we focus on the context of most relevance here, the claim that there is an association between sport and violence against women. But we stress again that there is no Australian evidence that male sports players have more violence-supportive attitudes or a greater likelihood of perpetrating violence than any other men. Indeed the only relevant and published scholarship is a more general study conducted by Robins et. al., (2005) with AFL players from a small number of Clubs that looked at “gender appropriate behaviours”. It found that on average their attitudes were similar to other samples of males in the general population.

Sport and violence against women

A considerable amount has been written in the USA and Canada about the propensity for violence among men who participate in contact and team sports (see for example Toufexis, 1990; Chandler, Dewaynes, & Carroll, 1999; Craig, 2000; Safai, 2002; Smith & Stewart, 2003; Cleary, 2006). An early American study found that on college campuses, male athletes were over-represented among the men who commit acts of sexual assault and domestic violence.² The US National Institute of Mental health reported from a survey in 1990 that athletes participated in approximately one third of 862 sexual assaults on college campuses (Eskenazi, 1990). Another study of 1,050 athletes and more than 10,000 students at a college campus also reported that athletes were 5.5 times more



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likely to admit to behaviour that could be defined as rape (Melnick, 1992). A more recent study found that male athletes report significantly greater agreement with rape-supportive statements than men in general (Boeringer, 1999).

However, contemporary research has begun to identify more precisely the factors associated with violence-supportive norms and behaviours. Overseas research on sport and violence against women has moved from early generalisations to increasingly sophisticated accounts of the precise risk factors which shape physical and sexual assault by male athletes. For example, the likelihood of involvement in violence is unevenly spread across sports, and can vary even within a particular sport, and research has shown that local and contextual factors can be influential. In a recent American study among 704 male and female university athletes, rape myth acceptance was highest among male athletes, especially younger athletes and those playing a team-based sport (grid iron or basketball) versus individual sport (such as tennis, golf, swimming, or track and field) (Sawyer, Thompson et al. 2002). In another US study among 139 male college students, fraternity membership, conservative attitudes towards women, and viewing contact sports were significant predictors of sexual aggression against women (Brown, Sumner et al. 2002). Oddly, men with lower levels of participation in (rather than spectatorship of) contact sports had higher levels of sexual aggression. The authors speculate that individuals' levels of trait aggression may mediate the relationship between exposure to aggressive incidents and subsequent acts of aggression – in other words, that being exposed to aggressive incidents only results in aggressive behaviour if the individual already has an aggressive personality (Brown et al. 2002: 948). Humphrey and Kahn (2000) document that some US college fraternities and athletic teams involve much higher risks of sexual assault than others. In fraternities and teams perceived by other university students to have 'party' atmospheres conducive to sexual offences, members showed higher levels of sexual aggression towards women, hostility towards women, and male peer support for sexual violence, than members of perceived low-risk groups.

Those male athletes with violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours, like those in any segment of the population, are likely to have multiple and interconnecting causes. Most generally, they may reflect wider associations between men, masculinity, gender norms, and tolerance for violence. Australian and international research has documented that men are more likely than women to express violence-supportive attitudes, and that it is gender role orientation rather than gender *per se* that shapes men's and women's attitudes (Flood & Pease 2006). Individuals with more traditional or conservative attitudes towards gender and sexuality are also more likely to condone domestic violence and sexual assault. To the extent that some sporting sub-cultures, especially those associated with team-based contact sports, involve more sexist and conservative norms for gender and sexuality, they may also involve more violence-supportive attitudes. Although, once again, there have been no equivalent studies that can allow us to generalise this point to Australia.

Sexist peer norms and cultures are a key risk factor for men's perpetration of sexual violence. This is clear from studies among university fraternities and military institutions, and the insights from these studies also likely to be applicable in sporting contexts as well. For example, on American campus cultures with high rates of sexual violence, some of the socio-cultural correlates (especially



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among college fraternities) include greater gender segregation, an ethic of male sexual conquest and 'getting sex', displays of masculinity through heterosexual sexual performance, high alcohol consumption, heterosexism and homophobia, use of pornography, and general norms of women's subordinate status (Boswell and Spade 1996; Sanday 1996). In military contexts, norms of gender inequality and other bonds that foster and justify abuse in particular peer cultures are documented to promote violence against women (Rosen et al. 2003; Schwartz and DeKeseredy 1997). For example, Rosen et al. (2003) found an association between 'group disrespect' (the presence of rude and aggressive behaviour, pornography consumption, sexualised discussion, and encouragement of group drinking) and the perpetration of intimate partner violence, at both individual and group levels. Cultures of sexism have been documented in particular sports overseas, including ice hockey (Robinson 1998; West 1996) and rugby (Schacht 1996), and some Australian sporting cultures may be similar.

There are further factors specific to or concentrated in professional sports, as identified in the US and Canadian research, which have been hypothesised to increase male players' risks of perpetrating sexual assault, as follows;

- Male bonding: The codes of mateship and loyalty in tightly knit male groups in some sports, albeit valuable for teamwork, may both intensify sexism and encourage individuals to allow group loyalties to override their personal integrity.
- Aggressive sport: Contact sports themselves have been seen as implicated in men's violence against women, in that they teach athletes physical aggression and dominance, extreme competitiveness, physical toughness and insensitivity to others' pain and they naturalise and glorify violence.
- Sexualisation and subordination of women: Some critics point to women's roles in some sports, either as sexualised props for men's performance (as cheerleaders), or as supporters and carers, as implicated in sexist norms.
- Celebrity status and entitlement: The high-profile status and celebrity treatment of professional athletes has been seen potentially to feed a sense of entitlement and lack of accountability for one's actions off the field.
- Excessive alcohol use and other drug abuse: Athletes' excessive consumption, particularly of alcohol, has been identified as a potential risk factor for sexual assault.
- 'Groupie' culture: Players' sexual involvement with women seen to seek out the sexual company of professional athletes, combined with athletes' status and entitlement, may shape athletes' assumptions about women, sexuality, and consent (Benedict 1998; Melnick 1992).

Context-specific mechanisms further shape the prevalence of violence-supportive attitudes and violent behaviour among male athletes in some sporting contexts. One is *group socialisation*: in joining particular sporting teams, men are actively inducted into the existing norms and values of these contexts. Another is *identification*. Membership of a high-risk group may itself not be sufficient to increase one's adherence to violence-supportive beliefs or one's likelihood of violent behaviour, and members may also have to identify with the group and see it as a reference group (Humphrey and Kahn 2000: 1320). Another mechanism is *self-selection*: men with pre-existing violence-supportive



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attitudes and behaviours and an orientation towards other features of these contexts such as heavy drinking may join groups with similar norms.

While we have identified a range of factors which may shape male athletes' attitudes and behaviours, we stress that there is no Australian evidence that male sports players have more violence-supportive attitudes or a greater likelihood of perpetrating violence than any other men. Violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours among athletes in Australia have been the subject of two research projects, although the details are yet to be published in academic journals. It is understood that Australia's National Rugby League's violence prevention project (2004-2005) included a significant research component, but no published material on this study was available at the time of this review. The second study compared hostility towards women among athletes in contact and non-contact sports, and reported that there that there were no significant differences between the two groups in relation to sexually aggressive attitudes and behaviour (Coutts, Reilly, & Weatherby, 2005).

There is also relevant Australian scholarship in a more general study of "gender appropriate behaviours" (Robins, et. al., 2005) among sporting team members. The study undertaken by Robins, Lusher and Kremer with AFL players reported that, on average, their attitudes were no different from other samples of males. However a wide variety of attitudes were found, from dominant masculine attitudes, where manliness was measured by sexual success, to completely non-dominant attitudes. Robins, et. al., (2005) reported that AFL players who were involved in activities outside of football, particularly education, were likely to have more positive attitudes towards women and be open to other social norms and standards than those with no outside activities. Five factors were found as important in determining who players chose to socialise with after hours: experience, playing ability, masculine attitudes, small groups/cliques, and mutual social relations. In some clubs women were reported to be popular in after hours social networks. Robins, et. al., 2005) also reported that the best players were not always well integrated into after hours networks.

We turn now to an examination of violence prevention efforts themselves. We move from the general to the specific. We begin by examining best practice principles for adult learning and then move to a discussion of gender violence prevention among athletes and men in general.



Gender violence prevention and behaviour change

Adult Learning Principles

Adult education

Knowles (1973) pioneered the field of adult education, and identified the concept of andragogy for working with adults in educational settings. He proposed this term to differentiate adult education from pedagogy, or education with children. Andragogical theory is based on assumptions which differ from those of pedagogy, and include:

- Adults are *autonomous* and *self-directed*. They need to be free to direct themselves.
- Adults have accumulated a foundation of *life experiences* and *knowledge* that may include work-related activities, family responsibilities, and previous education. They need to connect learning to this knowledge/experience base.
- Adults are *goal-oriented*. Upon enrolling in a course, they usually know what goal they want to attain.
- Adults are *relevancy-oriented*. They must see a reason for learning something. Learning has to be applicable to their work or other responsibilities to be of value to them.
- Adults are *practical*, focusing on the aspects of a program that are most useful to them. They may not be interested in knowledge for its own sake.
- Adults need to be shown *respect*. The wealth of experiences that adult participants bring must be acknowledged.

Much adult learning is non-formal, and is essentially a social process. “Learning is not just a psychological process, but is intimately related to that world and affected by it. People take on the knowledge, values, beliefs and attitudes of the society in which we live” (Jarvis, 1987, p. 11). Learning can be defined as the way in which individuals or groups acquire, interpret, reorganise, change or assimilate a related cluster of information, skills and feelings. Furthermore, implicit knowledge is frequently more powerful than accessible explicit learning (Casey, 2005). Parsons’ Systems Theory of Action proposes that performance and learning processes can upset the dynamic balance in a social system, creating change in the system (Schwandt, 1997).

Another influential theory in adult learning is Experiential Learning Theory (ELT). This suggests that learning requires abilities that are polar opposites, and that the learner must continually choose which set of learning abilities he or she will use in a specific learning situation. Information is processed at some times through experiencing the concrete, tangible, felt qualities of the world, and at other times, new information is processed through symbolic representation or abstract conceptualization – thinking about, analysing, or systematically planning, rather than using sensation as a guide. Individuals may switch between these modes of learning (Kolb, 1984). In choosing between the concrete and the abstract, individuals tend to opt for patterned, characteristic styles, known as learning styles. ELT emphasises the importance of experience to the learning process, which differentiates it from cognitive and behavioural learning theories (Kolb, 1984).



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Behaviour change theory models

Given the requirement for adult learners to be motivated and self directed, sexual assault prevention programs using pedagogical and androgical learning technologies may be seen as threatening by some men, who may not therefore be motivated to participate. In situations where persuasion is required more than traditional education approaches, social psychology has developed a number of theoretical models for attitude and behaviour change. These include the Elaboration Likelihood Model, the Social Ecological Model, the Social Norms Approach, the Community of Responsibility Model, and the Stages of Change Model. These will be discussed in this section, with some examples of programs that have used these models.

The Elaboration likelihood Model (ELM) posits that lasting attitude and behaviour change occurs when participants are motivated to hear a message, able to understand it, and perceive the message as relevant to them (Foubert & Perry, 2006). ELM suggests that there are two routes to persuasion. One results from careful consideration of the merits of information presented in support of a position (central route). Another results from being exposed to a simple persuasive cue (e.g. it comes from an attractive source) and induces change without scrutiny of the issue (peripheral route). Information processed by the central route appears to have more enduring results than that processed by the peripheral route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

When participants in a program are motivated, able to process information and perceive the information being presented as personally relevant, there is an enhanced likelihood that they will process the information using central route processing. Which route is accessed is determined by the relevance of the issue, the individual's motivation to learn, and the personal relevance of the message to them. This leads to central route processing, whereby listeners actively process program content and are more likely to have long term attitude and behaviour change (Petty & Wegener, 1999). More recent adaptations of the ELM have added an additional role: the extent to which a person has confidence in, and thus trusts, their own thoughts in response to a message (Petty, Briñol, & Tormala, 2002). In sexual assault prevention interventions, men must be motivated to participate, and perceive the content as personally relevant.

Heppner et al. (1995) investigated whether the type of programming used effected ELM central route processing of rape prevention messages. Participants (n=258, 50% male, 50% female) were divided into three groups, one that used a didactic video program, one an interactive drama presentation and a control group. The interactive drama, presented by both male and female leaders, was specifically designed to reduce defensive reactions in men by fostering communication between men and women. The attitudes, behaviours and stability of change in participants in each of the groups were measured over five time periods. Heppner reported that the interactive video was the most effective in promoting central route processing. The didactic video intervention was more effective than the control in altering men's rape myth acceptance at one month, but the change was not stable. It is of note that there was some rebound on rape attitudes after both interventions, although the interactive video participants were more able to identify consent as opposed to coercion and demonstrated differences on behavioural indicators.



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The Social Ecological Model suggests that the problem of violence against women is essentially one of culture and environment, rather than one of psychological or biological deficits in individuals. In this approach, it is the ways in which the environment is structured that is the major cause of social problems. Solutions involve changing social norms and behaviours, and require the active involvement of all levels of the community. The premise of this model is that violence is a function of the abuse of power and control, and it aims to bring about social change to create an ethical setting where individuals are not exploited, power is not abused and all members of a community are involved (Maton, 2000). The social ecology approach involves all levels of preventions - primary, secondary and tertiary. It encourages peer leadership in establishing standards of safety and security, and fosters accountability. A central challenge for a social ecology approach is to understand how intervention approaches can be fashioned that build upon and contribute to such transactions within and across ecological levels.

Pezza (1995) discussed using this approach with schools to bring about environment change and social transformation. He refers to the Mankind Project, which works with men to develop an alternative to the traditional model of masculinity. The projects discussed by Pezza suggest that the potential for capacity building, group empowerment, relational community building and culture-change in the Social Ecology Model are enhanced when these levels are interdependent with each other. This model is about wide-ranging social change, in which individuals need to change so that transformed social environments are possible. In addition, societal values and norms need to change so that communities can change. This is not an either/or position, change depends on interventions occurring at multiple levels ranging from individuals to society, and from society down to the individual.

The Social Norms Approach suggests that the majority culture, or normative environment, may support an individual's beliefs and behaviours. It is essentially a health promotion strategy that aims to achieve change through social marketing and small group interventions based on the proposition that individuals consistently misperceive the norms of others in relation to values and behaviour. This approach has been used extensively in attitude and behaviour change programs in the USA, particularly in relation to problematic alcohol use. Fabiano et al. (2000), Berkowitz (2005), and others also discuss programs in which this approach has been used in interventions with men, to prevent rape and sexual violence on college campuses.

Social norms programs are based on research findings that many men misperceive the norms of their peers in ways that encourage problematic behaviours and limit their capacity to intervene against other men's harmful attitudes and behaviours. The extent of men's misperceptions about other men's endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes and behaviours was demonstrated in a US study with 2,500 male and female college students. Fabiano et al. (2000) assessed attitudes and behaviour about violence and sexual assault, with a focus on consent and willingness to intervene. They reported that men's perceptions of what was normative for male peers were significantly different from actual norms. The men in the study consistently under estimated the importance that both other men and women placed on consent in sexual activity and the willingness of most men to intervene against sexual violence.



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The Social norms approach aims to shift men's perception of social norms by revealing the extent to which other men also disagree with violence or are uncomfortable with common norms of masculinity (Kilmartin 2001). This has been done on some university campuses by surveying men regarding their comfort or discomfort with other men's sexism and publicising the results. By shifting men's perceptions of other men's attitudes and behaviour, men's own emphasis on sexual consent, their approval of sexist behaviour and their willingness to intervene in violent behaviour increase (Fabiano, Perkins et al. 2004; Kilmartin 2001). Such efforts support the proposition that accurate normative data, which counters the misperception of rape-supportive attitudes, can be a critical part of a comprehensive effort to catalyse and support men as women's social justice allies in preventing sexual violence (Fabiano, Perkins et al., 2000). The social norms approach has been used with men to redefine sexual assault as not just a women's issue, but one concerning men and women alike.

The Community of Responsibility Model is based on the premise that everyone in a community has a role to play in ending violence against women (University of New England Campus Journal, 2006). Programs based on this model aim to teach women and men how to intervene safely and effectively in cases of sexual violence before, during, and after incidents with strangers, acquaintances, or friends (End Sexual Violence Oregon, 2006). It has been argued that a whole community approach, which focuses on community norms and social action, is needed to bring about social change. To do this, programs must increase receptiveness and engagement with prevention messages, and decrease defensive resistance while teaching prevention skills that are applicable and useful to a wider array of community members must occur. This would ensure that the environment consists not only of a set of policies prohibiting sexual violence, but would encompass broader values that create a climate in which violence is unlikely to occur.

The research on bystander intervention and helping behaviour (see for example Huston, Ruggiero, Conne, & Geis, 1981; Shotland & Goodstein, 1984) has formed a foundation for programs using the Community of Responsibility Model. This model underpins Bystander Education Programs (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2004). It does not address men as potential perpetrators or women as potential victims. Rather it approaches both women and men as potential bystanders or witnesses to behaviours that may result in sexual violence. Programs using this model have shown positive results on long-term follow-up across measures of attitudes, knowledge, and behaviour, and most program effects persisted at four and twelve month follow-ups (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005). Bystander programs will be discussed in more detail below.

The Stages of Change Model (SCM) has been widely used in behaviour change programs addressing a variety of issues, from problematic substance use to child abuse. The premise of this model is that behaviour change is a process and that individuals are at different levels of motivation or readiness for change. People at different points in the process of change can benefit from different interventions, according to their stage of readiness. The process is circular, not linear, and individuals can enter at any point (Attorney General's Sexual Assault Task Force Oregon, 2006). The model posits five stages of change:



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- Pre-contemplation: individuals are unaware of the issue or its application to them. They need information to help them understand how the issue is of personal relevance to them.
- Contemplation: individuals are aware of the issue, and need help to move their awareness to intentional action.
- Decision/Determination: individuals have decided to act and need a concrete action plan.
- Action: individuals are engaged and have made changes, and need positive feedback and social support.
- Maintenance: where individuals need reinforcement to maintain behaviour change.

This model has implications for violence prevention programs among men. In particular, interventions must be matched to men's level of awareness about and willingness to take responsibility for the problem of violence against women.

Discussion

There are many similarities between these models, and it is possible to identify some overarching principles that may be useful in planning prevention programs to end violence against women. For example several of these models specifically identify violence against women as a social issue that goes beyond individuals, that needs to be addressed at, and involve all levels of society, not only men. Nonetheless, interventions with men are an important part of the overall solution, because the normative environment may support individual men's beliefs and behaviours. Men who are approached as bystanders and witnesses to violence, and not as potential perpetrators, are more likely to be motivated to learn how to intervene to prevent violence. Programs must address all the levels of participant' readiness for change by providing information identifying norms and clarifying values, facilitating the development of skills, and positively supporting change. This includes understanding the concept of consent and how it differs from coercion, and how to intervene to stop or prevent violence from occurring. If men who participate in these programs are motivated to participate, able to understand and perceive messages as relevant, able to carefully consider the merits of, and actively process the information, long-term change in attitudes and behaviours is more likely.

Evaluations

Internationally, the field of sexual assault prevention includes a wide variety of educational interventions with boys and men, including those that address constructions of masculinity and socialization, males' capacity for victim empathy, understanding of consent, and belief in rape myths. The requirement in the US context for rape and sexual assault prevention programs in college and university campuses has generated a plethora of programs.³ Some of these are directed towards teaching women defensive behaviours, some towards increasing communication between women and men in mixed gender programs, and others have worked with men only. In Australia, nearly all interventions with males regarding violence prevention are delivered to boys and young men in schools, very few educational programs address adult men. Two notable exceptions are the education programs among professional athletes developed in 2004-2006 by the National Rugby League (NRL) and the Australian Football League (AFL), implemented in response to a series of alleged sexual assaults by players.



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In the US and Canada, a number of evaluations and meta-analyses of evaluations of rape/sexual assault interventions in college campuses have been published in the past decade. These have been of both mixed gender and separate programs for men and women. Some high school programs also have been evaluated. In this section, we focus on evaluations particularly of single gender programs for men, with a preference for programs with men from athletic teams, such as gridiron and basketball, and from college fraternities, and we discuss some examples of the programs evaluated.⁴ In the following section, we discuss issues of strategy.

Lack of, or poorly designed evaluations: In assessing the most effective forms of violence prevention education, one difficulty is that we often do not know what has worked or not worked in existing violence prevention education. Most interventions have not been evaluated, and many existing evaluations are poorly designed. Post-intervention assessments often are made only immediately after the program or only weeks later and there is no longer-term follow-up. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to evaluate men's intention or potential to engage in sexually abusive behaviour. For example, a two-hour rape prevention program for fraternity men run by Egidio & Robertson in 1981 evaluated positively. The program aimed to increase self-awareness, clarify values, dispel myths and overcome the ignorance that perpetuates the crime of rape. However, because the evaluation only measured consumer satisfaction, it was not possible to gain any insight into the effectiveness of the program, only into how well the participants enjoyed the experience (Lonsway, 1996). Typically, no outcome measures are used to assess whether programs such as this one are effective in reducing actual rates of sexual assault. Furthermore, where the effectiveness of education programs has been evaluated, they show mixed results (Yeater and O'Donohue 1999).

Negative Evaluations: In findings that are even more troubling, some programs appear to produce negative effects. In an early Canadian project among high school students, a minority of male participants reported worse attitudes after the intervention (Meyer and Stein 2004). Another intervention involved a ninety-minute workshop for men that emphasised the role of empathy in attitude change. Rape myths were addressed; some participants listened to an audio tape of a female victim describing her experience, while others heard a tape of a young man describing his rape by another man. The evaluation of these interventions found that neither intervention demonstrated any change in empathy towards rape victims, and men who were asked to empathise with female victims reported a greater likelihood of sexual aggression (Berg, 1993).

Positive Evaluation: Whether targeted at men or at mixed-sex audiences, prevention programs typically aim to dispel myths about rape, improve participants' understandings of violence against women, improve empathy towards rape victims, and enhance their awareness of services for victims and survivors. Evaluation of some of these education programs has reported a range of short-term improvements in attitudes and understandings about these issues. Male (and female) high school and university students who have attended rape education sessions have been reported to show less adherence to rape myths, express less rape-supportive attitudes, and report greater victim empathy than those in control groups (Avery-Leaf et al. 1997; Foubert 2000; Lanier et al. 1998; Meyer and Stein 2004; O'Donohue, Yeater and Fanetti 2003; Pinzone-Glover et al. 1998; Rosenthal et al. 1995; Schewe and O'Donohue 1993, 1996; Shultz et al. 2000).



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These positive results do need to be treated with caution, as they are only short term changes, and one of the most common problems concerns the long-term effectiveness of intervention efforts. Evaluations commonly find that attitudes towards violence have undergone a significant improvement immediately after the program, but that these then return to pre-intervention levels one or two months afterwards (Anderson et al. 1998; Davis and Liddell 2002; Flores and Hartlaub 1998; Frazier et al. 1994). This might be attributed to a 'rebound' effect in which initial positive changes are not sustained over time. For example, an intervention conducted with college men, that used a variety of empathy induction and presentation techniques, compared outcomes with a control group, that received no intervention. The program asked men to empathise with a 14 year-old boy portrayed in an audio tape depiction of forced sexual activity. While some change was observed in rape-supportive attitudes after the intervention, at follow up after one month, no difference was observed between the intervention group and the control (Gilbert, Heesacker & Gannon (1991) cited in Lonsway, 1996).

Positive and lasting change: More intensive and lengthy education programs have been shown to produce positive and lasting change in men's attitudes. For example, American undergraduate students undertook a semester-long university course designed to train peer facilitators to conduct rape education workshops. They were compared to students enrolled in a general human sexuality course. The rape education program resulted in positive attitude change, and two years later the participants were still less accepting of rape myths than those in the human sexuality course (Lonsway et al. 1998). Similarly, persistent attitudinal effects also have been documented in a five-month follow-up of male university students (Heppner et al. 1995) and a four-year follow-up of male and female adolescents (Foshee et al. 2004). (Further examples of positive and lasting change are given below.) A note of caution needs to be inserted in relation to positive evaluation findings about attitude change, which may be due to the use of low-risk samples of men (Yeater and O'Donohue 1999). Programs such as these may be less effective among higher-risk populations.

A critical question for behaviour change programs is, do behavioural changes persist over time? At least two educational programs have shown encouraging results here. A recent American multi-module program, one of the more sophisticated interventions among adult men, demonstrated the medium-term effectiveness of rape education programming at least for some men. Five months after the program, while some men had 'rebounded' to pre-intervention levels in terms of their attitudes and behaviours, others continued to show improvement (Heppner et al. 1995). The Safe Dates program among American adolescents also showed that behavioural change can persist over long periods. This intervention included a ten-session school curriculum, a theatre production performed by peers, and a poster contest. In an initial evaluation one year after the program, while positive changes in students' attitudes and awareness had persisted, the behavioural effects had faded (Foshee et al. 2000). However, four years after the program had ended, a further follow-up showed long-term and positive behavioural effects – adolescents who had received Safe Dates continued to report less physical and sexual dating violence perpetration (and victimisation) than those who had not (Foshee et al. 2004). It is possible that the program's positive impact on adolescents' attitudes and values only had an impact on their behaviours as they began dating and relationships.



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Attitudinal change versus behavioural change: Few evaluations of prevention programs have documented actual reductions in violent behaviour (Berkowitz 2004a). Many programs use standardised measures of participants' adherence to rape myths, adversarial sexual beliefs, acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape empathy, but these are only proxy measures of participants' actual perpetration of sexual violence (O'Donohue, Yeater and Fanetti 2003). To actually measure behaviour change, the measures discussed above would need to be complemented by the use of other standardised measures of sexually violent behaviour.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that prevention programs can create behavioural change. For example, some adolescent violence prevention programs have been shown to reduce the levels of dating violence among school students. Eighth and ninth grade students participated in the Safe Dates program at fourteen American public schools. In a one-month follow-up, they reported less perpetration of psychological abuse, physical violence, and sexual violence against a current dating partner than students in the control group. They also were more critical of norms supporting dating violence and used more constructive communication skills (Foshee et al. 1998).

Strategies

We turn now to strategies used in violence prevention education with men, including the educational format, content, presenter, and audience composition that have been shown to be most effective in producing positive and lasting attitudinal and behavioural change.⁵

Summarising recent literature on violence prevention education among men, Berkowitz (2001a, 2004b) argued that effective violence prevention programs have five key features, and these offer a useful overview of the features of programs which are more likely to produce lasting change in the attitudes, values and behaviours. Berkowitz proposes that:

1. effective prevention programs are *comprehensive*, in that they address and involve all relevant community members and systems.
2. programs are *intensive*, in that they offer learning opportunities that are interactive, involve active participation, are sustained over time and have multiple points of contact with reinforcing messages.
3. effective programs address *cognitive, affective, and behavioural domains*: what people know, how they feel, and how they behave.
4. effective programs are *relevant to the audience*. They are tailored to the characteristics of the participants and acknowledge the special needs and concerns of particular communities. They focus on peer-related variables, use peers in leadership roles, and emphasize the relationship of sexual assault to other issues.
5. effective programs offer *positive messages* which build on men's values and predisposition to act in a positive manner (Berkowitz 2001a, 2004b).

Here we expand on these principles and discuss what is known about educational format, audience, presenter and content in violence prevention programs.



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Format (Length and depth):

There are divergent views about the amount of time needed to convey a message in an educational context. Some authors argue that to generate sufficient 'intensity' to produce change, effective educational programs require both length and depth. Carmody and Carrington (2000) suggested that interventions need to be short enough to be practical, but long and intensive enough to be effective. They argued that while one-off and one-hour workshops may be attractive to overburdened organisations, they are unlikely to produce substantial and persistent change. Lonsway *et al.* (1998) also argued that while there are practical and financial constraints on lengthy and intensive educational programs, they are more likely to produce lasting change. Reporting on a study of five school-based interventions focused on dating violence prevention in the US, Meyer and Stein (2004) found programs that had greater amounts of contact with students and were embedded in the classroom curriculum over time, had a greater impact on students' attitudes and norms.

Conversely, some analyses have found that relatively short interventions can be effective. In a meta-analysis of interventions designed to reduce rape-supportive beliefs among college men, Flores and Hartlaub (1998) found that a range of formats were effective, including very short interventions of 30 minutes or less. They argued that these short programs may have been effective because they maintained the participants' interest. However, Flores and Hartlaub did find that the longer intervention, a semester-long course in human sexuality, was the most successful.⁶ In another meta-analysis of evaluations of rape intervention programs on college campuses, Brecklin and Forde (2001) reported that the length and type of intervention did not significantly influence attitude change. However Brecklin *et al.* did report that the number of sessions might increase the effect of interventions. The importance of lengthier interventions was confirmed in a recent meta-analysis of the effectiveness of college sexual assault programs. Anderson *et al.* (2005) reported that longer interventions (calculated in terms of the length of time exposed to material) were more effective in altering rape-related attitudes. They recommend that educational programs be longer and more thorough rather than brief.

Peers and mentors

Peer-based education often is emphasised in the violence prevention literature as an important strategy. However, programs that have used peer education and mentoring to end men's violence against women often have not theorised or focused any debate on definitions or discussion about what these terms mean or how the models are applied. On the other hand, there is a substantial literature concerning peer education and mentoring in relation to work with young people, particularly in schools, and in recent years health promotion too increasingly has adopted peer education. To highlight definitions of common terms such as 'peer' and 'mentor', we turn to education and health promotion literature, where peer education has been used to address such issues as smoking, sexuality education, and alcohol and drug use.

The following are common definitions:

- **Peer:** One who is roughly equivalent in development to the observer and who may be similar in other ways (e.g., gender, level of competence).
- **Mentor:** a person of special rank, achievements, or prestige who instructs, counsels, guides, models and facilitates the development of persons identified as protégés (Blackwell, 1989).



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- **Model:** A person whose actions, verbalizations, and expressions is attended to by one or more observers and serve as cues for modelling.
- **Modelling:** The process by which observers pattern their thoughts, beliefs, strategies, and actions after those displayed by one or more models.
- **Peer modelling:** Modelling that occurs as a function of observing peers (Ehly & Topping, 1998).

Peer education has been defined as “the sharing of information, attitudes or behaviours (sic) by people who are not professionally trained educators but whose goal is to educate” (Finn, 1981 p. 91). Peer educators are usually of a similar group to those they are educating, that is, individuals from similar ages, contexts and cultures to the participants.

Modelling is an important means for acquiring skills, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, and central to the process of peer education. Peers can be credible role models. They use the same vocabulary, which is important when discussing sensitive issues. Language is to some extent specific to particular genders, ages, social classes, and groups, and peers who use similar language have a basis from which to relate to each other (Ehly & Topping, 1998). Research with young people has shown that peer models play an important role in cognitive, social and emotional development (Schunk, 1987).

The mentoring relationship can be intense, close, interactive and sometimes complex (Feist-Price, 1994). Ave and Evans (2000) discuss the ways in which mentoring has been used in social programs, such as Big Brother and Big Sister. In this kind of program, role models (usually older, more experienced people) who set an example a younger person can aspire to by representing an ideal which the younger person can imitate. By working together over a period of time, the younger person gradually becomes more similar to her/his mentor in terms of values, attitudes and social behaviours. These definitions of mentoring do not fit the model of peer mentoring described in the violence prevention programs from the USA (which are discussed in detail later in this document), but they do describe the aspirations of such programs.

Peer education is based on theoretical models that suggest that an individual’s resistance to social pressure is stronger if that individual has already developed arguments to counter such pressure (Perry et. al. 1986). Social learning theory suggests that the change behaviour, individuals must understand the desired behaviour, have the opportunity to observe it and to practice it until they feel confident in their ability to perform it effectively (Bandura, 1986). Furthermore peer educators need to understand their role from the outset and need to be trained to fulfil that role for as long as necessary, to ensure that they are confident to carry out the tasks required of them (Ehly & Topping, 1998).

Peer education may be a particularly valuable strategy in violence prevention work with men, given the evidence that peer variables are an important influence on men’s tolerance for and perpetration of violence against women. Summarising Flood and Pease’s (2006) review:

- Peer support for sexual assault (having emotional ties to abusive peers and peers who have negative and violence-supportive attitudes) is correlated with men’s perpetration of sexual assault and physical abuse.



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- If men perceive that their peers accept common myths about violence against women, they are more likely to report a willingness to commit violence themselves.

In the US programs, it appears that the term 'peer mentor' is used more loosely than definitions of mentoring. We have clarified terminology in an attempt to assist avoiding any confusion about the essential differences between peer leaders/educators and mentors. The terms peer leader or peer educator may more accurately describe the role, however by seeing their peers (and other men) talking leadership roles in areas not usually attributed to men – such as violence prevention work – may also fulfil some of the expectations of mentoring. Ultimately, the terminology is not as important as the meaning given in practice. What is important is that the role expectations and responsibilities are clearly understood by all, including the person in the role, those he/she will directly be working with, as well as others in the surrounding environment.

Audience: gender composition

There is an emergent consensus that sexual assault prevention is most effective when conducted in gender specific female and male groups. Women's and men's programs have different strategies and goals and there are difficulties in combining them. Evaluations of US university-based programs demonstrated that separate-sex programs were more effective than mixed-sex programs, and female and male participants themselves preferred single-sex workshops (Berkowitz 2001a, 2002; Earle 1996; Foubert and McEwen 1998). A risk in mixed programs is that women with prior histories of sexual assault may experience mixed-gender workshops as re-victimising, while potential male perpetrators may misuse information on how women can reduce their risk of assault (Yeater and O'Donohue 1999).

Berkowitz (2002) argued that male-only sexual assault prevention programs are essential because:

- Men are more comfortable, less defensive and more honest in all male groups;
- Men are less likely to talk openly in the presence of women;
- Mixed gender discussions can become polarised;
- Single-gender groups reveal a diversity of opinions among men that may not be expressed when women are present; and,
- Men feel safe disagreeing or putting pressure on each other in all male groups.

Brecklin's and Forde's (2001) meta-analysis supported the argument for the single-sex sessions for male participants, and showed that interventions had more impact on male participants in single-sex than mixed-sex programs. Conversely, in their more recent meta-analysis, Anderson and Whiston (2005) reported that there was no evidence that men were more likely to benefit from single-sex group interventions than mixed group interventions. Anderson and Whiston acknowledged that their findings contradicted Brecklin's and Forde's, however, the two analyses differed in that Brecklin and Forde did not include behavioural intention, while Anderson's and Whiston's did.



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Audience: size

Group size has also been found to contribute to educational effectiveness. Brecklin's and Forde's (2001) meta-analysis found that larger groups were related to weaker effects, and they suggested that programs may be more effective if they use small group approaches. This supports the findings of an earlier evaluation that sought to identify the most appropriate format for rape prevention programs; Earle (1996) concluded that the most effective format was small groups that used interactive discussion formats, maximised opportunities for self-examination and encouraged introspection.

Content

The content of the education program has an impact on its effectiveness in producing attitudinal and behavioural change. Here we discuss four dimensions: domains of content, relevance and cultural appropriateness, stages of change, and positive messages.

Domains of content: Educational programs are more effective if they address three domains: cognitions, affective or emotional responses, and behaviour (Heppner et al. 1995). Some programs engage participants only at the cognitive level, by offering information in a lecture format or by interactive exercises on 'myths' and 'facts'. But programs that explore only what participants know are less effective than programs that also address how they feel and what they do.

A model example of such strategies is given by Heppner et al. (1995). They used three educational modules that addressed each of these three domains, in three 90-minute sessions held a week apart, in this case with American university students. A cognitive module focused on dispelling myths and providing facts about rape. The affective module relied on a panel of rape survivors speaking about the aftermath and long-term effects that rape has had on their lives. In addition, two male allies spoke of supporting friends who had been raped, their emotional reactions to this and so on. These exercises were designed to elicit empathy among the participants (Heppner et al. 1995).

The third, behavioural module involved role plays of a date-rape and of male friends supporting a female rape victim. The first role play was an interactive drama. Actors portray a scene of sexual coercion, and the audience is then invited to rewrite the scene by making suggestions as to how the actors could have interacted differently so that sexual coercion did not occur. The actors then recreate the scene, incorporating these suggestions. Such an exercise facilitates behavioural change by modelling the specific behaviours men can adopt to minimise their likelihood of coercing a partner into sex. The second role play extended this behavioural training by encouraging men's understanding of the needs of rape survivors and their skills at responding effectively (Heppner et al. 1995). This multi-method intervention was effective in producing persistent attitudinal and behavioural change, although a minority of participants did rebound to pre-intervention levels.

Anderson and Whiston's (2005) meta-analysis confirmed that the content of the intervention has a significant moderating effect for both rape-related attitudes and behaviours. The results suggest that interventions that focused on gender role socialisation, provided general information about rape, and discussed rape myths and facts had a more positive impact on participant's attitudes than



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programs that used a rape empathy approach. Flood (2005-2006) provides further discussion of content focused on encouraging empathy for victims. He notes that while some evaluations report the positive impact of interventions which appeal to men's empathy for female victims of assault, other evaluations find no or negative effects, and Berkowitz (2002) for example argues that it is prudent to incorporate the voices of both male and female survivors. Flood (2005-2006) also notes the dilemmas associated with two other forms of content used in violence prevention education with men: changing expectations regarding the outcomes of perpetrating violence, and teaching skills in non-violence and consent.

Relevance and cultural appropriateness: It is now taken as given in the field of violence prevention that interventions must be 'culturally appropriate' and sensitive to cultural diversities. This goes far beyond such measures as the use of culturally inclusive language, to the exploration of the ways in which women's and men's experiences of and involvements in sexual violence are organised by various social divisions (class, race, culture, age, and so on) and by local contexts and cultures.

Adopting culturally relevant interventions translates into greater effectiveness. For example, in violence prevention work with racially diverse groups of men, culturally relevant interventions are more effective than 'colour-blind' ones, at least according to American evidence. In a recent US study, African American men found the culturally relevant workshop (which used facilitators who shared the racial background of participants and included culturally specific information and reflection) to be more relevant and engaging than other intervention that do not acknowledge diversity (Heppner et al. 1995).

'Cultural appropriateness' conventionally is understood to refer to a sensitivity to ethnic diversity, but it should refer also to a sensitivity to *gender* cultures as well. Among men, there is enormous diversity in the constructions of masculinity and sexuality which are dominant in particular social contexts and communities. This diversity certainly is shaped by ethnic differences, but also by many other forms of social differentiation. There are social groups, workplaces and social networks of men in which violence against women is frequent and viewed as legitimate and other contexts in which this violence is rare and seen as unacceptable. In any one context, particular constructions of masculinity will be dominant, while others will be marginalised or subordinated (Connell 1995). One of the first steps in working with a particular group or community of men should be to map their gendered and sexual culture, in order to see what aspects of this culture contribute to violence against women and what aspects can be mobilised in support of non-violence.

Stages of change: The content of education programs must also be matched to men's level of awareness and stage of change. Men are at different places along the continuum from passive indifference to active intervention, and different educational approaches should be adopted for men at earlier and later stages of change (Berkowitz 2002). First, education programs can take men through different developmental stages over the course of the program. Second, different educational approaches can be used with men who are at different stages of awareness and commitment. For example, strategies such as empathy induction are suited to men with little



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recognition of the problem. Skills training begins to teach men to change their personal behaviour, and requires deeper changes in assumptions about consent and sexuality. Bystander intervention and social norms approaches go further still, in fostering change in peer relations and masculine culture (Berkowitz 2002).

Positive messages: The literature on violence prevention with men emphasises that effective programs are centred on positive messages which build on men's non-violent attitudes and relations. As Berkowitz (2001a, 2004b) argues, they document and reinforce healthy behaviours and norms, encourage individuals to focus on what they can do, not on what they should not do, and avoid an exclusive emphasis on problem behaviours.

One of the most significant challenges in work with men is to minimise their reactions of defensiveness and hostility. Many men already feel blamed and defensive about the issue of men's violence (Berkowitz 2004a), and defensive reactions are relatively common among men attending rape prevention interventions. Men have responded negatively to workshops in the US by saying that "This is male bashing" (Heppner et al. 1995), and to media campaigns in Australia by emphasising that men are the invisible victims of violence (Hubert 2003).

The potential for defensiveness can be lessened by approaching men as partners in solving the problem rather than as perpetrators of the problem (Berkowitz 2004a). Some programs emphasise that leadership is needed from men to end sexism and men's violence against women (Katz 1994). They address men as leaders on their campuses or in their communities, inviting them "to use their leadership role to promote a healthy sexual environment" (Heppner et al. 1995, p. 18). Another effective way to address men is as bystanders who have the capacity to intervene when they witness other men's violence.

Other measures that can lessen men's defensiveness include the creation of safe and non-judgmental environments for open discussion and dialogue (Berkowitz 2004a), the use of male facilitators, and a language of inclusive personal pronouns ("we" and "us") (Heppner et al. 1995). Perhaps the most fraught measure is to offer an acknowledgement of men's own victimisation (Flood 2002-2003). This may involve hearing and deconstructing men's perceptions of blame or denigration, acknowledging that men too are victims of violence, and emphasising that men are most at risk of violence from other men.

Strategies of blame and attack are ineffective and even damaging in violence prevention work with men. As Berkowitz (2004a, p. 3) notes:

Most men are not coercive or opportunistic, do not want to victimize others, and are willing to be "part of the solution". (In contrast... more intensive treatment is required for [men who are predatory or who have a history of perpetration] to change previous patterns of perpetration.) While this work does not require a style of personal confrontation (Lonsway 1996), certainly it must challenge the constructions of masculinity and gendered power relations that sustain sexual violence.



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This review of violence prevention education with men suggests that education programs can significantly reduce men's support for and participation in sexual violence. Violence prevention programs can lessen men's adherence to the attitudes and values associated with sexual violence, increase men's emotional and moral compassion, encourage men to intervene in the behaviour of other men, and reduce men's future violence. Far more work must be done to assess such efforts, and it is troubling to note that some interventions do little to create lasting change or even make men's attitudes worse. Nevertheless, existing evaluations do show that many programs produce short-term positive change and some produce long-term changes in attitudes and behaviours. In addition, our review of educational strategies provides valuable guidelines for designing effective programs. While there are areas of debate, notably over peer educators and the sex composition of the participants, our review provides assistance in constructing the format, content, and presentation of programs.

In the next section, we discuss existing program models that may be adaptable to the AFL context. However, we wish to emphasise also any education program in this context should draw also on the preceding review of key educational strategies.

Presenters / facilitators

In relation to the gender of violence prevention program facilitators, Flood (2005-2006) argued that when working with all-male audiences, it is preferable to use male facilitators and peer educators, because:

- Men's attitudes and behaviour are shaped in powerful ways by their male peers;
- All-male groups can provide the space and the safety for men to talk;
- Male educators and participants can act as role models for other men;
- Male educators tend to be perceived as more credible and more persuasive by male participants;
- Working in single-sex groups minimises the harmful, gendered forms of interaction that are common in mixed-sex groups;
- This embodies the recognition that men must take responsibility for helping to end men's violence against women.

However, Flood also noted that female facilitators can work very effectively with men, and that there are benefits to women and men working together, which include:

- Demonstrating to participants a model of egalitarian working relationships across gender;
- Modelling women's and men's shared interest in non-violence and gender justice;
- Giving men opportunities to hear of women's experiences and concerns and to further mobilise their care for the women and girls in their own lives.

Some evaluations have recommended that programs should be presented by peers. In their meta-analysis of interventions designed to reduce rape-supportive beliefs among college men, Flores and Hartlaub (1998) found that one of the most effective programs utilised peer educators. They theorised that the peer leaders were able to speak to participants from a familiar perspective which



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enabled participants to relate more easily to the information presented. Earle (1996) asserts that young men are more likely to learn from their peers, and trained peer educators have had the most effective outcomes in rape prevention programs.

Anderson and Whiston (2005) recent meta-analysis did not support such emphases on peer education. They found that the status of the facilitator appeared to influence attitude change and behavioural intentions: professional presenters were more successful than peer presenters. It may be therefore that the most effective teaching arrangement is to have professional facilitators and peer leaders co-present the program, as is practised for example in the Jackson Katz *Mentors in Violence Prevention* program, which is discussed in the next section.



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Program Models

Program Models fall into four broad categories:

- Multiple session, curriculum-based prevention interventions: these range from a few sessions over several days to programs several months long, and use a structured curriculum.
- Ongoing, open-forum discussion groups: allow participants to discuss a range of issues, most often using a loosely structured open forum approach, and drawing on various resource materials to stimulate discussion.
- One-time awareness/ educational workshop and theatrical performances: single session, often peer led, using a range of techniques.
- Environmental change strategies: use social marketing, media campaigns and other organised community based efforts, including Reclaim the Night and the White Ribbon Campaign (Clinton-Sherrod, Gibbs, Vincus, Squire, Cignetti, Pettibone, & Igoe, 2003).

While a wide variety of programs were identified in the review, three main frameworks that use the one-time awareness/ education workshop and resources were identified for working with men in sexual assault prevention programs, that may be applicable to the goals of the AFL Respect and Responsibility Program. These programs use empathy induction, conditions of consent and bystander interventions (Berkowitz, AD, 2002), and all use an awareness raising/ educational workshop approach, with some variations. The main programs using these frameworks that were identified in the literature are the Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) program (bystander intervention), the Rape Prevention Program for Men (conditions of consent program), and the Men's Program (empathy induction). The purpose, processes, teaching technologies, reported outcomes and evaluations of each of these programs will be discussed here.



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The Mentors in Violence Prevention Program

The Mentors In Violence Prevention (MVP) program uses a bystander approach, and has been used extensively with college athletes and fraternity men, and has also been used with professional athletes. Here we focus on the MVP work with men only groups. In these groups, a bystander is defined as a family member, friend, classmate, team-mate, co-worker, or anyone who is embedded in a family, school, social or professional relationship with anyone who might in some way be abusive, or experiencing abuse (Katz, 2003).

In addition to the training run by Jackson Katz through North-eastern University Boston, a variety of other models have been developed based on the MVP approach. A program called Athletes Helping Athletes in New York targets male athletes in high schools and colleges using the MVP approach. Students are trained to run the program, which aims to prevent violence against women and bullying behaviours. It has recently been adapted to a Sports Leadership Institute, which has a curriculum entitled 'Coaching Boys into Men'. Other Katz-based programs include the video presentation *Tough Guise: Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity*, also developed by Katz, and SAVE Mentors at the University of Iowa, which recruits and trains senior men to work as mentors with younger men on campus (Clinton-Sherrod, Gibbs et al., 2003).

The MVP program uses athletic metaphors and works to encourage trained community leaders to intervene in situations where racism, sexism and gendered violence may occur. In addition to empathy induction and information, the program includes discussion of scenarios where a bystander might need to intervene. The training uses the bystander model to empower participants to take an active role in promoting a positive climate. The program uses role-plays intended to allow participants to construct and practice ways of responding to incidents of harassment, abuse, or violence, before, during or after it has occurred. They thus learn that there is not only one way to confront violence and develop skills to assist them to act in future (Katz, 2003).

The MVP program presents traditional constructions of masculinity and manhood as central to the problem of men's violence against women, as well as the basis of potential sources of prevention. Through the MVP project at north-eastern university in Boston, Katz and his colleagues seek to reduce men's violence against women by inspiring athletes and other models of traditional masculine success to challenge and reconstruct predominant male norms, that equate strength in men with dominance over women. The project specifically encourages participants to use their stature among their peers on campus to promote healthier attitudes and behaviours towards women (Katz, 1995). Men are not positioned as perpetrators, but as leaders and bystanders. This provides an opportunity for men to 'break their silence' about violence against women in a safe all male environment. MVP programs are presented by peer leaders, who are accompanied by a MVP male staff member.



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The MVP model involves holding a 90-minute session each year with each participating college team, and a further session is available to those who want to undertake further work as peer educators with high school students. Around half of these sessions take place in the locker room, either before or after the team's season. Prior to contact with the players, a session is held with the team's coaching staff, to introduce the session, and take the coaches through a typical session. At the training sessions, the MVP Playbook is distributed to all participants, and becomes the focus of the next three sessions. As well as gender-based violence, homophobic violence is included in the sessions. A professional leader and a peer leader co-present the program. Peer leaders are trained in a two-day workshop. They are not expected to be experts on gender violence or bullying prevention, but they are prepared to facilitate discussions on these subjects (Katz, 1995).

The MVP Program was evaluated internally during the 1999-2000 academic year, using a mixed-methods evaluation that had three major goals:

- To use qualitative, case study research in an effort to understand the need for the MVP Program, participant experiences, and to describe Program activities.
- To collect quantitative baseline data to measure the program impact in terms of participant knowledge, attitude change, and change in self-efficacy.
- To pay careful attention to gender differences in terms of participants' reactions to the MVP Program.

Observation of MVP training sessions and in-depth interviews with participants demonstrated the ways in which gender violence impacts students on a daily basis. Quantitative survey data suggested that the program demonstrated statistically significant changes in participant knowledge, awareness, and attitudes. After the intervention participants knew more facts about gender violence, sexist attitudes diminished, and participants' confidence to intervene in and prevent gender violence improved. Participant and key informant interview data further suggested that participant behaviours changed as a result of program participation. Participants also reported a high level of satisfaction with the MVP Program (Katz, 2001). The authors of this evaluation reported that it was methodologically limited, in that it did not incorporate control groups. A further evaluation was conducted, with three main goals:

- To strengthen the quantitative evaluation approach by employing a quasi-experimental, pre-test/post-test design with comparison group.
- To evaluate Program outcomes, paying attention to gender differences, including change in levels of participant knowledge and awareness; change in participant attitudes concerning gender violence and ability to be an active bystander; and participant satisfaction with the MVP Program.
- To continue to explore the experiences and well-being of young women who participate in the MVP Program through focus group research.

Findings from the second year evaluation reported that the Program was effective in realizing its goals. Levels of participant knowledge and awareness about gender violence, attitudes to gender violence, and participant self-efficacy regarding their ability to intervene in, and prevent male



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violence against women all increased after participation. Statistically significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups were noted. The report also noted that the program may change participant's perceptions about peer group attitudes and norms. Understanding that fellow students are not as approving of sexism and inappropriate behaviour toward women may make it easier for MVP participants to act as empowered bystanders.



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The Men's Program

The Men's Program focuses on building victim empathy and on teaching men how to help women recover from a rape experience. Developed by John Foubert in 1993, it is an all-male, one hour peer education program, that is promoted on college campuses as 'How to Help a Sexual Assault Survivor: What Men Can Do'. The programs' expressed aims are to educate college men to develop a deeper understanding of rape, so that they will be less likely to commit such an act. It has been used with men on American college campuses, but primarily focuses on student athletes and fraternity men. The program travels to universities, and men self-select to participate in this version of the program (Foubert, 2005).

It has also been adapted in a number of other settings, for example at Central Michigan University, the Men's Program is compulsory for all new male students, athletes and fraternity members. The Oklahoma State Department of Health Chronic Diseases Service runs a version of the program for men in colleges, and has trained 150 peer leaders. Another program that uses a modified version of the Foubert (and Katz) approach is the peer education and outreach program at North Carolina State University, which also focuses on male athletes, fraternity members and the Reserve Officers Training Corp (Clinton-Sherrod, Gibbs et al., 2003).

Participants in these programs are shown a video, *No More* (2000), that depicts a male-on-male rape, to show men how rape might feel. In the video, the victim is portrayed as a police officer, who is disarmed by two men, and raped. Afterwards, presenters explain that the perpetrators were heterosexual and known to the victim, to dispel assumptions about male-on-male rape being perpetrated by gay men. They note that they are describing the more common occurrence of heterosexual perpetrators using rape to exert power and control over their victim. They then make the connection between the male and female experience of rape to facilitate participants' empathy towards rape survivors. Other aspects of the program include defining consent, and strategies for confronting a peer who jokes about rape, acts in a way that demeans women, or brags about abusing women (Foubert, & Newberry, 2006).

The Men's Program has been extensively evaluated, although most evaluations have been internal. In one evaluation, pre and post test scores were used to measure the decline in likelihood of raping, and rape myth acceptance, after the program relative to pre-test scores. Qualitative follow up seven months after the program of 53 fraternity men who participated asked two open ended questions:

1. During the last year, did the program impact on your attitudes/ or behaviour? If so, how?
2. If your attitudes and/ or behaviour changed, what about the program led to this change?

Most men indicated that the program made them more aware (19) and increased their sensitivity to rape (11) Four responded that it made them more aware that men can be raped. Ten of the men indicated that it had not changed their attitudes because they had always been against rape, and a further ten responded that their attitudes had not changed. Four responses did not fit the themes.



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The evaluation concluded that the intervention had a lasting impact and that the video was the most influential part of the program (Foubert & La Voy, 2000).

In another evaluation, the longitudinal effects of the program were compared against a control group. Rape myth acceptance, likelihood of raping, and sexually coercive behaviour of 145 fraternity men who were randomly assigned to a control group or a rape-prevention program were surveyed. Although no evidence of change in sexually coercive behaviour was found, significant seven-month declines in rape myth acceptance and the likelihood of committing rape were shown among program participants. Rape myth acceptance was lower in the intervention group compared with the control group (Foubert, 2000). Other users of Foubert-based programs report similar long-term changes in knowledge and attitudes using pre- and post-test surveys (Clinton-Sherrod, Gibbs et al., 2003).

Recommendations from these evaluations suggest that the all-male peer education format for rape prevention programs with men is effective in decreasing rape myths and reported intent to rape a woman. The authors posit that the more motivated participants are to see the program, the more able they are to understand material presented, and the more relevant the program seemed to them, the less they believed rape myths and reported intent to rape a woman. Foubert and McEwan (1998) suggest that programs with men should increase their motivation to listen, be presented in ways that are easy to follow and understand, and be designed so that audiences will perceive them as relevant.



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The Rape Prevention Program For Men

This program was one of the first all-male anti-rape programs introduced into US Colleges (Katz, 1995). It was developed by Alan Berkowitz, who also developed the Social Norms Model of behaviour change, which has been used extensively in a range of settings including problematic substance use and smoking cessation programs. Berkowitz (2004) reported that this program has been used with college and university students, and with defined populations such as fraternity members and athletes.

The *Rape Prevention Program for Men* aims to bring men's discomfort with the opportunistic and coercive behaviour of some men into the open so that discomfort with the behaviour can be shared and acted on. It also teaches guidelines for consenting sexual intimacy. Consent is defined in this program as a situation in which both parties are fully conscious, equally free to act and have positively and clearly communicated their intent (Berkowitz, 1994). The program uses scenarios that portray an intimate encounter between a man and a woman, men's discomfort with other men's language, and behaviour and men's experience of pressure from other men to be sexually active (Berkowitz, 2002). These groups are conducted by trained peer educators.

Other programs that use this approach include *Take a Stand* program for men at the University of Montana, *Men Against Violence* at the University of Alabama and the University of Pittsburgh in Kansas, the *Rape Prevention Program for Men* at Hobart College New York, and a program at Western Washington University, Washington. All of these programs attempt to bring about wider social change, but only limited references to evaluations were identified.

Some internal evaluation of the *Rape Prevention Program for Men* suggested that when programs incorporate *Social Norms* as part of a comprehensive intervention using multiple strategies, the social norms component is often one of the important ingredients associated with program effectiveness (Berkowitz, 2004). While a considerable amount has been published about Berkowitz's Social Norms model of behaviour change, less information was available about the *Rape Prevention Program for Men*.



Adult learning and behaviour change principles: a summary

The evidence compiled in this review of the literature on adult behaviour change and violence prevention programs suggest that good practice education programs with men should be:

- **Respectful:** this implies using a positive, asset based approach. The participants should be treated as bystanders to violence as opposed to potential perpetrators. By maintaining a focus on cultural norms, skill building, respect for self, others and the team, participants should leave with the message that they can do something.
- **Goal oriented:** participants should have a clear understanding about why they are doing the training and what the training aims to achieve.
- **Relevant to them:** this is related to the training goal, but if participants have clearly identified expectations for the training, rather than feeling that they are expected to attend, they are more likely to actively participate.
- **Practical:** this is related to relevance. What will they get out of the training that is useful to them now or in the future?
- **Autonomous and self directed:** this is achieved through the process, not the content. Training should be interactive and participants should have some input to the shape of the program.
- **Focussed on the environment and changing social norms.** Assumptions about peer group/ club norms being an asset, and care of the self and others being a norm can help to establish a climate of trust and acceptance. Participants need to feel that they each have a role to play, whether it is personal, or in support of team mates, or the women they know.
- **Capacity building:** Identify dominant positive norms to re-frame assumed (negative) norms. Enhance capacity and build skills to help them to feel like they can be effective bystanders (framed as helping team mates, team spirit, i.e. a culture of responsibility and respect).
- **Increase receptiveness** and engagement with prevention messages and decrease defensiveness.
- **Teach and practise skills:** bystander skills for effective intervention in social situations, and for practising mutual consent.



End notes

¹ In this study, 15.4% of the women surveyed reported that they had experienced acts that met the legal definition of rape, and an additional 12.1% of the women reported at least one attempted rape, and the vast majority of these assaults were committed by acquaintances. In a similar study of college students, 1 in 12 men admitted having committed acts that met the legal definition of rape or attempted rape (Lanier, Elliott, Martin, & Kapadia, 1998).

² Frintner and Rubinson (1993) found that while sports team members make up less than 2% of the campus population, they comprise 20.2% of the men involved in sexual assault or attempted sexual assault.

³ Few primary prevention programs were identified that originated in countries outside the USA. Some programs were identified in Canada, but these were in schools, not with adult men, and in the Netherlands (see for example Lavoie, Vezina, Christiane, & Boivin, 1995; Winkel & De Kleuver, 1997).

⁴ Some of the following discussion is adapted and revised from Flood (2006).

⁵ Some of the following discussion is adapted and revised from Flood (2006).

⁶ The authors also note that this may be because of the qualities of those who self-select to participate in this kind of course.



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