FEMINIST RAPE EDUCATION: Does It Work?

MARY MARGARET FONOW
LAUREL RICHARDSON
Ohio State University

VIRGINIA A. WEMMERUS
Columbus, Ohio

The purpose of this research report is twofold: First, we analyze a complex of attitudes about rape myths, adversarial sexual beliefs, and gender-role conservatism; and second, we evaluate the impact of rape-education intervention strategies on American college students' attitudes. Using the Solomon four-group design, we randomly assigned 14 classes of Sociology 101 students (total N = 582) to three different treatment conditions: a live rape-education workshop, a video of the workshop, and a control group. We found significant gender differences in students' attitudes on all the scales, with women being more knowledgeable about rape, less likely to blame the victim, and less accepting of adversarial sexual beliefs and gender-role conservatism. Most important, we found that within the limits of the study, rape-education intervention works in changing some attitudes about rape for both men and women students. We examine the impact of the different educational strategies and explore curricular implications, including the need to teach about rape within a feminist context.

Rape takes place in a context of cultural misinformation and denial that suppresses knowledge about who is likely to be raped by whom, where, and why. The American cultural story of rape is that late at night, in alleys, strangers, often Black, rape white women who have "brought it upon themselves" by their behavior, demeanor, or dress. These rape myths contain many false assertions, blame the rape survivor, and reflect a cultural ideology of racism, sexism, and a conflict model of heterosexual relationships. Statistically, in the United States, a woman is most likely to be raped by a man of

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REPRINT REQUESTS: Mary Margaret Fonow, Ohio State University, Center for Women's Studies, 207 Dulles Hall, 230 W. 17th Ave., Columbus, OH, 43201.
her own race, someone she knows, and in her own home or another familiar environment. Rapes are condoned by beliefs and practices within the larger society that underlie the power differentials between men and women.

A myth is a traditional story with ostensibly historical content that is neither a total fabrication nor the only story that can be told. The rape myth may feel comfortable to some because it allows them to disavow themselves as potential rapists or as potential victims and because it fits with other cultural beliefs and familiar structures of oppression. Some women have lived through the trauma of rapes described in the myth, and their experiences must not be discounted (cf. Scully 1988). But the myth does not tell the story of the majority of women who are raped by someone they know. Because the rape myth presents a statistically unlikely scenario, it actually leaves a woman more vulnerable to being raped. One way to counteract the hegemony and pervasiveness of this myth is through feminist rape education.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

Our decision to study the impact of rape education on college students’ attitudes and beliefs came about in response to the alarming numbers of rapes occurring on college campuses across the United States. A further impetus for assessing the effectiveness of rape education among college students is that many of these students are training for professions affected by the rape experience, such as medicine, law, nursing, psychology, human services, and criminology.

A national survey (Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski 1987) of American colleges found that 27.5 percent of the female student population had experienced legally defined rape or attempted rape. Of 6,159 students at 32 institutions of higher education across the country, 15.4 percent of the 3,187 women in the study had experienced rape, 12.1 percent had experienced rape attempts, and 11.9 percent had experienced sexual coercion, that is, given in to sexual intercourse because of intimidation by someone in authority or because of verbal pressure or argument. Furthermore, of the women who were victims of rape or attempted rape, 84 percent of them knew their attackers, and 54 percent of the rapes happened on dates (Warshaw 1988, 11).

According to Berger et al. (1986), research with college men reveals high rates of sexual assault. In one study, 20 percent of the men reported that they persisted in making sexual advances even after they became aware that the woman was resisting (Faison 1977). In another study, 15 percent of the college men reported that they had obtained sex against their date’s will
(Rapaport and Burkhart 1984). In yet a third study, 35 percent of college men indicated they might commit a rape if they were sure they could get away with it (Malamuth 1981).

Attitudinal Factors

Acceptance of rape misperceptions, including rape blame, is related to gender-role conservatism and to adversarial sexual beliefs. The link between the acceptance of various rape myths and traditional gender-role socialization is strongly supported in the research literature (Berger et al. 1986; Check and Malamuth 1983; Muehlenhard, Fredman, and Thomas 1985) and holds true for both men and women, particularly in attribution of blame (Gilmartin-Zena 1988). Students who subscribe to traditional roles for men and women—including standard sexual scripts of passive women and aggressive men—are more likely to blame women for rape. Adversarial sexual beliefs, that is, the belief that all sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative and that both men and women are sly, manipulative, and not to be trusted, are also associated with the acceptance of rape myths (Burt 1980).

Sexism and Rape

The feminist criticism of sexism has shown that images of male dominance and female passivity create cultural supports for rape and rape-tolerant attitudes (Hall, Howard, and Boezio 1986). Feminists have argued that the same cultural scripts that define normality in sexual behavior also provide the rationale for rape and other forms of sexual coercion. According to Jackson (1978, 37), "sexual relationships are scripted for actors whose roles have been predefined as subordinate and superordinate; therefore, the exercise of power in sexual interactions is seen as culturally sanctioned." Griffin argues, "In our culture, male eroticism is wedded to power. Not only should a man be taller and stronger than a female in the perfect love-match, but he must also demonstrate his superior strength in gestures of dominance which are perceived as amorous" (quoted in Berger et al. 1986, 4). According to these authors, the feminist analysis of normative coercive sexuality in American society explains why women fail to report rape and offers important new insights into the legal battle over the definition of sexual consent. Citung the work of MacKinnon (1983), they argue that the whole notion of consent becomes problematic when men and women are socialized under conditions of dominance and inequality. How can men take women’s resistance seriously when they are socialized to view a woman’s protestation as a normal
part of the sexual script? At what point does a woman acquiesce out of fear and because she feels she owes sex to a man who has spent money on her?

Women are more likely than men to define unwanted and nonconsensual sex as rape and to report a rape when their experience resembles the stereotype of the "real" rape, for example, raped by a stranger, abducted from a public place, seriously injured, or attacked after her home has been broken into. However, when women are raped by someone they know or have interacted with socially, they are more likely to question their own behavior and assume responsibility for a failed sexual script (cf. Warshaw 1988).

Racism and Rape

Rape happens to women of all races and all classes, regardless of sexual orientation, yet the social, historical, and political context of rape may vary for different groups of women. Black feminists have developed an analysis of rape that takes into account the ways in which racism affects the definition and treatment of rape and the ways in which the rape experience for Black women is embedded in a larger social and historical context. Davis (1985) points out that throughout the history of Black women, sexual abuse has been perceived as an occupational hazard. During slavery, Black women's bodies were considered to be accessible at all times to the slave master and his surrogates. Rape was an act of terror and a form of social control. After slavery, Black women were most often employed as domestic workers in the homes of local whites, where they were often repeatedly made victims of sexual assault by the men in the families for which they worked.

Today, there are two racist myths about rape that continue to have a stronghold on the minds of many Americans. The first is that "most rapes are committed by Black men," and the second is that "Black women can't be raped." The majority of rapes in this country are committed by white men, and 90 percent of all rapes are same-race rapes. Yet, because of racism in the criminal justice system, a disproportionate number of Black men are convicted of rape. Our fixation on the cultural stereotype of Black men raping white women ignores and trivializes the rape of Black women by both Black and white men and encourages racist fears in white women (Davis 1985).

METHODOLOGY

In our research on feminist rape education, we had three goals: to assess the level of college students' knowledge about rape; to examine how rape
attitudes are related to tendency to blame the victim, gender-role conserva-
tivism, and adversarial sexual beliefs; and to evaluate the impact of a feminist
rape-education program on students' knowledge and beliefs.

Impact evaluation measures the extent to which a program effects a
change in the desired direction, usually defined as movement toward ac-
complishing the program's goals or objectives. The objectives must be tran-
slated into something measurable, and the research design must demonstrate
that the observable changes were indeed the result of the particular program
or intervention and not the result of other factors.

In this study, we assessed college students' beliefs about rape and mea-
sured the impact of two different rape-education strategies on their attitudes
toward rape. Strategy 1 was a 25-minute video of a rape-education workshop;
Strategy 2 was a 25-minute live rape-education workshop. Both strategies
were used in college classrooms. The live workshops and the video were
implemented by an experienced rape-education workshop facilitator.

The workshop and the video of the workshop contained the same content.
Both began with the facilitator's description of a fictitious rape scenario. She
then invited the workshop participants to critique the myths about rape
embedded in the story. She continued the critique until all the myths in the
scenario were identified. These myths are that women bring rape upon
themselves through their clothes, demeanor, being alone, drinking, being out
at night; that only young, white, sexually promiscuous women get raped; and
that rape primarily occurs at night, outdoors, by a Black stranger, who uses
a lethal weapon.

The facilitator then presented statistics on the prevalence of rape, inci-
dence of rape on college campuses, acquaintance rape, incidence of rape
within the home, incidence of cross-race rape, and reporting and conviction
rates that contravene the myths. She offered comprehensive reconceptualiza-
tion of rape and encouraged students to discuss it. The reconceptualiza-
tion had six points: Rape is an act of violence; rape humiliates women; rape
is an act of power; rape is a public issue; rape affects all women; rape affects
all men.

We were able to control for many potentially confounding effects by using
the randomizing Solomon four-group design (cf. Campbell and Stanley
1963), by using the same person in the video and in the workshop, and by
using the same population of students. These effects include rape news on
the campus that might sensitize students, general maturational effects of
getting an education, the possible sensitizing effects of having taken a pretest
that asks about rape attitudes, possible instrumentation effects from using
different facilitators in different classrooms, statistical artifacts, loss of participants in the study, and other forms of bias.

Sample Selection

The study sample was composed of all students \((N = 582)\) enrolled in 14 sections of introductory sociology at Ohio State University. Each section was randomly assigned to one of three conditions: seeing the video, having a workshop, or serving as a control (no education). For each condition, there was one pretested group and one nonpretested group. There was no difference in standard demographic or attitudinal data among students enrolled in the different sections; many were assigned a section by the registrar. The course fulfills a basic education requirement, and so the students studied represented the general population of students in such courses at Ohio State University.

All testing and rape education took place in the classrooms in small discussion sections. Students were pretested in their classrooms before they were shown the video or participated in the workshop. Posttesting took place three weeks later. Because of ethical and moral concerns, students were given specific resources for rape survivors, rape education, and self-defense, and all students in the control groups were given the opportunity of viewing the video or attending the workshop at a later date. In addition, students were given the option of not participating.

Of the total sample \((582)\), somewhat more than one-half were women \((319\) or 55 percent). The sample was generally young, white, and single: 88 percent were 23 or younger; 86 percent were white, 10 percent were Black, and 4 percent were other minorities; 92 percent had never been married; one-quarter of the sample still lived with their parents, 46 percent lived in dormitories, fraternities, or sororities, and 25 percent lived in their own apartments.

Instruments

We constructed instruments to measure the following concepts: rape myths, rape blame, adversarial sexual beliefs, and gender-role conservatism. Items were measured with 5-point Likert-type scales refined by factor and reliability analyses. The final scales all have reliability scores of more than .69 (see Appendix for items).

The rape-myth scale contained nine items about rape vulnerability, who rapes, rape location, the relationship between rapist and the rape survivor,
racism, and reasons for rape. These items were adopted or modified from Burt (1980). (Coefficient $\alpha$ was .71.)

The rape-blame scale contained five items that measured the extent to which the victim was blamed for her own rape. These items measured the extent to which the respondent believed that the woman’s dress, dating habits, drinking, or past sexual history accounted for the rape. These items were adopted and modified from Resick and Jackson (1981). (Coefficient $\alpha$ was .71.)

The adversarial sexual belief scale was a six-item scale that measured the extent to which heterosexual relationships were viewed as exploitative and the extent to which force and coercion were viewed as legitimate ways to gain compliance in intimate and sexual relations. These measures were adopted and modified from Burt (1980). (Coefficient $\alpha$ was .79.)

The gender-role conservatism scale was a seven-item scale that measured the extent to which traditional cultural stereotypes were applied to dating, marriage, careers, and social customs. These measures were adopted and modified from Burt (1980). (Coefficient $\alpha$ was .69.)

**FINDINGS**

**Students’ Attitudes and Knowledge before Rape Education**

Before rape education, students disagreed with the rape myths more than they agreed with them, with an average scale score on the rape-myth pretest of 2.5, that is, halfway between a disagree and a neutral response. Students were most likely to reject the myth that only certain women can be raped, that a woman cannot be raped against her will, and that women secretly desire to be raped, but they were less likely to reject the false belief that most rapes are committed by Black strangers, outdoors, at gunpoint—rather than in the women’s own homes by men they know. Despite their rejection of some of the rape myths, almost none of the students conceptualized rape as a social-control issue.

There were gender differences on the rape-myth scale, however (see Table 1). On the whole, the women students held fewer false beliefs than the men students did. The greatest differences were on the items that were least believed. The men were less likely than the women to agree that a woman can be raped against her will, and that any woman can be raped. The men were more likely than the women to agree with the idea that women have a secret desire to be raped. The men were also more likely than the women to
TABLE 1:  Students’ Perceptions About Rape at Pretest, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rape-Myth Scale Item</th>
<th>All (N = 299)</th>
<th>Women (N = 170)</th>
<th>Men (N = 129)</th>
<th>F(1, 297)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against her will†</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.80*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any female can be raped†</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>26.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secret desire</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>45.88*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For sex</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>12.32*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knows victim†</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home†</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun or knife</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites rape whites†</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social control†</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>24.41*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of myths; scores on reflected items (†) have been reversed to indicate myth acceptance rather than item agreement.
†Reflected item, score is reversed.
*p < .01

TABLE 2:  Students’ Attitudes Toward Rape at Pretest, by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>All (N = 299)</th>
<th>Women (N = 170)</th>
<th>Men (N = 129)</th>
<th>F(1, 297)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape myths</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>24.41*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blames victim</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>41.49*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversarial beliefs</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>82.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-role conservatism</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>12.94*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gender comparisons were all significant at p < .01 level.

agree with the statement that rape is for sex. Thus the men in this study were more likely to believe the myths grounded in the idea of rape as sex. But neither the men nor the women fully understood the social-control aspect of rape.

Pretested students tended not to blame the victim, having an average scale score of 2.0 on the rape-blame scale. They also tended to reject adversarial sexual beliefs, having an average scale score of 2.2 and to hold moderately nontraditional gender-role beliefs, with a score on the conservatism scale of 2.5. There were significant gender differences (p < .01) on each of the scales at pretest. Men were more likely than women to accept rape myths, to blame the victim, to have adversarial sexual beliefs, and to have conservative gender-role attitudes (see Table 2).
TABLE 3: Correlations Among Rape Attitudes Scales at Pretest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Rape Myths</th>
<th>Blames Victim</th>
<th>Adversanal Beliefs</th>
<th>Gender-Role Conservatism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rape myths</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>42*</td>
<td>.38*</td>
<td>.34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blames victim</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.67*</td>
<td></td>
<td>.55*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversanal beliefs</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-role conservatism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Reliability (coefficient α) is on the diagonal. *p < .01.

TABLE 4: Rape Perceptions at Posttest, by Type of Rape Education and Pretest Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Workshop</th>
<th>Video</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(85)</td>
<td>(67)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
<td>(249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(68)</td>
<td>(82)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>(227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(153)</td>
<td>(149)</td>
<td>(174)</td>
<td>(476)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Higher scores mean greater acceptance of rape myths.

There were significant correlations between the scales. Acceptance of rape myths was strongly related to the tendency to blame the victim, to conservative gender-role beliefs, and to adversarial sexual beliefs (see Table 3).

Evaluation of Rape-Education Strategies

We tested for the effects of rape education on students' attitudes and knowledge on the four scales that concerned us (rape myths, rape blame, gender-role conservatism, and adversarial sexual beliefs) through a treatment-by-pretest analysis of variance as suggested by Campbell and Stanley (1963). We found no interactions between pretest and the kind of education (video or workshop) given to the students. Students who were pretested ended up holding fewer false beliefs about rape myths than those who were not pretested, regardless of the kind of intervention (video, workshop, or no education). Thus administering the pretest was a kind of education in and of itself; the effect was not a powerful one, but it was discernible nevertheless (see Table 4; F[1, 470] = 8.61, p < .01).
TABLE 5: Effects of Rape Education on Belief in Rape Myths by Type of Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rape-Myth Scale Item</th>
<th>Workshop</th>
<th>Video</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>F(2, 478)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against her will†</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any female can be raped†</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secret desire</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For sex</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knows victim†</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>8.81*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home†</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5.35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun or knife</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites rape whites†</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social control†</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.66*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7.66*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of myths; scores on reflected items (†) have been reversed to indicate myth acceptance rather than item agreement. Means that differ significantly from each other are superscripted with different letters.†Reflected item, score is reversed.

* p < .01.

Both educational interventions—the workshop and the video—significantly affected students’ knowledge and attitudes about rape myths. Students who received rape education had lower rape-myth acceptance scores than the students who were given no education or just the pretest. The workshop and the video were equally effective (see Table 4; F[2, 470] = 7.94, p < .01).

In addition to its overall effect, this type of rape education had a significant impact on three of the nine items on the rape-myth scale. The greatest change was on those items for which there was the greatest room to move, namely, the items that dealt with rape at the sociological and ideological levels. Both the workshop and the video increased students’ agreement that rapists know their victims, that rapes are more likely to occur in the victims’ own homes, and that rape is a form of social control over women. Even though racism was explicitly addressed in the rape-education script and students were given corrective information about the rates of cross-race rapes, our intervention was not significant in increasing agreement that white women are more likely to be raped by white men than by Black men (see Table 5).

On the rape-myth scale, we found that the differences between men and women noted at the pretest continued after each type of education (F[1, 470] = 28.37, p < .01). That is, overall, we found that gender was not a salient factor in the effectiveness of the education. Both men and women learned about equally from the interventions (F[2, 470] = 0.56, ns). While the workshop
and the video were both effective \( F[2, 470] = 9.28, p < .01 \), as noted above, there was no differential effect for the men and the women. The women continued to have lower rape-myth acceptance scores than the men.

**DISCUSSION**

False beliefs about rape do not take place in an attitudinal vacuum. In this study, college students who believed in the rape myths also held a complex of traditional attitudes. They tended to blame the victim, hold adversarial sexual beliefs, and have conservative gender-role attitudes. The men were significantly more conservative than the women on all the scales. Because women always operate within a power-imbalanced system that favors men, men’s attitudes cannot be viewed as simply different from women’s: They are more prevailing, naming, controlling, and determining.

We found that mostly white, young American college students have some knowledge about rape but are not aware that rape is embedded in a larger social structure and culture, one that associates sexuality with violence. We were able to change these students’ false beliefs about rape through rape education but did not significantly alter the contextual beliefs.

The rape myths that were significantly altered were that rapes are more likely to take place in a familiar setting, to be perpetrated by a known person, and to be a form of social control over women. These items reflect a feminist analysis and help both men and women students recognize either their complicity or their vulnerability in sex as a form of control. Since our intervention was most successful for those items that increase students’ awareness of date rape, the most common type of rape experienced by this age group, it can be an important tool for protecting college women against date rape.

Although rape education had an impact on both genders, it did not alter the differences between the women and the men students. The men were still more likely than the women to believe that women have a secret desire to be raped, that a woman cannot be raped against her will, and that rape is only for sex. These items represent rape only as a sexual act, and thus feminist rape education needs to be more explicit about rape as a form of control over women.

For the greatest payoff, we propose that feminist rape education needs to address the themes of rape as sex and rape as social control. By doing so, feminist rape education takes into account that women and men begin at different places in their knowledge and attitudes. Women’s rejection of rape
as sex was reinforced and supported through the education; men’s beliefs were educationally confronted, but perhaps not forcefully enough. Both the erotic and the dominance themes that characterize our culture’s representations of rape need to be openly addressed. Because false rape beliefs are so highly correlated with the tendency to blame the victim, adversarial sexual beliefs, and conservative gender roles, rape education may be an effective route into altering other sexist attitudes.

There are several ways to improve feminist rape education. The video we used was a record of a workshop. A dramatized format would probably have more impact, and we recommend its development and evaluation. We used the classroom as the setting; the impact of rape-prevention education in other settings (e.g., residence halls) needs to be tested. We used only one classroom period; we need to know what the effect of a whole curriculum unit on rape would be. Because of small numbers, we could not analyze race differences; we need to design and evaluate culturally sensitive rape education. Finally, we urge the development, implementation, and evaluation of strategies to alter the deeper attitudes beneath misperceptions about rape.

APPENDIX

Rape Myth ($\alpha = .71$)

A woman can be raped against her will.†
Any female can get raped.†
Many women have a secret desire to be raped.
The reason most rapists commit rape is for sex.
Most rapists choose a family member, friend, or acquaintance as a victim.†
Most rapes occur in the victim’s own home.†
Most rapes involve the use of a gun or knife.
White women are more likely to be raped by white men.†
Rape is a way of socially controlling women.†

Rape Blame ($\alpha = .71$)

If a woman gets drunk, it is her fault if she gets raped.
If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.
When women go around wearing shorts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.
In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.
A woman who goes to the home or the apartment of a man on the first date implies that she is willing to have sex.
Adversarial Sexual Beliefs (α = .79)
A woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her.
A man's got to show the woman who's boss right from the start or he'll end up
henpecked.
In a dating relationship, a woman is largely out to take advantage of a man.
A lot of women seem to get pleasure in putting men down.
Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.
Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she
doesn't want to seem loose, but she's really hoping the man will force her.

Gender-Role Conservatism (α = .69)
It is acceptable for a woman to pay for a date.†
There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry and raise a family.
It is acceptable for a woman to have a career, but marriage and family should come
first.
There is nothing wrong with a woman going to a bar alone.†
It is okay for a single woman to have a baby if she can afford it.
It is threatening to a man for a woman to initiate sex.
A woman should take her husband's name when she marries.

†Scores on these items were reversed.

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Mary Margaret Fonow is Assistant Director of the Center for Women's Studies at the Ohio State University. She has published in the area of feminist pedagogy and feminist epistemology and is coeditor of Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research, a collection of essays that examine the application of feminist perspectives to the research act.

Laurel Richardson is Professor of Sociology at Ohio State University. She is author of The Dynamics of Sex and Gender, The New Other Woman, and coeditor of Feminist Frontiers and Feminist Frontiers II. Currently, she is working on issues concerning the writing of women's lives, with particular interest in the intersections of race, class, and gender.

Virginia A. Wemmerus is an independent program evaluator and statistical consultant in Columbus, OH.