Engaging Boys and Men in Sexual Assault Prevention

Theory, Research, and Practice

Edited by

Lindsay M. Orchowski

Alan D. Berkowitz

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The integrated model of sexual aggression: A synthesis of 30 years of research and practice

Lindsay M. Orchowski[a] and Alan D. Berkowitz[b]

[a]*Department of Psychiatry and Human Behavior, Alpert Medical School of Brown University, Providence, RI, United States,* [b]*Independent Researcher and Consultant, Mount Shasta, CA, United States*

Considerable research supports the notion that there are multiple influences that determine the expression of sexually aggressive behavior (Tharp et al., 2013). The factors that influence sexual aggression *within individuals* are complex and interact with factors across the social ecology (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004). For example, the likelihood that an individual expresses sexually aggressive behavior is driven by peer-group influences such as perceived peer support for sexual aggression (Swartout, 2013), as well as situational and environmental factors, including the availability of potential victims, alcohol use, and perceived social norms which support or tolerate misconduct (see Hewitt & Beauregard, 2014; Jung & Lee, 2015; Testa & Cleveland, 2017). Given that men's perpetration of sexual aggression remains a critical issue and that various risk factors and correlates have been identified, it seems apparent that to be effective, preventative efforts should be informed by theoretical models that account for the multiple drivers of sexual aggression.

Accordingly, the purpose of the current chapter is to provide an updated articulation of the *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* and to review over 30 years of research and implementation that has taken place since the model was originally delineated. The *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* (Berkowitz, 1992, 1994, 2003) is a multifactorial theory of sexual assault prevention which incorporates mutually reinforcing mechanisms of change with the goal of reducing men' proclivity to perpetrate and to empower individuals in a community—especially other men—to act to prevent violence. The *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* was first proposed by Berkowitz (1992) to describe the influence of individual and situational variables in increasing the likelihood of men's perpetration of sexual assault against women. This model was updated by Berkowitz (2003, 2010) to focus on the role of perceived social norms in sexual aggression. The expansion of the model to incorporate a focus on peer norms provided an opportunity to articulate the explanatory model within a theory of change (i.e., the social norms approach), as well as to incorporate strategies to foster change in other men and in the broader norms that sustain sexual aggression, through engagement in proactive bystander intervention.

The model focuses explicitly on men's sexually aggressive behavior and other men's response to it, drawing upon research that examines factors associated with men's perpetration of sexual assault

against women. Commensurate with a public health approach to sexual assault prevention (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004), the model has a broad focus on factors that influence sexual assault across the social ecology (i.e., individual-, peer-, situational- and environmental-level factors). The attention to influences at the outer levels of the social ecology is an important component of the model, given that it is now recognized within the public health field that interventions are likely to be most effective when they target environmental factors such as widely held societal norms and beliefs (Armstead, Wilkins, & Doreson, 2018). The model also attends to differences among men on the factors that influence sexual aggression, while aiming to identify the influences on those men who might have a high proclivity to engage in sexual assault; and who may warrant more targeted intervention. Further, the model stipulates that each of the components that increase risk for sexual assault are not required to be present for an individual to engage in sexual violence. Rather, the components of the model can interact to facilitate sexual aggression, or to inhibit sexual violence in situations by reducing the opportunity to commit it (see Gidycz, Warkentin, Orchowski, & Edwards, 2011), or when other situational factors intervene (Haikalis, Leone, Parrott, & DiLillo, 2018; Kania & Cale, 2021; Oesterle, Orchowski, Moreno, & Berkowitz, 2018).

In reviewing the *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* and proposing expansions to the model in consideration of recent developments in research, this chapter has the following aims. First, it describes Berkowitz's (1992, 1994) original *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape*, as well as ways in which the model was updated to address the role of social norms in sexual aggression (Berkowitz, 2003, 2010). Second, it describes the need for the theory to be augmented and expanded to include new developments in research (i.e., normative feedback, the role of bystanders, the need for a broader range of intervention skills, and the synergy between bystander intervention and social norms) and proposes an *Updated Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* to guide sexual assault prevention efforts for boys and men. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of applications of the model to sexual assault prevention approaches for boys and men, as well as a discussion of best practices in the facilitation of programs which utilize this approach—which relies on having well-trained facilitators to implement it. Our hope in articulating this updated model is to provide a pedagogy for best practice in the administration of sexual assault prevention for male audiences, one that is grounded in a longstanding (and up to date) cannon of theory, research, and intervention experience.

Components of the integrated model of sexual assault and acquaintance rape

The Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape described by Berkowitz (1992, 1994) was proposed to account for the variables that were empirically demonstrated in the research literature to be related to sexual assault perpetration among men. As depicted in Fig. 1, this model illustrates the relative relationships between victim and perpetrator variables. Perpetrator characteristics such as attitudes and socialization experiences serve to determine when a sexual assault might seem justifiable. These attitudes include belief in rape myths, adversarial views of gender relations, and ascription to traditional gender role beliefs, with a perpetrator's personality also playing a role. For example, hypermasculinity fosters a need to dominate women as well as hostility towards women and an acceptance of violence against women, which interact to increase proclivity for sexual aggression. An antisocial
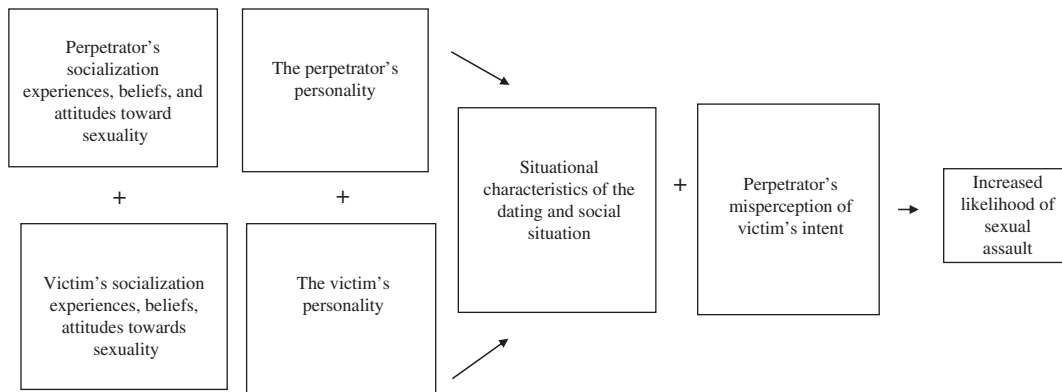
FIG. 1

The Original Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape (Berkowitz, 1992, 1994).

orientation, which includes lack of social conscience and disregard for others also contributes to risk for sexual violence. In addition to these factors, early sexual experiences and sexual style confer additional risks. Specifically, men with earlier and more frequent sexual experiences show a pattern of seeking sexual outlets, which may foster the use of coercion or aggression to facilitate sexual activity.

These personal characteristics are influenced by socialization contexts throughout the lifespan and are reinforced or inhibited within peer-group interactions, which have a strong influence on whether they are expressed, along with situational factors present at the time of or before an assault. Situational characteristics include the location, whether a man initiates and pays, the presence of alcohol use by the victim and/or perpetrator, the relationship with the victim, perceived peer-group support and engagement with a close-knit peer group that is perceived to be accepting of violence, misperception of victim intent, and power differentials. Sexual violence is also facilitated when factors such as friendliness or consumption of alcohol lead to a misperception of sexual interest. Together, a perpetrator's personal attitudes and beliefs, socialization experiences, and peer-group affiliations will determine the conditions in which a sexual assault would seem justifiable. Situational variables serve as releasers of sexual aggression and support the perception that sexual assault is justifiable, leading perpetrators to disregard the absence of consent. The articulation of situational variables which serve as releasers allow for the design of environments that can serve to inhibit perpetrators. Each component of the model is reviewed in more detail below. These components are also discussed in detail by Berkowitz, Burkhart, and Bourg (1994) and by Berkowitz et al. (1994).

Component 1: The role of socialization experiences, attitudes, and beliefs in sexual aggression

The *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* (Berkowitz, 1992, 1994) begins by recognizing the importance of early socialization experiences, including family violence and childhood trauma. Research strongly suggests that experiencing child maltreatment, which includes emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect, increases risk for perpetrating violence later in life (White & Smith, 2004; Widom, 2001). These experiences make it difficult to form healthy relationships in adulthood.

As detailed in Tharp et al.'s (2013) review of risk factors for sexual aggression, there was a significant association between child sexual abuse and sexual aggression in 20 of 34 studies, and a significant association between exposure to family violence and sexual aggression in 18 of the 22 studies examined in the review, including studies of college men. For example, according to early research conducted by Stevenson and Gajarsky (1991), most of the college men who reported a history of childhood sexual victimization also reported a history of perpetrating sexual aggression. College men who perpetrate sexual aggression are also likely to report a history of delinquent behavior in adolescence (Calhoun, Bernat, Clum, & Frame, 1997).

It is important to note that acknowledging the role of socialization experiences as drivers of sexual aggression is not to imply that men who perpetrate should not be held responsible for their behavior. Further, it is also important to note that acknowledging role of early socialization experiences as drivers of sexually aggressive behavior should not be interpreted as labeling men who perpetrate as sociopathic or implying that all of these men will assault. Instead, it is likely that these early socialization experiences normalize and justify acts of violence so that the risk of committing it is increased. When perpetrating sexual aggression, men with a history of child maltreatment are acting in a manner that is likely to be consistent with their early socialization experiences. As a result, these men tend not to label the behavior as sexual assault or rape, perhaps in part because aggression—or other expressions of power and control in relationships—are believed (consciously or unconsciously) to be a normative component of relationships that is also perceived to be acceptable to peers. This notion is supported in Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski's (1985) seminal report of hidden rape on college campuses, where analysis of the 131 college men who reported perpetrating acts that met the legal definition of rape found that, only one man in the sample viewed his behavior as rape, and 84% of men in the sample described their behavior as "definitely not rape" (p. 19).

Early socialization experiences may be reinforced by later interactions with all-male peer groups, as well as exposure to rape supportive cultural norms, which facilitate adoption of attitudes and beliefs which promote mistreatment of women. Several attitudes and beliefs are recognized as drivers of sexual aggression and there are numerous studies which indicate that men who accept stereotypical rape myths, hold adversarial views about relationships between men and women, condone violence against women, or hold traditional attitudes about sex roles are more tolerant of rape and more likely to perpetrate sexual aggression than men who do not share these beliefs (Tharp et al., 2013). For example, in this comprehensive review of the perpetration literature, a significant association between sexual aggression and rape myth acceptance was documented in 31 of the 36 studies examined, a significant association between sexual aggression and adversarial sexual beliefs was identified in 32 of 42 studies, an association between acceptance of violence/condoning of violence against women and sexual aggression was found in 9 of 13 studies, and an association between sexual aggression and traditional gender role adherence (i.e., holding traditional attitudes about sex roles) was documented in 19 of 21 studies (Tharp et al., 2013). These studies are diverse in samples and study methodology and include prospective associations between attitudes/beliefs and violence perpetration. There are also several longitudinal studies which demonstrate an association between perpetrator characteristics and subsequent perpetration of sexual aggression, including levels of rape myth acceptance (Davis, Danube, Stappenbeck, Norris, & George, 2015; Kingree & Thompson, 2015) and a peer environment that is perceived to be permissive (Abbey, Parkhill, Clinton-Sherrod, & Zawacki, 2007; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Kingree & Thompson, 2013). Prospective associations have been documented between college men's endorsement of rape

supportive beliefs and perpetration and engagement in sexual aggression over an academic semester (Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005). In addition, Bohner, Siebler, and Schmelcher (2006) conducted experimental research which documented an association between perceived peer rape myth acceptance and personal rape proclivity. These attitudes and beliefs held by men and boys who perpetrate are likely to serve as a heuristic in decision making in social and dating situations, resulting in rapid processing of social cues in a potentially biased manner that leads to an assault (see Burkhart & Fromuth, 1991).

Component 2: Personality characteristics

There a several personality factors that differentiate between sexually aggressive and non-sexually aggressive men. As discussed by Berkowitz (1992), personality variables influence the willingness that an individual will act on rape supportive attitudes and beliefs in a particular situation or peer context. Tharp et al.'s (2013) review of risk factors for sexual aggression found that empathy deficits were significantly associated with sexual aggression in 13 of 20 studies, and a tendency towards dominance manifested a significant association with sexual aggression in 4 out of the 6 studies included in the review. Sexually aggressive men report a higher need for dominance in relationships compared to men who do not report engaging in sexual aggression (Malamuth, 1986). Hypermasculinity is also a well-documented correlate of sexual aggression, with Tharp et al. (2013) reporting that hypermasculinity was significantly associated with sexual aggression in 12 of 18 studies. Murnen (2015) notes the importance of carefully defining masculinity in research of sexual aggression, distinguishing between hostile masculinity (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991) and hypermasculinity (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Hypermasculinity is understood to represent a pattern of exaggerated male stereotypical behavior, including an emphasis on physical strength, aggression, and sexuality, while expressing toughness and self-control (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Hypermasculine depictions of men are widely displayed in popular television and film media (Vokey, Tefft, & Tysiaczny, 2013). Hypermasculinity also demonstrates a significant association with rape myth endorsement (Locke & Mahalik, 2005; Zinzow & Thompson, 2015), suggesting that it is likely to have an intersecting role which serves to increase proclivity to rape.

Component 3: Situational characteristics

The Integrated Model introduces the notion that multiple characteristics of a social or dating situation may serve as "triggers" to perpetrators that justify and facilitate the expression of these predisposing characteristics in sexually aggressive behavior (Berkowitz, 1992). It is important to note that not all situations may provide an opportunity for an individual to perpetrate, and that interventions can be designed to reduce situational opportunity. As reported in Gidycz, Warkentin, et al.'s (2011) study of 413 college men, many sexually aggressive college men indicated a likelihood to perpetrate sexual aggression by administering alcohol or drugs to a potential victim over the course of an academic quarter, yet only 58.8% of these men did so; suggesting that some men who see themselves acting a coercive or aggressive manner to obtain sex may not do so unless they perceive that 'a good opportunity' has arisen. Characteristics of interactions most frequently studied include the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, alcohol or drug use, misperceptions of a victim's intent, and perceptions of peer norms and peer support. Each of these factors is reviewed below.

Relationship between the victim and perpetrator

The relationship between the victim and perpetrator is a critical component in sexual assault. Research has long documented that most sexual assaults are perpetrated by someone known to the victim (Ullman & Siegel, 1993). From the perspective of the perpetrator, assumptions about an existing relationship with a victim may serve to justify acting in a sexually coercive or aggressive way to obtain sex. Qualitative research by Righi, Bogen, Kuo, and Orchowski (2021) found that high school students have different perceptions of the ways in which consent for sexual activity is conferred in long-term relationships, expecting that sexual activity would happen again between partners who were previously sexually active without the need for verbal consent, especially within an established relationship. This research aligns with other research suggesting that feeling entitled to sex distinguishes between sexually aggressive and non-sexually aggressive men (Bouffard, 2010), a feeling that may be associated with a range of other cognitions which serve to justify sexual offending (Pemberton & Wakeling, 2009). Entitlement is also associated with other rape-related variables (Hill & Fischer, 2001), and may be especially high in the context of a relationship (Bergen & Bukovec, 2006). Research by Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that the average length of time that women were acquainted with a perpetrator before a sexual assault was approximately one year. Therefore, it may be that longer relationships afford more opportunities to foster the conditions in which a man feels that sexual assault is justifiable, both for himself and with respect to what he believes about his peers.

The role of alcohol

It is also clear from numerous studies that alcohol use by the victim and/or perpetrator contributes to risk for sexual assault, with approximately 50% of acquaintance rapes involving alcohol consumption, either by the victim or the perpetrator or both (Abbey, 2002; Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998; Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2001). When there is alcohol use, sexual assaults are associated with increased aggression by the perpetrator (Testa & Cleveland, 2017) as well as increased assault severity (Ullman, Karabatsos, & Koss, 1999). Victims are also at an increased likelihood to sustain injuries when an assault involves alcohol use (Rhew, Stappenbeck, Bedard-Gilligan, Hughes, & Kaysen, 2017). Cross-sectional research among college women indicates that those with a history of sexual victimization are less likely to use protective behavioral strategies when they drink (Neilson et al., 2018), which may increase their likelihood to be targeted for an attack (Graham, Bernards, Abbey, Dumas, & Wells, 2014; Parks & Scheidt, 2000). Although not all men who perpetrate sexual aggression do so under the influence of alcohol (Kingree & Thompson, 2015; Parkhill & Abbey, 2008), there is a well-established correlation between alcohol use and sexual aggression among men. Specifically, studies document higher rates of alcohol use and heavy drinking among college men who perpetrate sexual aggression (Shorey, Stuart, McNulty, & Moore, 2014; Thompson, Koss, Kingree, Goree, & Rice, 2011) compared to men who do not perpetrate.

Alcohol use can increase risk for sexual aggression through several mechanisms. These mechanisms are reviewed by Abbey, Wegner, Woerner, Pegram, and Pierce (2014), are summarized here and reviewed elsewhere in this volume (see Chapter 8). Specifically, when intoxicated, the pharmacological effects of alcohol focus men's attention on the most personally salient cues in their environment (Steele & Josephs, 1990). As a result, men who are drinking in social and dating situations are at increased likelihood for misinterpreting women's friendliness as a sign that she is sexually interested when she in fact is not (Willis & Jozkowski, 2019). Hazardous use also influences impulse control (Watkins, Maldonado, & DiLillo, 2014) and even small amounts of alcohol contribute to deficits in judgment

and decision making in sexual situations (for a review see Scott-Sheldon et al., 2016). As a result, a man who is intoxicated may be more likely to act upon attitudes and beliefs that foster sexual aggression, compared to when not drinking (see Hoaken & Phil, 2000). Because drinking is associated with reductions in tension and anxiety (; Moberg & Curtin, 2009), men may also be more likely to act in a sexually coercive way when drinking. Abbey et al. (1998) discuss how alcohol expectancies may directly influence sexual assault perpetration among men. Specifically, men who expect to feel sexual or aggressive when drinking (see Crane, Godleski, Przybyla, Schlauch, & Testa, 2016; Kachadourian, Quigley, & Leonard, 2014; Pabst, Kraus, Piontek, Mueller, & Demmel, 2014) may drink to justify acting in a sexual or aggressive way. Alcohol expectancies regarding sexuality correlate with rape myth acceptance (Abbey et al., 1998), highlighting the interactions between attitudes, beliefs, and situational characteristics that facilitate sexual aggression It is important to note that the this correlation between alcohol use and sexual assault does not excuse men's responsibility for engaging in sexual aggression while intoxicated.

It is also important to note that whereas it is clear from the above research that alcohol use is correlated with sexual assault, and acts as a facilitator of sexual aggression; alcohol use does not *cause* sexual assault. Men who perpetrate sexual aggression using alcohol will also do so without it (Kirwan, Parkhill, Schuetz, & Cox, 2019). Other men also perpetrate without drinking (Parkhill & Abbey, 2008). For example, in research conducted by Parkhill and Abbey (2008), among a group of men who perpetrated sexual assault, 27% reported perpetrating only when drinking, 25% reported perpetrating either when sober or when drinking, and 48% reported perpetrating only when sober. Research also demonstrates the importance of the situational contribution of particular drinking environments (i.e., parties and bars) important factors that drive the association between alcohol use and sexual violence (Cleveland, Testa, & Hone, 2019; Malamuth et al., 2021; Testa & Cleveland, 2017).

Perpetrator's misperceptions of victim's intent

A series of early studies by Abbey (1982, 1987, 1991) as well as later research by Abbey, Zawacki, and McAuslan (2000) document ways in which men overestimated women's sexual availability and interest. Even subtle variations in nonverbal cues such as eye contact can influence men's perceptions of women's sexual interest (Abbey & Melby, 1986). The magnitude of men's misperception of women's sexual interest is also associated with women's level of physical attractiveness (Perilloux, Easton, & Buss, 2012). When men are drinking, they are especially likely to misperceive friendliness as a sign of sexual interest (Farris, Treat, & Viken, 2010; Willis & Jozkowski, 2019). Jacques-Tiura, Abbey, Parkhill, and Zawacki (2007) also found that attitudes such as hostile masculinity, impersonal sex, as well as behaviors such as drinking in dating and sexual situations predicted the likelihood that men misperceived women's sexual interest. Misperception of sexual interest is an important driver of sexual aggression, as it allows men to rationalize their choice to disregard women's refusals of sexual activity. For example, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that men who had perpetrated sexual aggression often felt led on by their dates who they believed were dressed suggestively, which was interpreted as evidence of sexual availability. Misperceptions of sexual intent are also associated with the perpetration of sexual aggression in college men (Abbey et al., 1998).

Early research addressing sexual assault also recognized ways in which token resistance was believed to justify sexual aggression. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) describe "token resistance" as refusing sexual contact when someone has the ultimate intention of engaging in sexual contact (i.e., saying "no" when you mean "yes"). In later research, Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1998) emphasize that

most women who say "no" to sexual activity truly do mean "no". However, perpetrators of sexual aggression may justify sexual aggression and ignore a partner's sexual refusal if they inaccurately believe that a partner is saying "no" as a form of token resistance; a hypothesis which is supported by research using audio-vignettes which found that men who were presented with token resistance waited significantly longer to decide that sexual contact should not proceed, compared to men who were presented with sexual situations where no resistance was present (Marx & Gross, 1995). Sexual double standards which posit that men should be sexually active and that women should be sexually reactive/passive are well documented (Endendijk, van Baar, & Deković, 2020), and men who are socialized to believe that women will not express an interest in sexual activity may draw on this myth to justify dismissing a partner's refusal.

Peer influences and norms

Berkowitz's (1992, 1994) model includes recognition that peer-group support and participation in all-male close-knit peer groups that emphasize adversarial gender relations and hostility towards women serve as situational factors for sexual aggression. The focus on social norms as a driver of sexual aggression was expanded in Berkowitz's (2003, 2010) articulation of the *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* to take into account emerging research documenting that these norms are often misperceived by both perpetrators and by men in general. A revision of the model which considers these updates is depicted in Fig. 2.

Drawing upon an emerging body of social norms theory and research applying the model to sexual assault prevention, the 2003 and 2010 articulations of the *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* recognize the role of peer perceptions as being a major influence on shaping individual behavior (Berkowitz, 2003, 2010). Numerous studies suggest that peer pressure is an important driver of sexual assault perpetration. For example, in early research with men who perpetrated sexual aggression, Kanin (1985) found that 85% of men who perpetrated, compared to 23% of men who had not, reported pressure to have sex when they were in high school. In another study with college men, Abbey et al. (1998) found that men who indicated perpetrating one or more acts of sexual aggression indicated that they felt pressure to be sexually aggressive in order to demonstrate their masculinity to their peers. Not only does peer pressure impact sexual behavior, but it is also well documented that peer pressure and perceived peer norms play a strong role in influencing men's alcohol use (Morris, Larsen, Catterall, Moss, & Dombrowski, 2020).). and that these perceptions are often inaccurate. A summary of research addressing peer perceptions can be found in Chapter 7 of this volume.

The social norms approach to prevention is based on research suggesting that most individuals overestimate the occurrence of problematic behaviors among their peers, while also underestimating the occurrence of healthy or positive behaviors among their peers (Berkowitz, 2021). For example, boys and men harbor a variety of misperceptions about the extent of their peer group's sexual activity, believing that their peers are more sexually active than they actually are, in terms of both frequency of sexual activity and the number of partners their peers have (Morgan, 1997; White, Williams, & Cho, 2003). In addition, men tend to believe that their peers endorse higher levels of rape myths than they actually do. For example, one study of men living in fraternities and residence halls at a large university documented that men endorsed significantly higher levels of rape myths on a 19-item rape myth acceptance scale (Burt, 1980) in relation to their peers ($M = 48.22$) in comparison to themselves ($M = 39.91$) (Boulter, 1997). Data indicate that college men also underestimate the extent to which their peers endorse sexist language and behavior (Kilmartin et al., 2008; Kilmartin, Semelsberger, Dye, Boggs, &
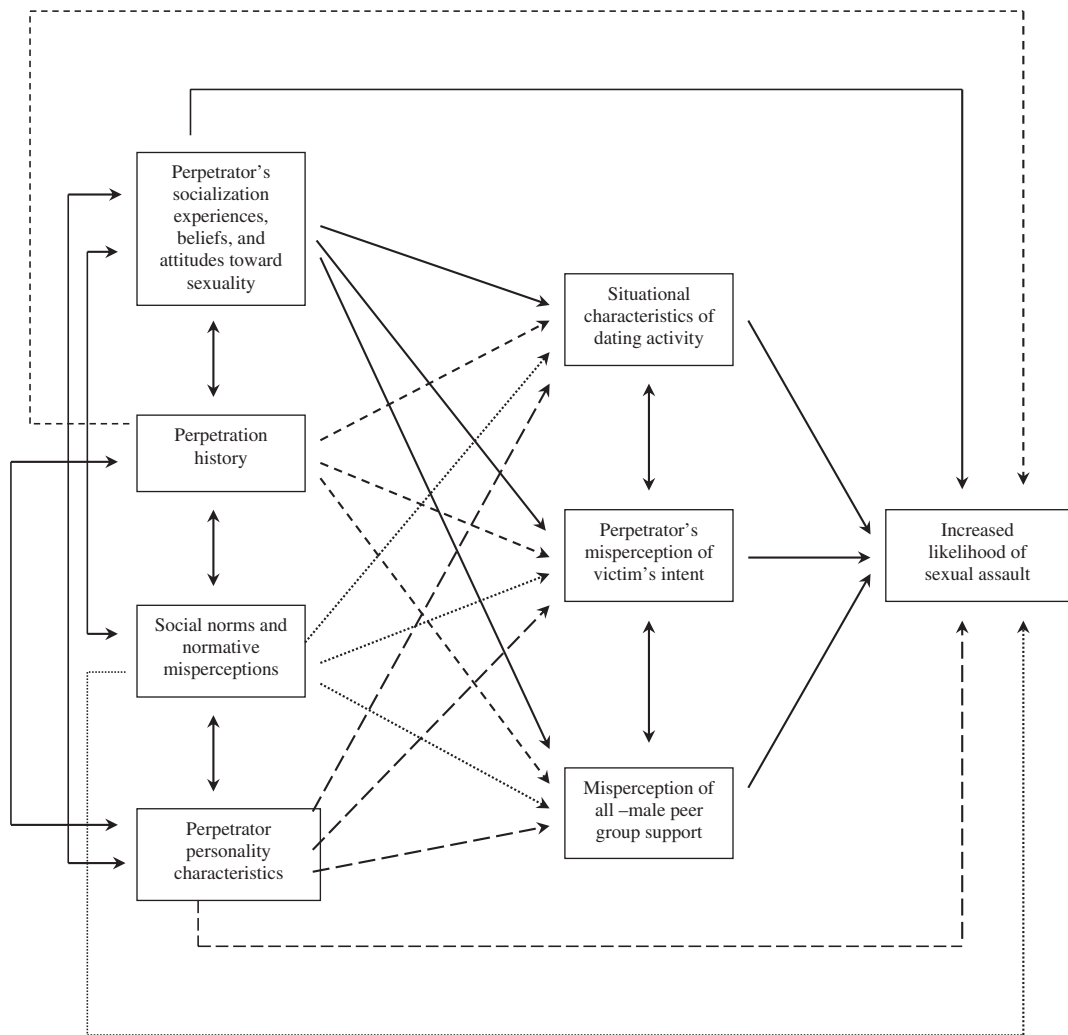
FIG. 2

An Integrated Model of Sexual Assault, Accounting for Social Norms (Berkowitz, 2003, 2010).

Figure developed by Christine A. Gidycz, Ph.D. and members of the Laboratory for the Study and Prevention of Sexual Assault at Ohio University.

Kolar, 2015). Consistent with the social norms research in other fields, perpetrators of sexual aggression evidents an even greater degree of misperception than non-perpetrators (Berkowitz, 2010). These misperceptions, in tandem with pressure to "fit" a perceived hyper-masculine stereotype, contribute to a mindset where sexual activity pursued as a form "social currency", and coercion or the deliberate use of alcohol to facilitate sex is seen as normative (see Orchowski et al., 2020). In other words, the incorrect belief that other men will respect them more if they engage in more sexual activity pushes men

to engage in hyper-sexual behavior in order to gain perceived status and acceptance from their peers (Berkowitz, 2003), This hypothesis is confirmed by research documenting that men who believe their friends are accepting of or using coercive behavior to obtain sex (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995) or who believe that their friends share rape-supportive attitudes (e.g., Bohner et al., 2006), are more likely to personally engage in sexually coercive behaviors themselves. Taken together, these data confirm that perpetrators of sexual aggression misperceive what is appropriate and accepted by their peers and that this misperception facilitates their being sexually aggressive (Berkowitz, 2003). Other studies documenting the link between social norms and sexual aggression are revealed in volume in Chapter 7.

Research documenting the role of peer misperceptions in sexual aggression has several implications for prevention. First, according to the premises of social norms theory when the actual norm of peer group (as unaccepting of sexual aggression and the attitudes that are used to justify it,) is revealed, individuals feel less encouragement to engage in sexual aggression (see Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011; Mulla et al., 2019). Second, the causal influence of perceived male peer norms on men's risk for sexual aggression provides an avenue to reduce sexual assault and suggests that programs meant to change men's attitudes and behaviors are best implemented in all male audiences (Lonsway, Banyard, Berkowitz, Gidycz, & Katz, 2009). This is because an all-male audience allows for the norms of the group to be revealed, and for corrective information regarding men's true attitudes and beliefs to be revealed from within the group. Examples of ways in which norms change strategies can be incorporated into prevention work with boys and men are discussed later in this chapter.

All-male peer groups are also recognized as conferring risk for sexual violence. For example, in Tharp et al.'s (2013) review 8 out of the 11 studies examined documented a significant association between fraternity membership and sexual aggression. This review also indicated that 8 out of the 12 studies examined reported an association between sports participation and sexual aggression. It is hypothesized that sexual aggression is more common in cohesive groups of men, such as fraternities or athletic teams, because many of these settings emphasize hypermasculine norms (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007) that are misperceived as accepted by other group members, and because they foster allegiance to the group and bonding over respect for others (Lenihan & Rawlins, 1994). Some fraternities and sports teams also monitor, police or correct men's expression of masculinity, and as a result, boys and men in these social groups may feel pressure to engage in sexual activity to gain status and/or to avoid being ridiculed by their peers (Kimmel, 2008). Accordingly, efforts to reduce male violence may be best directed towards intact groups of boys and men, such as those belonging to these social organizations, while acknowledging that the degree of importance of these variables may differ across organizations.

Updating the integrated model of sexual assault to acknowledge the synergistic nature of social norms and bystander intervention

Given that there has been considerable work on the theory, relevant research and applications of the *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* since it was last updated, an expanded formulation of the model is needed which incorporates these developments. When the original model (Berkowitz, 1992, 1994) was updated to add additional focus on the role of social norms—both as a driver of sexual aggression and as providing an opportunity for intervention—(Berkowitz, 2003, 2010), the model maintained its original components and was expanded. In this update to the model, we take a similar approach (i.e., maintaining the original components, and offering expansions as well as components to emphasize). Specifically, the following augmentations to the model are suggested as
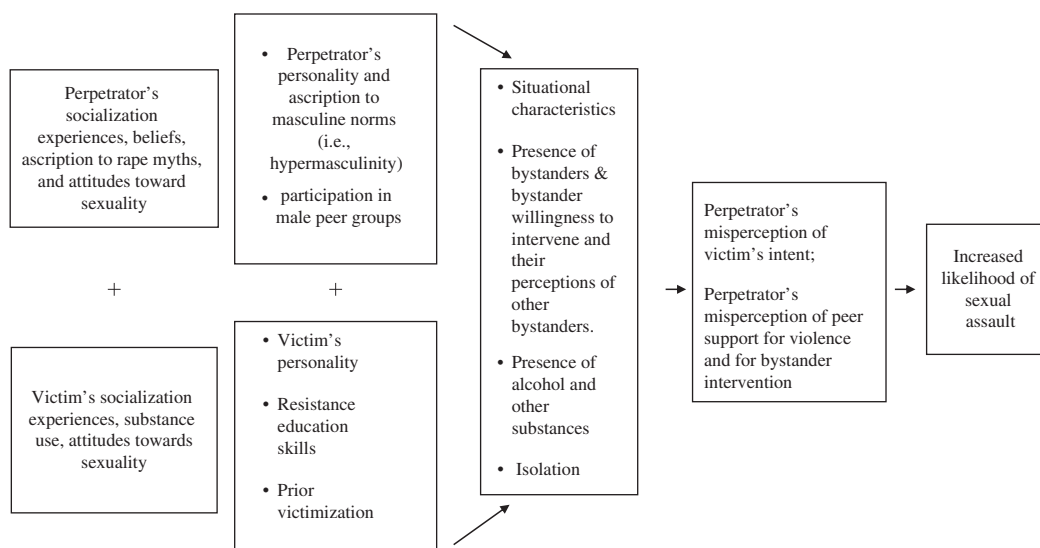
FIG. 3

An Updated Integrative Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape.

essential to incorporate based on research examining the drivers of sexual aggression among men and the strategies for intervention (see Fig. 3):

Factor #1—Focusing on hypermasculinity

When considering a perpetrators personality, it is essential to recognize that hypermasculinity is documented as a particularly salient predictor of sexual aggression (Tharp et al., 2013). Given that hypermasculine men place such great emphasis on what other men think and do to establish their own masculinity, the use of normative feedback within the context of all-male workshops is indicated to correct perpetrator overestimations of peers that serve to facilitate and reinforce hypermasculine behavior.

Factor #2—Recognizing the importance of early hypermasculine socialization

Socialization in a hypermasculine culture must also be acknowledged as an upstream factor that can be addressed early in the lifespan. Towards this end, sexual assault prevention must begin early in the lifespan, while boys are forming an understanding of healthy relationships and masculinities. Socialization in contexts with male role models which present multiple conceptualizations of gender and masculinities, including that most men do not adhere to a hyper-masculine identity, can inform sexual assault prevention programs among youth.

Factor #3—Emphasizing the role of misperception of male peer norms in the context of prevention

Earlier articulations of the Integrated Model focused on men's misperception of a victim's intent, while later research has provided extensive evidence that men also misperceive the male peer norms

in their environment. Whereas Berkowitz's (2003, 2010) later model focused on peer-group support as one of the specific drivers of sexual aggression; recent research has provided additional clarification and evidence that the influence of all-male group support on sexual aggression is driven by the way in which men *perceive* their male peers to think and act, and that these perceptions are often incorrect. As discussed above, numerous studies now document that men who perpetrate violence overestimate the prevalence of violence among other men (Neighbors et al., 2010; Witte & Mulla, 2013; Witte, Hackman, & Mulla, 2017). There is also now evidence that perceptions of peer attitudes and engagement in violence predict personal engagement in sexual aggression (Bohner et al., 2006; Eyssel, Bohner, & Seibler, 2006; Loh et al., 2005), and that attenuating the misperception is associated with decreases in rape supportive attitudes (Bohner et al., 2006), and propensity for violence (Mulla et al., 2019). Further, there is an extensive body of research documenting the influence of *perceived* peer support. For example, Swartout (2013) documented that likelihood that an individual expresses sexually aggressive behavior is driven by *perceived* peer support for sexual aggression. Dardis, Murphy, Bill, and Gidycz (2016) documented that men's personal attitudes regarding rape are associated with their perceptions of other men's attitudes, and not with the actual attitudes reported by their friends. Decreases in perceptions of perpetration of dating violence among peers also predict decreases in personal engagement in dating violence over time (Shorey et al., 2017). Given the accumulation of research, models of perpetration that emphasize male peer support may be incomplete because they do not take into consideration that this perceived peer support is *misperceived* and can be corrected with carefully designed rape prevention interventions.

Factor #4—Attending to the role of male peer bystanders

Berkowitz (2011) argues that effective sexual assault prevention requires that men look at their own potential for violence *as well as to take a stand against the violence of other men*. In this way, most men who are not sexually aggressive can have an influence on the culture and environment that allows other men to be aggressive. Over the past two decades, evidence regarding the role of bystanders in sexual assault prevention efforts has burgeoned. There are now numerous reviews documenting the efficacy of bystander intervention approaches to sexual assault prevention (Coker et al., 2016; Jouriles, Krauss, Vu, Banyard, & McDonald, 2018; Kirk-Provencher et al., 2021; Storer, Casey, & Herrenkohl, 2016). For these reasons, it is important to formally recognize the presence of bystanders as a situational factor that can influence sexual violence. Chapter 12 in this volume provides a summary of the literature on engaging boys and men as allies in sexual assault prevention through a bystander intervention approach.

Factor #5—Interaction between perceived peer norms and bystander intervention

Misperceptions of the attitudes and behaviors of other male bystanders may also contribute to sexual assault by decreasing the likelihood that men will express their own discomfort with the inappropriate behaviors of their peers, or step in to thwart a potentially risky sexual or dating situation (Berkowitz, 2002). Broadly, overestimations of other men's support for sexual aggression contribute to the perpetuation of violence towards women because they lead to passive bystander behavior, where men "stand by" and refrain from directly or indirectly expressing their own discomfort with the inappropriate behaviors of their peers. In addition, numerous research studies document the importance of men's perceptions of other men's engagement in bystander intervention as a driver in their own likelihood to intervene (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003;

Hillebrand-Gun, Heppner, Mauch, & Park, 2010; Mennicke, Kennedy, Gromer, & Klem-O'Connor, 2021; Perkins, Perkins, & Craig, 2019; Stein, 2007).

For example, in a study of middle school students, reported by Henry, Dymnicki, Schoeny, Meyer, and Martin (2013), subjects consistently overestimated per support for aggression, and underestimated peer support for using nonviolent problem-solving strategies. Deitch-Stackhouse, Kenneary, Thayer, Berkowitz, and Mascari (2015) also report that college students consistently perceive their peers to be less bothered by violence, as well as less likely to intervene to address it, compared to themselves. In an early study on this topic, Fabiano et al. (2003) reported that the strongest predictor of men's willingness to intervene to address risk for sexual assault was their perception of whether other men would intervene. Social norms theory proposes that when the actual discomfort level of their peer group is revealed, along with their respect for someone who acts, individuals will be more willing to intervene when confronted with inappropriate, sexually coercive behaviors (Berkowitz, 2003). Thus, accurate normative data for both attitudes regarding sexual aggression—*and bystander intervention behavior*— are a critical part in efforts to support men's development of allies to women in preventing women-specific sexual violence. It is hypothesized that integrating both components (i.e., normative feedback on sexual aggression as well as normative feedback on bystander intervention) into a program will be more impactful than when a program incorporates only one type of normative feedback, or none.

Factor #6—The role of alcohol in sexual assault

As noted earlier, numerous studies now recognize that alcohol is a salient component of sexual assault and that it influences sexual aggression in multiple ways (Abbey, 2002). First, alcohol use may increase victim vulnerability and may be used as a tactic to increase a victim's vulnerability to assault, either through deliberate administration of alcohol to a potential victim or by targeting a victim who is intoxicated and may not be able to resist an attack (Warkentin & Gidycz, 2007). Second, alcohol use may serve as a facilitator of sexual aggression among men who believe they will be more sexual or aggressive when drinking or who believe that alcohol use excuses engagement in coercive sexual behavior (Abbey et al., 1998; Crane et al., 2016; Kachadourian et al., 2014; Pabst et al., 2014). Further, data has also established that men misperceive women's intentions when they have been drinking or when they agree to be present in certain environments (Graham et al., 2014; Parks & Scheidt, 2000), or when they engage in certain activities such as drinking games (Orchowski, Oesterle, et al., 2020). In addition to the ways in which alcohol has been documented as a facilitator of assault, it is important for men to know that it is not correct to identify alcohol as "causing" sexual assault or to use alcohol as an excuse for sexually aggressive behavior.

Given the growing literature on the role of alcohol in sexual aggression, this situational factor warrants additional attention and clarification in prevention efforts, and it is important that it be highlighted in an augmented depiction of the model. This can be accomplished by incorporating alcohol use intervention strategies into interventions. Researchers have also started to develop and test integrated alcohol and sexual assault interventions for college men (Orchowski et al., 2018).

Factor #7—The role of reduction and rape avoidance strategies

Extensive research has confirmed that the actions of victims in resisting attacks can play an important role in reducing assaults (Orchowski & Gidycz, 2018). Engagement in resistance strategies not only modifies the situational risk in a potential sexual assault but also communicates important information to an attacker and

those who may be nearby; namely that their advance is not welcome and is unacceptable. We also propose that men's resistance may also in turn may provide cues for male bystanders to intervene. In other words, if a man is unsure whether a dating or social situation is potentially coercive or inappropriate, women's engagement in resistance provides a cue to those who are standing by that the situation is problematic and requires action. This suggests that there is a transactional component of women's resistance against harassment and unwanted advances, which not only reduces their risk for sexual assault, but which can promote action by potential bystanders. These data suggest that resistance strategies should be recognized as be incorporated as an additional situational factor in comprehensive models of sexual assault. Programs which target resistance tactics as well as men's engagement in sexual aggression may have a synergistic effect, as exemplified by Gidycz and her colleague's implementation of resistance education programming in concert with sexual assault prevention programming targeting men within college residence halls (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011; Gidycz et al., 2015).

Applications of the integrated model of sexual assault to prevention programming with boys and men

To date, there are several programs which have utilized the Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape to guide the program content and the embedded strategies for change. In this section, the Men's Workshop is presented, an application of the theory which was developed and refined over the course of several studies by Alan Berkowitz. Also reviewed are other sexual assault prevention programs which utilize the Integrated Model of Sexual Assault as a framework to guide program content and strategies for change.

Development, adaptation, and evaluation of the men's workshop

Berkowitz's (1994) Men's Workshop program is based on his integrative model of sexual assault (Berkowitz, 1992) and incorporates a focus on social norms and bystander intervention in which many of the dynamics of male socialization and peer influence that cause sexual assault to occur are addressed (Berkowitz, 2003). This is grounded in the Integrated Model and has undergone iterative development and adaptation for various populations. Earle (1996) first evaluated a version of the Men's Workshop among college men. The workshop was compared to a no-treatment comparison group, as well as two other programs (i.e., a small group educational coed program and a large coed group lecture addressing sexual assault). Evaluation was limited to assessments of attitudes towards rape prior to the program, and immediately after the workshops. Participants in the Men's Workshop reported improvements in attitudes towards rape in comparison to control. This early study provided preliminary support for the program but was limited methodologically. Specifically, it study lacked random assignment to condition, assessment measures were limited in scope, and no follow-up survey was administered outside of the immediate post-test (which can be biased due to demand characteristics). Due to the lack of a short- or long-term follow-up assessment, the program evaluation also did not include an assessment of whether the program impacted rates of sexual aggression over time. The second implementation of the program was in the context of a research project conducted by Davis (1997) which is further discussed by Davis (2000) in a chapter in Liddel and Lund's volume entitled "Powerful Programs for Student Learning: Approaches that Make a Difference." The program focused on sex role socialization,

using short video clips from television programs and movies that demonstrated ways in which masculinity was connected to sexual aggression. Discussion topics included peer pressure to engage in sexual activity, as well as the conditions of consent. The program was conducted among small groups of men and relied heavily on discussion among participants. In a comparison of this modified version of the Men's Workshop against another educational program addressing sexual assault and a control group among 90 men affiliated with fraternities, program participants evidenced better knowledge and attitude change (Davis & Liddell, 2002).

Gidycz and her colleagues next standardized and revised Berkowitz's curriculum and assessed participants' evaluation of the revised curriculum (Berkowitz, Lobo, & Gidycz, 2000) with funding from the Ohio Department of Health. Overall, the men responded positively to the intervention, and the program group (in comparison to the control group) evidenced a greater understanding of the meaning of consent in sexual relationships. While the other attitudinal and behavioral measures did not demonstrate change over time, it is likely that the changing of social and sexual norms—which is a critical component of the workshop—was not successful because the men in the groups were generally unacquainted with each other. In addition, in the program evaluation form, many men indicated their desire to have more time to discuss the issues that were addressed in the prevention program. These initial efforts pointed to the feasibility of the workshop and that it would be accepted by participants; an important accomplishment given the challenges of engaging men on this issue.

Drawing upon this feedback, Gidycz and her colleagues sought funding from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to test an updated curriculum with men living in intact groups within residence halls (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011). Given that the implementation of the program was among intact groups of men known to each other and delivered by well-trained male peer facilitators, this administration in many ways demonstrated the "ideal" implementation format. The program was evaluated among 635 first-year college men, with dorms randomly assigned to program and control conditions. Several positive findings were evidenced. Significantly reduced rates of self-reported sexual aggression were reported at the four-month follow-up; a very robust finding which, however, was not maintained over the seven-month follow-up. There are several potential explanations for the rebound effect. The most important may be that a single program cannot be expected to produce enduring effects without larger changes in the culture at large.

The intervention also focused on the influence of peer groups within residence hall environments. Over the course of the first year of school, students may have developed peer relationships with more students outside of their residence hall, and the influence of peers within the residence hall environment may have become less salient during the time between the intervention and the booster session. There are also other ways that the intervention could have been augmented, for example through additional booster sessions, or by more intensively focusing on active practice of bystander intervention skills. The intervention also could have been enhanced if it had been implemented in the context of other synergistic interventions, such as trainings with the Residence Life staff, social media campaigns, or poster-based marketing campaigns providing normative feedback for the residence hall. Nonetheless, even with these limitations, there were other positive changes which were maintained over time. For example, participants reported that their peers would be more likely to intervene when they witnessed risk factors for sexual aggression compared to control at both the four- and seven-month follow-up. Participants also reported lower use of pornography the seven months of the intervention, which was unexpected given that the intervention did not target pornography use. While speculative, this finding may represent a spill-over effect, suggesting that the program had an impact on a behavior that is

associated with sexism and broader cultural norms associated with sexual aggression (see Angelucci & Di Maro, 2015). One possibility is that when men stopped associated with sexually aggressive peers because of the program—a significant outcome—this served to distance them from pornography use. It is also possible that the intervention changed the ways in which men thought about pornography. These ideas, while speculative, indicate the potential for many different positive outcomes from the workshop, and we are hopeful that new research methodologies (such as social network analysis) may help to shed light on how men's behavior in peer networks may change after participation in a sexual assault prevention program.

In addition to these studies, the Men's Workshop has also undergone adaptation for utilization among samples of heavy drinking college men (Orchowski et al., 2018), as well as men who engage in at-risk drinking in the military (Orchowski et al., 2017). In another adaptation, the program was recently tailored by Dr. Caroline Kuo to address sexual aggression among high-school boys in South Africa and was very positively received (R34 MH113484). The Men's Workshop has also informed the expansion of social norms-based programs for sexual assault prevention among high school youth (Orchowski et al., 2016). Specifically, Orchowski et al. (2016) incorporated an all-male workshop into a larger social norms and bystander intervention workshop for all high school students and evaluated the program in combination with a social norms poster campaign. Across these applications, initial data analysis has confirmed the theoretical premises the model: that boys and men misperceive other boys and men and that this misperception is correlated with coercive behavior, and that the basic theory and pedagogy of the workshop is applicable to men and boys in very different settings and environments. More detailed descriptions of these other iterations of the Men's Workshop are described elsewhere in this volume (see Chapters 7 and 10) and reflect the continued relevance of this model to diverse populations.

Core strategies for change in the men's workshop

Building on the theoretical assumptions of the Integrated Model, five strategies for change are incorporated into the Men's Workshop. The first strategy for change centers broadly around empathy induction. Specific empathy-inducing components which increase men's understanding of the reality and effects of sexual assault in the workshop include: (1) the opportunity for participants to describe secondary victimization (i.e., the impact of sexual assault on women in their lives); (2) discussion of alternative explanations for men's overestimation of false accusations that validate women's experiences; and (3) challenging and debunking of rape myths. The effectiveness of the empathy-induction components are enhanced by the fact that men in the workshop share and hear the experiences of other men who have been exposed to the trauma of a friend or partner's assault. Disclosure of such secondary victimization experiences is facilitated by the workshop's focus on creating a safe space for men to share. Given the potential defensiveness of men in relation to sexual assault prevention, hearing from other men about ways in which they have been impacted by sexual assault may be a more effective way of fostering empathy than having this information come from women. As discussed elsewhere in this volume (see Chapter 17), providing a space for men to share about their own victimization experiences is important, and merits greater attention in future work. The workshop itself is designed to make it safe for men to do this, which when it occurs, provides an additional empathy-building element.

It is important to note that the components of the program that focus on empathy induction are not offered alone, but instead are presented in the context of other intervention strategies. Programs that

solely focus on empathy induction, for example, may fall short of challenging men to make changes in their own behavior and the behavior of their peers, and are often designed to present women's voices as a way of inducing empathy. Such a strategy can produce a backlash, rather than the more powerful experience of men learning empathy in response to other men's experiences.

The second core component of the program is defining and explicating consent for sexual activity. Definitions of consent are provided in the workshop and operationalized as follows: both parties are unimpaired, both parties are equally free to act, both parties have clearly communicated their intent, and both parties are positive and sincere in their desires. Each of these components of consent is discussed and operationalized in the context of specific scenarios designed for this purpose that are tailored to the audience receiving the program.

The third core component of the workshop is training and active practice in bystander skills training, in which a variety of skills and intervention options are demonstrated, with additional attention to the perceived social norms that can hinder or facilitate helping behavior. These skills are reviewed in more detail in Berkowitz (2009). Data from men in the workshop and from men in the larger community are presented on men's discomfort with the inappropriate behavior and language of other men. These misperceptions regarding the extent to which men want to intervene and would respect others who do—which serve as barriers to men's intervening with other men's behavior—are deconstructed through accurate data and an experiential group exercise that reveals the true norms of intolerance of sexual assault, and willingness to help. Finally, participants brainstorm responses to inappropriate behavior that they might witness in social and dating situations in a small group exercise and report their responses back to the large group. Facilitators encourage both indirect and direct bystander intervention strategies, and emphasize the importance of safely intervening. Active practice and role plays are an important component of the bystander intervention training within the booster session of the program. At the booster session, men are encouraged to discuss how they have utilized the skills since participating in the program. Because helping behavior can be anxiety provoking, and often results in men feeling unsure of whether others support their efforts to intervene against inappropriate or problematic behaviors, the session also provides an opportunity for men to express their support of other men's efforts to foster positive change, reinforced by in-group and campus data evidencing the same.

The fourth core component of the workshop is the opportunity to analyze dominant masculine norms and socialization processes, with attention to the ways in which they may foster violence and impede helping behavior to address sexism, sexual harassment, and assault. The program is designed to allow men to talk about their frustrations regarding dating situations and men's experiences in their community, as it relates to pressures for "being a man". This discussion happens at the onset of the program and is designed to offer an opportunity for participants to "vent" and discuss their frustrations. Ideally, this discussion sets up a collaborative atmosphere between the facilitators and participants that is comfortable and natural, which then allows for deeper processing and receptivity to the material as well as to begin the deconstruction of unhealthy male norms—norms that create discomfort for most men, but which are thought to be endorsed by other men. Implicit in the workshop is also a critique of traditional male socialization as it relates to sexual intimacy. Men are encouraged to share their discomfort with aspects of the male gender role script, which in turn allows participants to challenge and critique it and share alternatives that are more positive, which is facilitated by the sharing of normative data that confirms most men's discomfort with these unhealthy characteristics of normative masculinity. Data on true norms among men and the sharing of personal experiences by men in the workshop serves to undermine traditional conceptions of masculinity that are associated

with rape proclivity (i.e., risk factors), and provides healthy alternatives (i.e., protective behaviors). This also provides a space of acceptance for men who do not identify as heterosexual. Over time, the workshop has developed an increased emphasis on the idea of "masculinities" and different "ways of being a man" that opens out to a discussion of gender identity.

In order to unearth positive norms regarding masculinities, the program also incorporates the Small Group Norms Correction Intervention, developed at Washington State University to reduce high-risk drinking (Far & Miller, 2003), by correcting men's misperceptions of other men's attitudes and behaviors with respect to sexual assault. Information on true, healthy norms and an interactive exercise are incorporated into the program to support healthy, protective behavior in most men and to inhibit unhealthy risk taking behavior in the minority. The application of the social norms approach to address several of the larger cultural constructs that support and maintain male aggression is a unique and important to the approach of the men's workshop.

The fifth dimension of change in the intervention is focused on broader cultural change. Towards this goal, several of the core components of the program share an underlying emphasis on norms change. For example, teaching men the standards for consent in sexual activity allows men to change their individual behavior in intimate relationships, while also encouraging men to recognize when other men do not have consent. The normalization of such behavior through social norms data encourages men to model and express protective consent behaviors to other men and to intervene when consent is not present. The discussion around men's ability to recognize when other men do not have consent leads to a discussion centering on men's "false fear" of false accusation (Berkowitz, 2002) and to deconstruct perpetrator misperceptions of the peer environment that allows them to justify their behavior. Facilitators allow men to voice their perceptions of individuals who bring forth reports of sexual assault, and the extent to which they utilize stereotypes of what they believe constitutes a "real rape" to debunk reports of sexual assault that do not meet these criteria. Statistics regarding the actual rates of false accusations of sexual assault are provided and men are guided to consider other factors that lead them to overestimate the extent to which accusations of sexual assault are false. For example, discussion centers around the desire to maintain their positive views of celebrities or peers, difficulty recognizing that they personally have the potential to associate with, or even be friends with men who perpetrate sexual assault; and the disproportionate attention in personal conversation and news media given to assumptions of false accusation in comparison with reports of actual assaults. The overarching focus on changing norms is an important part of the program and strengthens the bystander intervention skills training components. For example, the module on bystander behavior encourages men to intervene in the sexist, coercive or aggressive behavior of other men. Bystander intervention serves to change the cultural context from one that supports sexist and coercive behavior to one that serves to inhibit it.

Other intervention approaches which draw from the integrated model

The content of the *Integrated Model* and the social norms approach have also informed the development of several other sexual assault prevention programs. Although these programs are not facilitated in small groups by trained male facilitators, or they may not be limited to groups of men, they nonetheless provide support for the model. For example, in a study funded by the Virginia Department of Health, a social norms marketing campaign was offered in conjunction with small group all-male educational programs (Bruce, 2000). Preliminary results suggested that the treatment group generally displayed more accurate perceptions of their peer's behavior from pretest to posttest. In another application, Salazar, Vivolo-Kantor, Hardin, and Berkowitz (2014) developed Real Consent, which is a web-based

bystander intervention program for male college students which addresses sexual assault prevention. The program was evaluated in a sample of 743 male undergraduate students, and assessments were completed at baseline, postintervention and over a six-month follow-up period. The 30-min intervention was associated with several positive outcomes including lower levels of problematic date rape attitudes, greater knowledge of consent, increased knowledge of sexual assault, greater empathy for victims of sexual assault, greater intentions to intervene to address risk for sexual assault, lower levels of hypergender ideology, lower levels of hostility towards women, and less comfort with other men's engagement in inappropriate behavior. In an evaluation of another online sexual assault prevention for all genders, which included normative feedback and bystander intervention training, Zapp, Buelow, Soutiea, Berkowitz, and DeJong (2021) provide support for the utility of a social norms approach in facilitating change in attitudes relating to sexual assault. Specifically, the course indicated that the two areas most amenable to change were norms correction and bystander intervention and was successful in fostering corrections in norm misperceptions at most of the schools that offered the online program to their students. These two studies demonstrate that combined social norms-bystander interventions can foster change in sexual assault attitudes even when a curriculum is not administered in person.

Another implementation of a social norms intervention for sexual assault was developed by Pittsburgh Action Against Rape, which is presented in a report prepared by Sharon Wasco (2015), which documents the implementation of the Social Marketing Project in local-area schools. Surveys were administered in program and control schools in the fall and spring semesters of two high schools in the Pittsburgh area. In the program school, social norms posters were selected for display that were designed by students and that included normative data from the school. Evaluation results were collected over two years and documented the soundness of social norms theory as a framework for sexual assault prevention among high school students, with several positive outcomes, including reshaping the normative beliefs of students, and decreased perpetration and victimization among students.

Mennicke et al., 2021 reported on a five-year evaluation of the Florida State Social Norms Campaign (see also Berkowitz, 2013). Over the course of 2010–2014, a sample of 4158 men enrolled in the university were asked about attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors pertaining to sexual aggression. The social norms marketing campaign targeted core misperceptions within the school community in three thematic areas: consent, empathy and non-blame for victims, and willingness to intervene. Data suggested that self-reported personal attitudes and perceived peer attitudes changed over time, as well as the discrepancy between personal beliefs and perceived peer beliefs. The study represents one of the longest evaluations of a social norms marketing campaign targeted sexual violence and documents the efficacy of this approach in promoting change in misperceived norms.

Best practices in facilitation

Aside from ensuring that interventions include content that addresses risk and protective factors for sexual aggression, it is essential to ensure that facilitators of programs are equipped with the skills to effectively implement an intervention with adherence to the model and competency in the style of administration, which requires that facilitators navigate potentially difficult discussions with men. This is critical because often there may be a few men in a workshop who pushback against the material, and if this resistance is not appropriately addressed the discussion may result in other men being silent, which in turn can reinforce the perception that most men are not sympathetic to the material. Three facilitators

of the original implementation share their experiences and lessons in Berkowitz's (1994) volume, in a chapter written by Simon, Paris, and Ramsay (1994). In this chapter, the authors discuss how facilitation requires being "enthused and concerned about the topic" and being about to respond to questions in a way that sparks discussion (p. 45).

In a chapter co-authored by researchers and student facilitators of the Men's Workshop, Orchowski et al. (2011) also speak to the importance of training facilitators to be prepared on how to handle pushback from participants. In this chapter, several facilitators of a later adaptation of the workshop speak to challenges they faced in facilitation and how they addressed them. For example, resistance is common whenever information is presented to someone that conflicts with their worldview, and for this reason, facilitators of sexual assault prevention programs that provide normative feedback must be prepared to anticipate pushback and be skilled in talking "with" participants rather than "at" them. Indeed, pushback is an expected component of norms correction-social norms marketing campaigns and facilitators must be prepared to address it and explain the misperception. Thus, when sexual assault prevention approaches that draw upon the social norms approach are facilitated in school environments, the facilitators (as well as other members of the school community, such as teachers and administrators) should be taught to be prepared for ways that participants might not immediately accept the new information presented to them.

Oesterle, Orchowski, Borsari, Berkowitz, and Barnett (2017) discuss the utility of applying motivational interviewing skills when administering sexual assault prevention programs with heavy drinking college men. The motivational interviewing approach was an important component in an adaptation of the Men's Workshop by Orchowski et al. (2018), and was chosen due to the benefits of the reflective conversational style designed to explore ambivalence that is characteristic of Motivational Interviewing (see Oesterle et al., 2017). This approach was integrated into facilitator training and practiced in role plays, helping facilitators to navigate discussions in a collaborative nonjudgmental way in the workshop itself. In research studies which Gidycz, Orchowski, and Berkowitz (2011) as well as Orchowski et al. (2018) have led, the facilitator training was intensive and highly interactive, including role plays involving worse-case scenarios and active practice of how to handle kick back. Comprehensive facilitator training is an essential ingredient to implementing a successful program which is often not adequately discussed in the research or even acknowledged and is critical to ensure success in working with men and boys on this issue.

Conclusion

Evidence has continued to support the application and augmentation of the Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape (Berkowitz, 1992, 1994, 2003, 2010) as a multifactor theory of prevention. Because the model integrates mutually reinforcing mechanisms that work together to both reduce an offender's risk of perpetrating and to empower individuals in the perpetrator's environment to take action to prevent violence, it has direct applications for prevention programming for men and boys. As reviewed in this chapter, numerous prevention programs have now been developed based on this model, showing favorable outcomes in diverse settings when administered using best-practice principles (i.e., intensive programming, opportunities for discussing kick back to information which challenges misperceived norms, active practice in bystander intervention skills, and well trained and supported peer facilitators).

This chapter has suggested several augmentations to the model based on recent theory, research and practice, along with content areas that are important to incorporate into it. For example, it now clear from numerous studies that hypermasculinity is strongly linked to sexual aggression. Drawing upon this research, prevention programs can better attend to masculine norms, the socialization contexts which reinforce adherence to traditional norms (including the misperceptions which sustain them), and to consider ways to work with boys early in the lifespan to ensure broadened understanding of masculinities outside of a hegemonic norm that is incorrectly believed to be universally adhered to. Furthermore, given the importance of engaging all men as allies in addressing the potentially problematic behavior of their peers, it is vital that programs attend to the ways in which normative beliefs influence men's own likelihood to intervene. Existing programs which provide normative feedback pertaining to other risk factors for sexual aggression (i.e., feedback debunking the number of sexual partners most men have, or debunking men's perceived support for sexual aggression) can readily incorporate normative feedback on bystander intervention. Men will benefit from knowing that majority of men would support them if they intervened to address sexual violence and would respect someone who steps up to disagree with sexist jokes.

Also highlighted is the role of recognizing and correctly understanding the role of alcohol and women's resistance as important situational factors. The role of alcohol use is now a recognized influence in sexual aggression, and several programs are now examining integrated alcohol and sexual assault prevention approaches (Orchowski et al., 2018). Social norms interventions are at the heart of sexual assault prevention as well as alcohol use intervention, and there is a natural confluence to merging interventions for these two health concerns, which share important intersections. Traditional approaches that simply describe the intersections of sexual violence and alcohol use are likely to be insufficient in producing meaningful change in alcohol-related sexual violence. Rather, effective change in alcohol-related assault will require that preventionists in the sexual assault field draw from existing alcohol intervention strategies, such as motivational interviewing and normative feedback; both of which have good efficacy for producing change in alcohol use and can be readily incorporated into sexual assault prevention. Similar work is also being done to address sexual violence and HIV risk concomitantly using the Men's Workshop (PI: Kuo. R34 MH113484).

It is also vital to recognize that risk reduction and resistance education programs for vulnerable populations play an important role in empowering individuals to fight back against unwanted responses. Risk reduction and resistance programs are effective in changing the situational characteristics that influence sexual assault and in reducing actual assaults (Orchowski, Gidycz, & Raffle, 2008; Senn et al., 2017), and should be recognized as an important component of a comprehensive prevention package (Orchowski et al., 2020). An individual's actions in response to sexual aggression are a significant situation characteristic in a potential sexual assault, and it is vital to recognize that programs which empower individuals to fight back against unwanted advances are an important component of a comprehensive prevention approach that may in turn provide cues to men that intervention is needed, thus creating a synergistic effect.

In summary, as our collective understanding of sexual violence and its drivers grows, it is essential that we continue to update and augment our theoretical models and prevention practices. As research has accumulated over recent decades, the expansion of this model to recognize the new developments in research described here helps to ensure that it reflects the "state of the science" in sexual assault prevention. The utility and effectiveness of interventions based on the Integrative Model has been demonstrated in multiple settings and in multiple formats. The theoretical and empirical support provided

for the original model and for its expansion confirms the importance of a multi-factor model of sexual aggression and validates the expanded *Integrated Model of Sexual Assault and Acquaintance Rape* as well grounded in theory, research regarding risk and protective factors for sexual aggression, as well as data supporting the application of the model in the context of prevention.

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