

Not Just a Women's Issue Anymore:
A Narrative Profile of a Male-Outreach Sexual-Assault Prevention Program and the Men
Who Choose to Lead It

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ABSTRACT

Not Just a Women's Issue Anymore:
A Long-Form Narrative Profile of a Male-Outreach Sexual-Assault Prevention Program
and the Men Who Choose to Lead It
(Under the direction of Dr. Frank Fee Jr.)

Research suggests that one in four college women has survived rape or an attempted rape in her lifetime. This master's thesis examines the roles men play in trying to reduce that statistic. It focuses on the stories of four men who spent this year presenting sexual-assault education programs to college students across the country. It explores the social, historical and political contexts for their work in an effort to understand why men are becoming increasingly involved in rape prevention. Reporting included an extensive literature review, visits to the homes of the four primary subjects, three weeks spent following them to five college campuses and interviews with more than 60 sources. The final product is a long-form narrative in the tradition of literary journalism. It traces the stories of a movement, an organization and four young leaders.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Perpetrators rape or attempt to rape about three percent of female college students each academic year, according to a 2000 National Institute of Justice report.¹ Although legal definitions of rape and attempted rape vary from state to state, the guidelines used in this national survey of more than 4,000 college women defined rape as:

Forced sexual intercourse including both psychological coercion as well as physical force. Forced sexual intercourse means vaginal, anal, or oral penetration by the offender(s). This category also includes incidents where the penetration is from a foreign object such as a bottle.²

Victims of these crimes can suffer physical and emotional trauma. Twenty percent of the rape or attempted-rape victims surveyed in the NIJ study reported physical injuries.³ Bruises, black eyes and chipped teeth were among the most commonly cited.⁴ Research has shown a variety of potential emotional consequences for victims as well, including an increased risk for acute and chronic depression⁵ and a likelihood of

¹ Bonnie Fisher et al, *The Sexual Victimization of College Women* (Washington: National Institute of Justice, 2000): 10.

² Ibid., 13.

³ Ibid., 22.

⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁵ Christopher Kilmartin and Julie Allison, *Men's Violence Against Women: Theory, Research, and Activism* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2007): 80.

experiencing rape trauma syndrome. Rape trauma syndrome includes an acute phase, often involving fear and anxiety, followed by a chronic phase, which may include phobias, substance abuse and difficulty with intimacy.⁶

While rape is prevalent on college campuses, it is difficult to track and easy to underestimate. The NIJ study showed that fewer than 5 percent of victims reported rapes to law enforcement, though about two-thirds of victims discussed their experiences with someone – most often a close friend.⁷

Jackson Katz, a nationally recognized activist who speaks to college students about sexual violence, suggests that female students do not overlook the threat of assault. In *The Macho Paradox*, he writes that he begins his presentations by asking male students to list what they do on a daily basis to prevent sexual assault. Sexual assault is a term generally used to refer to rape and other unwanted sexual contact that falls outside the definition of rape but involves physical force or emotional coercion.⁸ Katz reports that, aside from the occasional sarcastic reply, male students often remain silent. However, when Katz asks female students to list the precautions they take on a daily basis to prevent sexual assault, he can fill up chalkboards with their responses. “The exercise can go on for almost half an hour,” Katz writes.⁹

His anecdote illustrates the impact sexual assault has on college women. In many cases, they operate under fear of sexual assault, though they might not consciously

⁶ Kilmartin and Allison, 73-74.

⁷ Fisher, *Sexual Victimization*, 23.

⁸ Marjorie Sable et al, “Barriers to Reporting Sexual Assault for Women and Men: Perspectives of College Students,” *Journal of American College Health*. 55(3) (November/December 2006): 157.

⁹ Jackson Katz, *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help* (Naperville, Illinois:Sourcebooks, Inc., 2006) 2-3.

recognize this influence. For instance, Katz writes that many women arrange their schedules around daylight hours, refrain from going out alone and restrict personal travel because of the possibility of attack.¹⁰

Katz's experience reflects another reality of sexual assault on college campuses: female students are generally the ones trying to prevent it. This may be, in part, because university responses to sexual assault have traditionally reached out to women,¹¹ who are more likely than men to become victims of rape. Though rape of men on college campuses has not been studied in much detail, research indicates that men account for three to 10 percent of all sexual assault victims.¹² However, men commit an estimated 98 to 99 percent of rapes – a statistic that is leading a growing number of people to insist that prevention efforts reach out to male students.¹³ The subject of this non-traditional thesis project is a program called One in Four, which is based on that approach.

One in Four is a nonprofit organization founded by John Foubert, a College of William and Mary assistant professor of higher education. The organization tries to reduce the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses primarily by delivering one-hour presentations to groups of male students across the country. Each year, four recent college graduates employed by One in Four tour the United States in a recreational vehicle and present what they call "The Men's Program" to thousands of college students. Foubert has conducted a series of qualitative and quantitative research studies

¹⁰ Katz, 2.

¹¹ Loulou Hong, "Toward a Transformed Approach to Prevention: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence," *Journal of American College Health*, Vol. 48 (May 2000): 269.

¹² Sable, 157.

¹³ Katz, 7.

on the program and claims that a report, published in the peer-reviewed *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal* in December 2007, proves it reduces sexually coercive behavior in fraternity men. He says his group is the first to show it can produce such long-term behavior change.¹⁴

The One in Four approach reflects a shift from more traditional, female-focused, self-defense tactics and direct-service responses to male-focused prevention strategies. Foubert and his staff are not the only ones using these tactics. There are several high-profile male activists working to reduce sexual assault, and there are dozens of male-outreach programs with similar goals. However, the One in Four staff members are among the youngest leaders in this movement, making them interesting case studies. One in Four is known to be the most widely studied program of its kind, making its effectiveness easier to discuss.¹⁵ In addition, the timeliness of the latest research suggesting that the program reduces coercive behavior among college men is newsworthy. Finally, the approach of One in Four has sparked controversy among leaders of anti-rape efforts. An exploration of these fault lines reveals tension within the field.

This master's thesis project focuses on One in Four in an effort to explain the recent shift in approaches to sexual assault prevention strategies. In addition, it explores the increasing involvement of men working to address what was historically considered to be a "women's issue." Male leadership in anti-rape efforts may not only influence the

¹⁴ John Foubert et al, "Behavior Differences Seven Months Later: Effects of a Rape Prevention Program on First-year Men who Join Fraternities," *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal*, 4(44) (2007): 728.

¹⁵ Kilmartin and Allison, 204.

future of sexual assault but also the future of sexism and feminism. It is, therefore, critical to examine the causes and potential ramifications of this work.

The project addresses three research questions:

1. What social, political, historical and scholarly developments laid the groundwork for the One in Four Men's Program?
2. What is the One in Four RV Tour really like? In other words: What do staff members experience? What impact does the program have on individual audiences?
3. What motivated the current One in Four staff members to dedicate this year to speaking about sexual assault?

The final product, a long-form print piece in the tradition of literary journalism, traces the narratives of a movement, an organization and four young leaders.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of scholarly literature reveals that several social, legal and political developments created a ripe environment for the development of One in Four. In addition, a large body of work traces the rationale behind the program and makes claims about its efficacy in influencing attitudes and behaviors of male participants. Additional literature outlines male-outreach programs similar to One in Four and some criticism of the One in Four approach.

Historical Context for the Anti-Rape Movement

Members of the Women's Liberation Movement started drawing attention to rape in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁶ Feminists began a campaign of consciousness raising among women and encouraged them to share personal experiences including those involving sexual assault.¹⁷ Feminist theory suggested that rape was "both a symbolic and an actual means of keeping woman in her place: for every rape that does take place there are thousands of possible rapes in the back of a woman's mind every time she walks down the street."¹⁸ This began the feminist crusade for reducing the prevalence of sexual assault and a preliminary increase in public awareness related to the issue. Mary Koss, a

¹⁶ Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds, *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 194.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Karen Lindsey et al, "Rape: The All American Crime," in *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*, Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon eds. (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 195.

leading feminist researcher at the time, wrote, “Rape awareness meant women learning where to kick and how hard.”¹⁹

Women formed support groups, crisis hot lines and counseling centers while beginning to share their experiences aloud and in writing.²⁰ The New York Radical Feminists organized the first public speak out and conference about rape in 1971 – an event that marked a shift from sharing experiences in private meetings to voicing concerns in public forums.²¹ Activists began to receive funding for projects through private foundations and public grants in subsequent years.²² Hundreds of rape crisis centers sprang up around the country by 1977 – providing some of the first counseling and advocacy services for victims.²³ Feminist activists led most of these early efforts and focused on two primary goals: providing direct services for rape victims and promoting cultural changes to prevent future assaults.²⁴

However, the funding organizers collected from foundations and government agencies to support rape crisis centers often required staff to be credentialed social workers.²⁵ Many feminists focused on social change left positions at centers, often

¹⁹ Mary Koss, “Introduction,” in *I Never Called It Rape*, Robin Warshaw, (New York: Harper & Row: 1988): 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Anne Pride, “To Respectability and Back: A Ten Year View of the Anti-Rape Movement,” in *Fight Back!: Feminist Resistance to Male Violence*, Frederique Delacoste and Felice Newman eds, (Minneapolis: Cleis Press, 1981): 114.

²² Ibid., 114.

²³ Ibid., 115.

²⁴ Ibid., 114-115.

²⁵ Ibid., 115.

removing the emphasis on prevention from missions of organizations as a result.²⁶ Consequently, much of the work surrounding sexual assault in the decades following initial anti-rape efforts focused on direct service (counseling and advocacy) rather than prevention. Those attempts made to reduce the prevalence of sexual assault were geared mainly toward female participants and primarily included self-defense training.²⁷ One member active in the early anti-rape movement explained, “Over the years our educational programs have taken a back seat to victim services. Education has centered on prevention – how to blow a whistle – rather than on a discussion of the causes of rape.”²⁸

Men have been involved, in small numbers, in anti-rape efforts since the early days of the Women’s Liberation Movement.²⁹ However, there was a dramatic increase in men’s involvement in these efforts beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s.³⁰ The first high-profile campaign led by men was the 1991 White Ribbon Campaign, in which men wore white ribbons in response to violence against women. This project, which became an annual international effort, was a response to a shooting at the University of Montreal in 1989, known as the Montreal Massacre, which was allegedly sparked by a shooter’s hatred for women.³¹

²⁶ Pride, 115.

²⁷ Ibid., 116.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Katz, 253.

³⁰ Ibid., 254.

³¹ Ibid.

Since then, several male anti-rape activists have formed prevention organizations, many of which claim to examine aspects of American society referred to as “rape culture.” This includes elements of popular culture such as pornography and violent music videos as well as a widespread view of masculinity which activists say promotes violence and sexism.³² Men involved in these efforts, such as Jackson Katz, say rape culture and traditional expectations of masculinity contribute to objectification of and violence against women. Katz and others leading prevention efforts encourage men to challenge rape culture, to consider their own views of women and sexual violence and to intervene when they think other men will victimize women.³³ Katz says this is necessary because men perpetrate 98 to 99 percent of sexual assaults.³⁴ James Lang argues that male involvement is also important because men are more likely to be in authority positions and have greater societal influence.³⁵

This change in focus from female-outreach service and education efforts to male-outreach prevention programs represents a paradigm shift.³⁶ Though some feminists have voiced concerns about rape culture for decades, many claim men such as Katz can reach male audiences in ways women may not. Women have not written much about this dynamic. Men report that they perceive ambivalence among women. Katz writes that many women have chosen to embrace male involvement.³⁷ Mark Anthony Neal, a Duke

³² Ibid., 117.

³³ Katz, 260.

³⁴ Ibid., 5.

³⁵ Kilmartin and Allison, 162-163.

³⁶ Katz, 17.

³⁷ Ibid., 258.

University associate professor who studies race and masculinity, said in a recent interview that some women involved in the anti-rape movement have reacted with skepticism. “Some are suspicious that we haven’t done all the reading or that we’re just being engaged superficially with these issues and not really engaged in the long haul,” Neal said.³⁸ This question is examined more fully in the thesis project.

Historical Context for Anti-Rape Efforts on College Campuses

Responses to sexual assault also have evolved on college campuses in the last several decades. From the very early days of the anti-rape movement, many misconceptions or existed about rape on college campuses, specifically that rapes were perpetrated by strangers in isolated areas. Women on campuses learned self-defense strategies to prevent attacks from suspicious-looking men at the same time women outside of universities were doing so as well.³⁹

However, a groundbreaking survey of 6,100 undergraduates conducted by Koss, sponsored by the National Institute for Mental Health and published by *Ms. Magazine* in 1982, revealed that perpetrators known to their victims commit most rapes on college campuses.⁴⁰ This report increased public awareness of what is now referred to as “date rape” or “acquaintance rape.” This study was also the first to examine the prevalence of campus rape, a crime usually underreported. Koss’s study and a subsequent book written by Robin Warshaw based on her research were aimed at raising awareness about this statistic and sparking efforts to reduce it.⁴¹

³⁸ Mark Anthony Neal, interview by Rebecca Blatt, 17 November 2007.

³⁹ Koss, 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

At about the same time, colleges began to face increased legal pressure to do more to protect students from the threat of sexual assault. Several prominent court cases established precedents demanding that universities “warn students about known risks” and “provide them with adequate security protection.”⁴² In the 1979 case *Durate v. State*, a California appellate court held California State University liable for failing to provide a student with known crime data when asked.⁴³ In 1984, a California court ruled in *Peterson v. San Francisco Community College District* that colleges are liable for not protecting students from “reasonable (sic) foreseeable assaults on campus.”⁴⁴

Pressure on colleges mounted throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, in part because of media attention to several high-profile cases of sexual assault. For instance, in 1986 a male Lehigh University student raped and strangled fellow student Jeanne Clery.⁴⁵ Clery’s case and others like it drew pressure from parents for colleges to work harder to ensure student safety. Clery’s parents began advocating for federal legislation that would demand that colleges focus more attention on campus crime.⁴⁶ The federal 1990 Student-Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act attempted to do just that. It, along with subsequent amendments, required that schools receiving federal funding distribute

⁴²Bonnie Fisher, “Crime and Fear on Campus,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. No. 539 (1995): 88.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

campus crime statistics each year⁴⁷ and report crime policies and prevention efforts to the Department of Education.⁴⁸

These legal and legislative developments increased public awareness of the dangers of campus crime and increased pressure on colleges to prevent it.⁴⁹ Schools have struggled on both counts. A 2005 study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Justice found 37 percent of schools complying with the crime reporting mandated by the Campus Security Act,⁵⁰ and the statistics reported by schools did not accurately reflect crime rates because they relied on reported crime while most victims choose not to report victimization to authorities.⁵¹

Sexual-assault prevention efforts on college campuses traditionally have targeted female students, just as similar off-campus efforts have focused on women.⁵² The field has generally lacked scientific research about the effectiveness of these tactics.⁵³ Some have argued that self-defense strategies in particular have been successful in preventing assaults.⁵⁴ However, others point out that these efforts only help individual women

⁴⁷ Fisher, 92.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 98.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ *Sexual Assault on Campus: What Colleges and Universities are Doing About It*, National Institute of Justice, (December 2005): 3.

⁵¹ John Sloan et al, "Assessing the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990: An Analysis of the Victim Reporting Practices of College and University Students," *Crime and Delinquency*, (April 1997): 148.

⁵² Hong, 269.

⁵³ Lonsway, Kimberly Lonsway, "Preventing Acquaintance Rape Through Education: What Do We Know?" *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Vol. 20 (1996): 230.

⁵⁴ Paul Schewe, "Guidelines for Developing Rape Prevention and Risk Reduction Interventions" in *Preventing Violence in Relationships: Interventions Across the Life Span*, Paul Schewe ed. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002):113.

without addressing larger societal factors that encourage assault,⁵⁵ and that dependence on them may inadvertently blame women who do not effectively defend themselves.⁵⁶ Many argue that other strategies have been ineffective prevention strategies because they address victim behavior while failing to address perpetrator behavior, focus on reactions to assault rather than proactive efforts to prevent assault or are based on “rape myths” as opposed to an understanding of date rape.⁵⁷

In response to these concerns, some schools and organizations began designing prevention programs targeting men in the 1980s⁵⁸ and 1990s.⁵⁹ The effectiveness of these programs was generally evaluated in terms of perceived attitude change directly after exposure to programs rather than on long-term empirical data about actual behavior change.⁶⁰ As a result, many called for increasingly scientific approaches to developing and studying the effectiveness of such programs.⁶¹

John Foubert began to develop the curriculum that would eventually become “The Men’s Program” in the early 1990s. His focus on male outreach came at a time when men and women were beginning to recognize the need for a paradigm shift. In response to the call for scientific approaches to program development and assessment, Foubert began extensive, ongoing evaluation of his program. Perhaps as a result of significant pressure

⁵⁵ Lonsway, 232.

⁵⁶ Shewe, 114.

⁵⁷ Hong, 269.

⁵⁸ Warshaw, Robin Warshaw ed, *I Never Called it Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers): 1988. 164-165.

⁵⁹ Lonsway, 242.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 230.

to develop effective prevention strategies, colleges around the country have hired One in Four to perform on their campuses.

“The Men’s Program” and One in Four

In 1992, John Foubert was working in student affairs at the University of Richmond when a group of mostly female students asked if he would advise their sexual-assault peer-education group.⁶² According to Foubert’s account, the group hoped he could help it reach “what seemed an unattainable goal: to get men to listen to a program about rape.”⁶³ Foubert began researching available models for male outreach. “I found that most approaches overtly or subtly beat men over the head in the hopes that their behavior would change,” Foubert writes.⁶⁴ In the 15 years since then, Foubert has developed a program that seeks to reach men in more personal and ultimately effective ways. He has conducted countless qualitative and quantitative studies about the program in order to improve it. Foubert claims his latest study is the first to prove with long-term empirical data that the program reduces sexually coercive behavior in some men who see it.⁶⁵ According to Foubert, “The Men’s Program” is the only program proven to do that.

“The Men’s Program” is a one-hour presentation delivered by four male recent college graduates to male audiences.⁶⁶ The program leaders begin by “setting a non-confrontational tone” and explaining that the program is designed to teach men how to

⁶² John Foubert, “Anti-Rape On the Road: Men Hit the Highways to Share a Powerful Message,” *About Campus*, (November/December 2005), 24.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁶⁵ Foubert et al.

⁶⁶ John Foubert and Bradford Perry, “Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes: The Qualitative Impact of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program,” *Violence Against Women*, 13(1) (January 2007): 5.

help victims of sexual assault and to prevent future assaults.⁶⁷ The leaders define rape and sexual assault and explain the likelihood that male students will know a victim of assault and may be in a situation where they would need to respond appropriately.⁶⁸ Participants in the program subsequently view a video that describes two heterosexual men orally and anally raping a police officer.⁶⁹ After the video, presenters make connections between the experience of the male officer and the experiences of female rape victims.⁷⁰ Presenters teach participants how to help a woman after a rape.⁷¹ They discuss the relationship between alcohol and assault and the importance of seeking consent in sexual encounters. Then facilitators lead participants through a guided-imagery activity that challenges them to envision a woman they know being assaulted while another man watches and chooses not to intervene.⁷² Participants then discuss what they would do in a situation in which they had an opportunity to intervene in a case in which a man is trying to seduce a woman who is intoxicated.⁷³ Finally, the presenters reemphasize the prevalence of rape on campuses.⁷⁴

The program is based on significant research. For instance, the program only allows male presenters and participants because research has indicated that co-educational prevention programs may increase men's defensiveness and decrease

⁶⁷ Foubert and Perry, 5.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Foubert et al, "Behavior Differences," 740.

⁷³ Foubert et al, "Behavior Differences," 740.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 741.

program efficacy.⁷⁵ In addition, One in Four selects accomplished recent college graduates to facilitate “The Men’s Program” because some have suggested that peer-education workshops most effectively challenge rape-supportive environments.⁷⁶

The program is also based on the elaboration likelihood model. According to Foubert, the ELM “suggests that lasting attitude and behavior change occurs when participants are motivated to hear a message, are able to understand it, and perceive the message as relevant to them.”⁷⁷ Every component of the program relates to this model in some way. Discussing the prevalence of sexual assault on campus and the likelihood that participants will know victims of sexual assault is an effort to make the program feel more relevant to them. Watching a video of a male-on-male assault is a way of encouraging empathy with rape victims and making assault more understandable.⁷⁸ Foubert added the section on consent and alcohol at the request of fraternity men and student athletes who previously participated in a qualitative assessment of the program.⁷⁹ They reported this was a way of making the program more applicable to their lives.

The program’s emphasis on approaching men as potential allies rather than potential rapists or potential victims is another way of making the program feel more

⁷⁵ Alan Berkowitz ed., *Men and Rape: Theory, Research, and Prevention Programs in Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994): 35.; John Foubert and Marylu McEwan, “An All-Male Rape Prevention Peer Education Program: Decreasing Fraternity Men’s Behavioral Intent to Rape,” *Journal of College Student Development*. 39(6) (November/December 1998): 549.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁷ Foubert and Newberry, 134.

⁷⁸ Foubert and Perry, 2-3.

⁷⁹ John Foubert and Edwin Cowell, “Perceptions of a Rape Prevention Program by Fraternity Men and Male Student Athletes: Powerful Effects and Implications for Changing Behavior,” *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1, (Fall 2004): 12.

relevant. This approach is based on belief system theory.⁸⁰ According to Foubert, “Belief system theory suggests that to produce lasting attitude change, interventions must be designed to maintain people’s existing self-conceptions.”⁸¹ Research has shown that men do not perceive themselves to be potential assault victims,⁸² and that even men who commit rape do not consider themselves rapists.⁸³ In addition, male participants in at least one study revealed a desire to help women.⁸⁴ Therefore, approaching men as allies appeals to their “existing self-conception.” This may allow men to be more open to hearing the message of the program, consistent with the ELM.

Foubert’s latest research suggests that the combination of these factors has yielded a program that can reduce coercive behavior in participants.⁸⁵ The study involved an experimental design in which all first-year men at a mid-sized, southeastern university were randomly selected to either be exposed to “The Men’s Program” during the first month of school or be part of a control group not exposed to the program.⁸⁶ A total of 565 students, 90 percent of the school’s first-year male population, completed

⁸⁰ John Foubert and Johnathan Newberry, “Effects of Two Versions of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program on Fraternity Men’s Survivor Empathy, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intent to Commit Rape or Sexual Assault,” *Journal of College Student Development*, 47(2) (March/April 2006): 134.

⁸¹ Foubert and Newberry, 134.

⁸² Elizabeth Scheel, et al, “Making Rape Education Meaningful for Men: The Case for Eliminating the Emphasis on Men as Perpetrators, Protectors, or Victims,” *Sociological Practice: A Journal of Clinical and Applied Sociology*, 3(4) (December 2001): 263-264.

⁸³ Alan Berkowitz, ed., *Men and Rape: Theory, Research, and Prevention Programs in Higher Education*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994): 6.

⁸⁴ Scheel, 260.

⁸⁵ Foubert et al, “Behavior Differences,” 742.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 737.

surveys directly after the program and seven months later.⁸⁷ The survey included a scale used to determine attitudes toward sexual assault as well as a tool for determining whether participants had committed sexually aggressive behaviors, ranging from fondling or kissing through coercion to unwanted sexual intercourse.⁸⁸

The study looked at the impact of the program on fraternity men in particular. Foubert focuses on this population because research has suggested that fraternity men are at a particularly high risk for committing sexual assault. The most obvious example of research to that effect was a study that revealed fraternity men perpetrated 55 percent of gang rapes on college campuses reported between 1980 and 1990.⁸⁹ A subsequent study showed that fraternity men were more likely than men not involved in fraternities or athletic teams to accept rape myths, such as the ideas that women enjoy being raped and that men should dominate relationships.⁹⁰ Studies have linked these beliefs to sexual violence.⁹¹ In addition, some claim those who share these beliefs create environments that encourage people who do not believe these myths to commit sexual assault.⁹² The results of Foubert's latest study showed that the first-year men who chose to join fraternities did not demonstrate a significant difference in their history of coercive behavior compared with first-year men who did not choose to join fraternities. However,

⁸⁷ Foubert et al, "Behavior Differences," 737.

⁸⁸ Boeringer, S.B., "Associations of Rape-Supportive Attitudes with Fraternal and Athletic Participation," *Violence Against Women* (1995): 82.

⁸⁹ O'Sullivan, C., "Acquaintance gang rape on campus," in *Acquaintance Rape: The Hidden Crime*, A. Parrot and L. Bechhofer eds. (New York: John Wiley & Sons 1991): 140-156.

⁹⁰ Boeringer, 85.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹² Foubert et al, "Behavioral Differences," 731.

the same study suggested that first-year fraternity members were more likely to demonstrate sexually coercive behavior during their first year than men who did not join fraternities.⁹³

Foubert's study suggested that fraternity men who saw "The Men's Program" committed significantly fewer acts of sexual coercion in their first year at college than fraternity men who did not. He writes, "For decades, researchers have sought to write and evaluate a program that could demonstrate a measurable change in the sexually coercive behavior among program participants. ... The present study marks the first time the research literature has broken the behavior change barrier in the rape prevention arena."⁹⁴

Though Foubert has documented the bases for "The Men's Program," One in Four has received relatively little mass media attention. The timeliness and significance of Foubert's latest research merits media attention. Most articles written about the organization have appeared in campus publications, and none of them place the group in a larger social context. This project will begin to fill that void. In addition, profiling the leaders of the group will provide material for a rich narrative and allow for an examination of larger trends in anti-rape efforts, especially on college campuses.

Other Male-Outreach Efforts

One in Four is not the only male-outreach sexual-assault prevention effort. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention identified 37 similarly focused prevention

⁹³ Foubert et al, "Behavior Differences," 737.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 744.

efforts in 2003. Of these, 19 targeted college students.⁹⁵ The Mentors in Violence Prevention Program, founded in 1993 at the Center for the Study of Sport in Society at Northeastern University, is among the best known. It targets male athletes specifically, but its programs include women as well. The program involves presentations ranging from 90 minutes to several days and generally relies on discussions of scenarios in which participants must decide how they would act in situations involving sexual violence.⁹⁶ High-profile leaders such as Katz and professional football player Donald McPherson draw attention to this program.⁹⁷

The Mentors in Violence Prevention Program has been studied qualitatively and quantitatively. A report published on its Web site claims that both evaluations showed positive changes in participants' knowledge of rape,⁹⁸ attitudes about sexual violence⁹⁹ and self-perceived ability to speak out against violence or intervene as a bystander.¹⁰⁰ However, unlike the latest research about One in Four, these studies only surveyed participants directly after they saw the program, so the reports do not show long-term attitude or behavior changes.

Another well-known program geared toward college campuses is called Men Against Violence, created by Loulou Hong in 1995. Men Against Violence is a network of men's group on campuses intended to provide ongoing support for male students

⁹⁵ Kilmartin and Allison, 188.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 199-200.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Kristin Ward, *Evaluation 1999-2000: Mentors in Violence Prevention*, Northeastern University: 29.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 34.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 37.

through formal advising and informal socializing. This differs from the One in Four RV-Tour model, which relies primarily on brief, one-time presentations. However, the One in Four RV Tour members do train men on some of the campuses they visit to start their own chapters of the group, and those student organizations resemble the Men Against Violence model. Both provide ongoing support to a self-selected group of men dedicated to preventing rape. Hong writes that her program challenges men to “approach male-female relationships in an equitable manner, resolve conflicts effectively, overcome homophobia, develop meaningful friendships with other men, and express and manage anger or fear appropriately.”¹⁰¹ Like Foubert, Hong has studied her own program. In a case study of one Men Against Violence campus group, Hong found mixed effects. While some Men Against Violence members did demonstrate positive changes on behavior and attitudinal scales, others continued to objectify women.¹⁰² Hong also found that some of the members’ desire to prevent sexual violence came from a “paternalistic” view of women as opposed to a more egalitarian view.¹⁰³

These programs provide alternative models to the One in Four approach. Studies of these programs claim to show positive effects, and these were carefully evaluated in light of John Foubert’s assertion that One in Four is the first to prove it can reduce coercive behavior among college men. These programs and several others also compete with One in Four in many ways. It is unlikely that university administrators would choose to pay for a Mentors in Violence Prevention presentation *and* a One in Four presentation. Four schools in North and South Carolina, which were the focuses of this

¹⁰¹ Hong, 270.

¹⁰² Ibid., 273.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 275.

project, chose to work with One in Four despite other options. Interviews of those responsible for hiring One in Four included questions about making these decisions.

Criticism of One in Four

There are many criticisms of One in Four, only a few of which are present in available literature. Some criticism focuses on “The Men’s Program” itself. Kilmartin and Allison argue that model prevention efforts on college campuses should involve several steps. The first step would involve a one-time intervention effort.¹⁰⁴ Though they do not specifically mention One in Four, their discussion of an initial intervention outlines a model similar to that of “The Men’s Program.” Kilmartin and Allison assert that this first step should be followed by several others: creation of a program geared toward a target audience such as specific courses; development of a peer-education or support system intended to foster more wide-spread awareness and change; and ultimately “full integration of violence prevention into the institutional aspects of the community.” This last step would involve policy, social and structural changes throughout a university.¹⁰⁵

This outline is not a criticism of One in Four per se. One in Four does fit into this scheme. However, it fits as a preliminary step. Kilmartin and Allison suggest that schools must go beyond the type of programming One in Four provides in order to facilitate lasting change. This is important to keep in mind when evaluating how schools chose to use One in Four and what results Foubert claimed One in Four can provide.

Another criticism of the One in Four approach is based on the bystander-intervention model. In a recent interview, Mark Anthony Neal offered reasons why this

¹⁰⁴ Kilmartin and Allison, 171.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

might be problematic, though he did not address One in Four's work directly. He said that the bystander-intervention model only works when men feel a connection to each woman at risk of attack. "I think that's a valuable starting point, but then when it comes to a woman who is not connected to themselves, they don't have the same sense of empathy," he said.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Neal said that men's desires to intervene are based on an "instinct to come riding in on the white horse in the white hat." In other words, Neal suggested that encouraging men to try to protect women reaffirms a paternalistic role.¹⁰⁷ "That does not suggest partnership," Neal said.¹⁰⁸ As a result, he said, prevention efforts need to delve into deeper discussions than the bystander-intervention models allow. Instead of focusing on intervention, he said prevention must begin with a focus on ideas about masculinity, which he argues are at the heart of sexual violence. When he speaks with men about this issue, he challenges them to explore the extent to which expectations of masculinity influence how they behave, especially in ways that can harm women. "I think you have to think about the parameters of who they are," he said. "In what ways does sexual violence actually limit the humanity of men themselves?"¹⁰⁹

Foubert has not addressed this issue in his studies of One in Four. However, Hong documents the bystander/protector dynamic in the men involved in her Men Against Violence case study. She writes that "their desire to prevent such violence was still guided more by what I would call a chivalric, paternalistic view of women (e.g., women are the weaker sex, so they need our protection) and less by a desire to make

¹⁰⁶ Neal, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

fundamental changes in that power system.”¹¹⁰ One in Four uses a different strategy than Men Against Violence does. However, Hong’s work shows the potential for male students to see themselves as protectors of women and to resist more egalitarian visions, even after the extensive support Men Against Violence provides.

Finally, the study Foubert uses as the basis for his most recent claims warrants skepticism. First, Foubert’s evaluation of the extent to which subjects committed sexually coercive acts both prior to coming to college and during their first years relies on a 10-question survey each participant completed at the beginning and end of his first year.¹¹¹ The article in which Foubert stakes his claims about the program’s effectiveness includes a lengthy discussion about the merits of this particular survey. Previous research has shown that participants tend to reveal more sexually coercive behavior when given the survey than when interviewed by a psychologist, for instance.¹¹²

However, while many have recognized this tool as the best available measure of sexually coercive behavior, others still question the extent to which it can demonstrate programmatic efficacy. Foubert writes, “... fraternity men who saw The Men’s Program at the beginning of their first year committed significantly fewer acts of sexually coercive behavior during the first 7 months of their first year in college than fraternity men who did not see this program.”¹¹³ However, the analysis actually showed that the men who saw “The Men’s Program” *reported* significantly fewer acts of sexually coercive behavior during this time. Without following each participant through his first year, it is

¹¹⁰ Hong, 275.

¹¹¹ Foubert et al, “Behavior Differences,” 733-734.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 734.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 737.

impossible to really know how many sexually coercive acts he actually committed. Even if the survey was a perfect indicator of sexually coercive behavior, it is impossible to know exactly what caused a difference between fraternity men who saw the program and those who did not. Foubert did not conduct the study in a laboratory. It is possible that other factors may have contributed to such a difference.

In addition, while Foubert found decreases in rape-myth acceptance and sexually coercive behaviors among first-year fraternity men who saw “The Men’s Program,” he did not find a significant change in rape-myth acceptance or sexually coercive behavior among first-year men who did not join fraternities. He suggests that the program may simply be more effective for fraternity men or that fraternity men may have “more room to change” because they demonstrate increased tendencies toward rape-myth acceptance and sexually coercive behavior. Regardless, this limitation must be kept in mind when evaluating claims of efficacy. “The Men’s Program” has only shown to be effective for *some* but not all men who see the program.

Finally, this was one study at one school during one year. Foubert has not replicated the study himself, and no one outside One in Four has studied it. Critics of One in Four interviewed for this project cited these as concerns about the claims Foubert makes about the program’s efficacy.

The Women’s Program

Last summer, Foubert designed a curriculum for female audiences for One in Four RV Tour members to present in addition to “The Men’s Program.” Foubert says he created the presentation in response to school administrators who expressed interest in finding a group with programming for all students rather than exclusively for men. One

in Four executive director Adam Lalor said he hoped this would allow him to market the organization to more schools.

The new program, called “The Women’s Program,” begins in much the same way “The Men’s Program” does. Educators introduce themselves and review basic definitions of rape and sexual assault. In addition, educators show a video reenactment of an interview between a psychologist and a rapist. Over the course of the interview, the rapist describes how he set up and raped women at parties. After the video, educators discuss some of the behaviors and attitudes the rapist describes and relate them to attributes characteristic of some other rapists. They also discuss ways to help friends who may experience sexual assault and elicit suggestions from the audience about how to intervene in hypothetical scenarios in which peers may be in danger of being assaulted. Finally, the educators allow for questions and discussion.

Because the program is new this year, no literature documents its bases or reception among audience members. However, the RV Tour members have asked participants to complete surveys after each presentation. Lalor reports that out of 845 women surveyed, 12 women suggested that the group not use the program in the future and 18 suggested using the program only after “major changes.” More than 600 respondents said One in Four should continue to present the program. This suggests that the program appeals to female audiences, but it does not allow for any conclusions about its efficacy or what part of it resonates with women. The narrative discusses responses of individual audience members. However, because this project focuses primarily on the roles men play in sexual-assault prevention, “The Women’s Program” is not a major focus of the project.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

A Journalistic Approach

In order to address the first research question (*What social, historical and scholarly developments laid the groundwork for the One in Four Men's Program?*), I conducted a thorough literature review of relevant texts and spoke with sources who study developments in anti-rape efforts and/or played roles in these events, including two lengthy interviews with One in Four founder John Foubert. (See Appendix A for a bibliography of texts. See Appendix B for a list of interviewed sources.)

I began to address the second research question (*What is the One in Four RV Tour like?*), by accompanying the One in Four staff on their North Carolina/South Carolina tour January 14-30. This tour included stops at Davidson College, Wake Forest University, the University of North Carolina at Wilmington and Clemson University. I also spent time with the group at their headquarters at the College of William and Mary between trips to Davidson College and Wake Forest to observe the office work they do during days without scheduled events.

In preparation for this trip, I negotiated my involvement with One in Four executive director Adam Lalor as well as the four RV tour staff members. In addition, I contacted administrators at each of the four schools to seek permission to visit each campus. The health educator at Davidson College requested an in-person meeting to

discuss arrangements for my visit, so I drove to her campus in the fall and negotiated access there. Representatives of the three other schools agreed over the phone to allow to me watch One in Four presentations and interview students and staff.

The One in Four Board of Directors did not grant me permission to travel in the RV with the staff members, so I followed them in my personal vehicle and stayed at hotels close to the schools where they presented their programs. I spent as much time observing the group as possible. I followed them to presentations, meals, social outings, meetings with administrators, chapter trainings, staff meetings, pre-presentation huddles, etc. I spent 11 tour days with them in total.

My coverage of presentations varied by school. I attended all Davidson College events, including several meals with student leaders, two presentation for students and one presentation for faculty members. During “The Men’s Program” presentation, I stood in the auditorium’s lighting booth so that the men in the audience would not be influenced by the presence of a female reporter. I interviewed school administrators and student leaders responsible for inviting the organization to the campus as well as one student rape victim who attended “The Women’s Program.”

Despite lengthy conversations with two Wake Forest University administrators, both of whom granted permission for my project in advance, I was told upon my arrival to campus that I was not allowed to observe a One in Four lunch with faculty members or any of the three presentations the tour members gave for students there. I negotiated a compromise with the primary administrator involved. I left a digital voice recorder inside the auditorium during two of the three presentations for students, and I interviewed students as they left each one. After the second presentation I approached a group of four

male students leaving the auditorium and asked if I could interview them. Shortly after, approximately 35 men circled and began shouting out answers to my questions. This gave me a strong sense of the type of audiences the One in Four staff members face throughout the tour.

At the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, I observed four out of seven hours of training the One in Four staff led for new campus chapter members. In addition, I watched two presentations of “The Women’s Program” and sat in the balcony during one of two presentations of “The Men’s Program.” I interviewed audience members after each of these presentations. During a second presentation of “The Men’s Program,” I stayed backstage to observe the group’s pre-presentation, mid-presentation and post-presentation rituals.

At Clemson University, I sat in an audience of several hundred male athletes and fraternity men during the school’s only presentation of “The Men’s Program.” I then observed audience members approach the One in Four group after the presentation rather than interviewing audience members in the hallway.

All of this reporting allowed me to get a good sense of life on the tour as well as the challenges and rewards of presenting to college audiences. Questions raised by members of audiences gave me insight into the campus culture of each school. Student responses to my questions gave me a sampling of reactions to each program. Interactions with school administrators gave me a sense of how each school responds reactively and proactively to sexual assault.

In order to answer the third research question (*What motivated the One in Four staff members to dedicate this year to speaking about sexual assault?*), I traveled to the

hometown of each One in Four leader over winter break. I spent two days with each staff member, interviewing the men and their families individually before joining them on the road. I asked each one to take me on a tour of his childhood. They showed me their schools, childhood homes, favorite restaurants and weekend hangouts. One showed me the cul-de-sac where he had snowball fights with his neighbors and the McDonald's where he broke up with his high school girlfriend. Another showed me the bike path he and his brother used to take when they were late for church.

These visits allowed me to collect biographical information about each man, gain insights into their motivations for joining the tour and gather fodder for the personal narratives I weaved into the final piece. They also allowed me a chance to hear their individual perspectives on One in Four away from the influence of the rest of the group. This helped me to understand and deconstruct the group dynamic I later observed on the tour. In addition, the home visits gave me opportunities to establish bonds with individual members, which I believe made my presence on the tour more comfortable for them and for me.

Subsequent observation of these staff members working and interacting also provided insights into their personal lives, and I concluded my reporting by interviewing each member individually one last time. I used these meetings as ways to tie up loose ends, ask for clarification and perspectives on what I had observed during the tour and thank each one for their participation in the project.

In addition, I observed the current One in Four employees participating in recruitment for next year's staff during an interview weekend in early January. Three job applicants spent the weekend at the College of William and Mary, where One in Four's

founder, executive director and four RV tour members interviewed them. Though I was not allowed to observe the individual job interviews, I did accompany the staff and applicants to meals as well as group activities designed to test applicants' abilities to function as a group and present the One in Four programs. Speaking with them and observing the weekend helped me understand why some men want to help reduce the incidence of sexual assault.

For similar reasons, I observed a two-day training of a new group of members of the College of William and Mary's One in Four chapter. Two of this year's RV Tour members began their involvement in anti-rape efforts at this chapter, so watching the training allowed me to see the environment where they trained and in which their enthusiasm blossomed. It also allowed me to watch as young men began to grapple with issues of gender construction and sexism. The discussions I heard during this training were far deeper and more complex than those I witnessed during One in Four presentations, and they allowed me to understand the theory and larger societal issues underlying the prevalence of sexual assault and male desires to try to prevent it.

In summary, I spent 19 nights out of town in a total of eight different hotels for this project. I flew approximately 1,500 miles, drove more than 3,000 miles and interviewed more than 60 people. I covered events at five colleges in three states. These events included three full days of chapter trainings, two full days of new recruit tryouts and 12 One in Four presentations to college men, women and faculty. I negotiated access to these programs with 10 college administrators as well as the One in Four Board of Directors and employees. I ate 20 meals with One in Four staff members. I met seven of their relatives and four of their best friends. I saw six of their elementary, middle and

high schools. I spoke with four of their most cherished mentors. This reporting played a critical role not only in the completion of this project but also in my own personal and professional development.

Notes on Language

Several authors critique media coverage of sexual assault. Though this project is not intended to focus on one particular assault, as is the case with many traditional crime stories, it does include a discussion of the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses as well as stories of assaults experienced by sources. I, therefore, took several observations about media coverage into consideration while selecting language for this narrative.

First, several critics discuss the tendency to speak about assaults in the passive voice. For instance, discussions about the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses often begin with the statement “One in four college women will be victims of sexual assault” as opposed to “Perpetrators will sexually assault one in four college women.” Kilmartin and Allison assert that the passive voice focuses attention on the victims of assaults while leaving perpetrators out of the equation. They write, “Since the perpetrator is responsible for the crime, he or she should be the subject of the sentence, the doer of the action.”¹¹⁴ In many ways, this stance reflects the paradigm shift One in Four represents – a move away from placing the responsibility for assault on victims and a move toward focusing instead on perpetrator behavior and bystander responsibility. In addition, the active voice tends to yield stronger writing in general. For these reasons, I used the active voice whenever possible.

¹¹⁴ Kilmartin and Allison, xx.

In addition, some use the term “victim” to refer to one who has been assaulted, while other writing uses the term “survivor.” Kilmartin and Allison use the term “victim” to refer to those who have been assaulted in the very recent past and use “survivor” to refer to those who have had more time to process their experiences – suggesting that this is a more “empowering term.”¹¹⁵ In a recent interview, Christina Riordan, executive director of the Orange County Rape Crisis Center, said that specific sources should have the power to decide what they would like to be called.¹¹⁶

I tried not to rely on either term in writing this narrative, as I felt both were loaded and feared they might have unintended impacts on readers. In circumstances in which I had to use either “victim” or “survivor,” I used “victim” as it is standard in crime reporting and emphasizes the violence of assault.

Another source of confusion in discussions of anti-rape efforts involves the vocabulary used to describe assaults. One in Four defines rape as sexual intercourse in which one party does not or cannot give consent, and the organization defines sexual assault as an umbrella term that includes other forms of forced touching as well. However, the National Institute of Justice report cited in the introduction of this project uses a broader definition of rape as noted above.

In interviews, I asked sources which words they use to describe their experiences. Some offered specific answers. One in particular preferred that he describe his experience in detail rather than label it with a more general term. When I pushed him for clarification, he said he felt empowered by sharing his experience with me and allowing me to select the terminology I found to be appropriate.

¹¹⁵ Kilmartin and Allison, xxi.

¹¹⁶ Christina Riordan, interview by Rebecca Blatt, 16 November 2007.

Medium: Long-form Literary Journalism

Defining the Genre

This project yielded a long-form narrative in the tradition of literary journalism. Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda's views on the form, combined with the perspectives of Jon Franklin and Joseph M. Webb, allow for a comprehensive definition of this genre. Kerrane and Yagoda explore "literary" and "journalism" individually, noting that works included in their anthology of literary journalism must be "journalistic," which they say means "factual" and including "a process of active fact-gathering" or "reporting."¹¹⁷ Franklin defines reporting as that which involves interviewing and research.¹¹⁸ In addition, Kerrane and Yagoda explain that works of literary journalism in their anthology are "literary" in the sense of "innovation" or breaking away from the traditional journalistic forms.¹¹⁹ They list use of dialogue and scene setting as examples of innovation. Franklin includes the conflict/resolution form and character development as examples as well.¹²⁰

Webb delves a bit deeper into the intellectual and philosophical approaches of literary journalists. He suggests that literary journalism, which he refers to as "new journalism," relies on five basic premises:

1. "Man is primarily a feeling, emotional, instinctual being."

¹¹⁷ Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, eds. *The Art of Fact* (New York: Scribner, 1997), 13.

¹¹⁸ Jon Franklin, *Writing for Story* (New York: Plume, 1986), 27.

¹¹⁹ Kerrane and Yagoda, 14.

¹²⁰ Franklin, 25.

2. “The Reality to be reported is primarily internal, inside human beings; and the methodological problem of the new journalist is to find a way inside the human being written about.”
3. “The new journalist approaches his journalism assuming the primacy of human diversity.”
4. “We find in new journalism an assumption of dynamism; an approach, that is, that follows the characters of the reporting over time through their ups and downs.”
5. “The ‘new journalist’ assumes a wholistic view, assuming that life cannot be understood when it is cut up in little pieces.”¹²¹

In other words, Webb asserts that literary journalism seeks to capture the subjective human experience through in-depth and intimate reporting and writing as opposed to the more traditional “objective” approach, which focuses solely on material that can be collected through the senses and presented to the reader in bite-sized pieces.¹²²

This project relied on guidelines provided by Kerrane, Yagoda, Franklin and Webb. Reporting included interviewing and historical research. The writing included literary techniques such as scene setting and dialogue. It reflected Webb’s assertion that the human experience is subjective and emotional, and one of the goals of the project was to convey what may inspire men to participate in rape-prevention work. Trying to

¹²¹ Joseph Webb, “Historical Perspective on the New Journalism,” *Journalism History* 1(2) (Summer 1974) 39.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 38.

illustrate the historical, social and personal context for male-outreach sexual-assault prevention work required a long-form literary approach.

History of the Form

In the 1973 anthology, *The New Journalism*, Thomas Wolfe claims that the literary journalism of his time was a fresh movement. In Chapter 1, he does everything shy of declaring what he calls “new journalism” to be a literary revolution. “There was no such thing as a *literary* journalist working for popular magazines or newspapers. If a journalist aspired to literary status – then he had better have the sense, the courage to quit the popular press and try to get into the big league,” Wolfe writes, speaking of the reign of the novelist until the mid-twentieth century.¹²³

Wolfe sees the new journalism as a way of not only combining the literary prestige of fiction writing with the reporting merit of newspaper writing, but also overthrowing the traditional hierarchy of literature, namely one in which novelists ranked at the top and journalists fell to the bottom.¹²⁴ Wolfe seems to delight in the new fame it brought to his peers.¹²⁵ He writes of the sense of liberation he felt in the freedom to experiment with styles and forms usually forbidden in journalism.¹²⁶ He implies that the new journalism arose out of the personal desires of the writers themselves, though he

¹²³ Tom Wolfe, “The Feature Game,” in *The New Journalism*, Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson eds. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973): 8.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹²⁵ Tom Wolfe, “Like a Novel,” in *The New Journalism*, Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson eds. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973): 15.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

does mention briefly the desire to use literary techniques to have a greater emotional impact on readers.¹²⁷

An exploration of the journalism of the two centuries proceeding Wolfe's 1973 anthology reveals that the forms and techniques he describes were not new. Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda trace elements of literary journalism to the eighteenth century. They use an excerpt from James Boswell's 1791 biography, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, to illustrate the author's willingness to express his own opinions, practice intimate reporting and include vivid details to portray scenes and develop characters.¹²⁸ Wolfe later outlines these characteristics in his description of *his* new journalism nearly 200 years later.¹²⁹ Kerrane and Yagoda also include Henry Mayhew, among other mid-nineteenth century journalists, who experimented with journalistic form in *new* ways.¹³⁰ They discuss Mayhew's eagerness to include large sections of quotations in order to allow subjects to narrate their own lives,¹³¹ verging on the short-story form Jon Franklin would later praise so highly.¹³²

John Hartsock argues that innovations such as these culminated in the 1890s with what *he* termed the new journalism. In his discussion of this era, Hartsock alludes to the tension between fiction and nonfiction genres in a way similar to that of Wolfe. He quotes Thomas Connery saying, "... two categories of printed prose to depict observed

¹²⁷ Wolfe, 21.

¹²⁸ James Boswell, "The Life of Samuel Johnson," in *The Art of Fact*, eds. Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, (New York: Scribner, 1997): 29-33.

¹²⁹ Wolfe, "Like a Novel," 15.

¹³⁰ Kerrane and Yagoda, 34-37.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹³² Franklin, 25.

life were not enough, but a third – literary journalism – was possible and necessary.

...”¹³³ It appears, then, that the impulse for *this* new journalism, in part, came from the desire to blend two genres previously separated. That assertion makes sense given that reporters such as Stephen Crane and Abraham Cahan, two leading innovators of the era, excelled in both fiction and nonfiction. They could naturally have blended skills from both pursuits.

However, like Wolfe, Hartsock acknowledges another impulse – one based on developing a deeper connection with the reader. He points to Lincoln Steffens, city editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* at the turn of the twentieth century, as one who encouraged reporters to strive for literary excellence to “get the news so completely that the reader will see himself in the other fellow’s place.”¹³⁴ This points to a new goal requiring a new style.

Generalizing about the literature of these eras and drawing meaningful comparisons between them is problematic. For instance, Tom Wolfe argues that some new journalism of the 1960s was united by what he called “feats of reporting that were extraordinary, spectacular.”¹³⁵ He lists John Sack’s Army reporting¹³⁶ and George Plimpton’s football coverage¹³⁷ as examples of reporters who would *experience* the lives

¹³³ John Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2000): 21-22.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³⁵ Tom Wolfe, “Seizing the Power,” in *The New Journalism*, Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson eds. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973): 26.

¹³⁶ John Sack, *M*, (New York: New American Library, 1967). For this work, Sack embedded himself in an army brigade during training and combat in Vietnam.

¹³⁷ George Plimpton, *Paper Lion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). For this work, Plimpton trained and played with the Detroit Lions.

of their subjects as opposed to merely listening about them.¹³⁸ However, this is not far from what Crane did when he decided to experience homelessness in writing “An Experiment in Misery” decades earlier.¹³⁹

One might also compare Abraham Cahan’s turn-of-the-century beat reporting in Manhattan with the 1960s writing of Richard Goldstein and claim that each one used scene setting and dialogue to create sketches and develop characters. Likewise, one might draw ties between Lillian Ross’s 1950 “Profile of Hemingway”¹⁴⁰ and Rex Reed’s later profile of Ava Gardner, “Do You Sleep in the Nude?”¹⁴¹ that Wolfe deemed to be revolutionary.¹⁴² Both reporters bring their celebrity subjects to life by revealing the plain details of their mannerisms and colloquialisms – their ways of being – rather than direct quotations in a question and answer format.

However, within each era, writers varied in their choices of subjects, forms, points of view, use of dialogue, narrative voice, etc. That variance makes it difficult to generalize about the writing of individual periods and draw conclusions about any threads tying one era to the next. Perhaps what is more helpful to note is how reporters associated with all new journalisms pushed themselves beyond the journalistic norms, such as the distant, third-person narrator and the inverted pyramid format, which remain standards to this day. Henry Mayhew’s tendency to leave large stretches of quotations in stories such

¹³⁸ Wolfe, “Seizing the Power,” 26-27.

¹³⁹ Hartsock, 68.

¹⁴⁰ Lillian Ross, “Portrait of Hemingway,” in *The Art of Fact* ed. Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda (New York: Scribner, 1997): 129-128.

¹⁴¹ Rex Reed, “Do You Sleep in the Nude?” in *The New Journalism*, eds. Wolfe, Tom and E. W. Johnson, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973): 56-64.

¹⁴² Wolfe and Johnson, 56.

as “Watercress Girl”¹⁴³ in the 1860s was just as bold as Wolfe’s experimentation with combining points of view in “The Girl of the Year.” They are united in their spirit of nonconformity to journalistic norms and their commitment to compelling storytelling.

Jay Jensen offers an additional insight. Jensen asserts that Wolfe’s “new journalism” came in response to “the turmoil, the rebellion, the counter-cultural movements of various kinds of the 1960s.”¹⁴⁴ It makes sense that periods of significant social and political change merited a more in-depth, personal approach to writing and reporting. The same argument could be made of the rise of literary journalism in the 1890s, a period marked by growing awareness about impoverished conditions generated by industrialization, immigration and discrimination. A more wholistic approach to journalism, as outlined by Webb and others, allowed reporters to try to capture the complexity of the period.

In many ways, this thesis project reflects the needs, goals and approaches shared by literary journalists throughout history. It worked around traditional institutional norms in order to create what I believe was a more fulfilling endeavor. I had written shorter articles and several series of articles before I embarked on this project, and I felt ready for the challenge of taking on a larger work. I was also motivated by the belief that in-depth reporting and storytelling can provide more compelling explorations of issues than series of shorter articles can. Just as feature writers in the 1960s and 1970s believed that traditional news stories could not do justice to the events they watched unfold, I believed that a long-form literary approach was needed to capture the complicated narrative of the

¹⁴³ Henry Mayhew, “Watercress Girl,” in *The Art of Fact* ed. Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda (New York: Scribner, 1997): 34-37.

¹⁴⁴ Jay Jensen, “The New Journalism in Historical Perspective,” *Journalism History*, 1(2) (Summer 1974): 37.

anti-rape movement and the lives of the men involved in the latest developments within it.

Ethical Considerations

In his essay, “Toward an Ethical Code for Narrative Journalists,” Walt Harrington explains that literary journalists face difficult ethical dilemmas on a regular basis because of conflicting allegiances. “In some ways the work of immersion journalists resembles the work of anthropologists, but anthropology’s ethical code is clearer. Their constituency is their subjects, first and always,” he writes.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately for journalists, Harrington explains, the question of allegiance is more complicated. He claims journalists owe something not only to their subjects, but also to their readers and employers.¹⁴⁶ Conflicts between those competing duties can manifest themselves in many ways, and reporters’ approaches to these ethical dilemmas vary.

One of the first questions journalists often face is how much to disclose to sources about projects. Does one have to explain what the article is about? How much time the reporting will take? The consequences sources may face after publication? Tracy Kidder tries to talk at length about the consequences for subjects.¹⁴⁷ Michael Lewis not only discloses his intentions about his project up front, but also continues to update his subjects on his perspective as each story unfolds. “The only way to develop these relationships of trust ... is to actually tell the person what I’m thinking while I’m taking

¹⁴⁵ Walt Harrington, “Toward an Ethical Code for Narrative Journalists,” in *Telling True Stories: A Nonfiction Writers’ Guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*, Mark Kramer and Wendy Call eds. (New York: A Plume Book, 2007): 170.

¹⁴⁶ Harrington, 170.

¹⁴⁷ Tracy Kidder, “Securing Consent,” in *Telling True Stories: A Nonfiction Writers’ Guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*, Mark Kramer and Wendy Call eds. (New York: A Plume Book, 2007): 177.

notes,” he says.¹⁴⁸ In contrast, Jonathan Harr says that he does not disclose every detail at initial meetings with sources. In particular, he does not reveal how much time he is going to stay with subjects because he fears this will drive them away.¹⁴⁹

In preparation for this project, I tried to set clear expectations for the amount of time I expected to spend with subjects, including home visits and extensive contact during the North Carolina/South Carolina tour. I explained that this type of reporting could allow for a deeper understanding of personal backgrounds and motivations. I also said that I would explore the historical and social contexts for the evolution of *One in Four*, as well as a variety of responses to it. In negotiating access with administrators at each school, I explained the focus and scope of my project to the extent I could envision at the time. When interviewing students at individual schools, I introduced myself as a UNC-Chapel Hill master’s student writing her thesis about *One in Four*, and I was sure to disclose the possibility of publication.

I did not always state my interpretations of my interviews and observations as I conducted them, as Lewis writes he does. However, I found that asking *One in Four* members to explain or clarify events or dynamics I did not understand was particularly helpful. In addition, during interviews with sources who experienced sexual assault, I did acknowledge my appreciation for their courage to share their stories and my sympathy for what they endured.

Two of the most poignant moments of my reporting came during an interview with a male source who experienced childhood molestation committed by a female

¹⁴⁸ Robert Boynton, *The New New Journalism: Conversations with America’s Best Nonfiction Writers on their Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005): 256.

¹⁴⁹ Boynton, 111.

relative. I told the source that I imagined he faced unique hardship in discussing assault that carries a special stigma, even within the anti-rape movement. In addition, the source revealed to me that he still felt guilty about his experience more than a decade after the abuse. He wondered if there was something he could have done, as a 9-year-old child, to prevent assault at knifepoint. At the end of the interview, I expressed how sorry I was for his experience and suggested there was nothing he could have done to stop it. These two moments were the only times during the very intense interview when the subject's eyes welled up with tears. They were also rare occasions when I asserted my own feelings during conversations with a member of the tour. I found that they enabled me to establish a stronger bond with this source than I established with any other, which allowed for greater comfort and honesty throughout the tour. I turned to this source on the road when I wanted to negotiate access to private moments. Through this particular experience, I learned to appreciate the value of the Lewis approach.

The question of anonymity may also arise early in work with particular subjects. Should reporters offer anonymity to sources or allow it if requested? The tension between wanting to protect or satisfy a source and wanting to deliver the most complete story to the public is at issue in this debate. Gay Talese says that he will not work with anyone under the condition of anonymity,¹⁵⁰ while Jane Kramer says she will change names in a story even if subjects have given permission to use them when she thinks they don't understand the consequences of publication or if she feels sources are in danger.¹⁵¹ Reporters must negotiate these delicate balances in personal ways.

¹⁵⁰ Boynton, 369.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 193.

I was prepared to offer anonymity to sources in this project under certain circumstances. First, in order to gain access to presentations at individual schools, I thought it might be necessary to promise student anonymity. However, I found this was not the case. Schools were either comfortable giving me full access to events or they would not allow access at all. Access did not depend on anonymity.

I thought that victims of sexual assault deserved special consideration as well. In a recent interview, Riordan explained survivors participating in this project risked “re-victimization” that may occur if they relived their assaults by discussing them. She warned that they could experience trauma again later if they faced scrutiny or criticism from readers.¹⁵² In an effort to minimize this trauma, I was willing to extend the option of anonymity to sources who chose to share assault experiences. However, each source who shared an assault experience with me was willing to have their full name included in the piece.

Perhaps the most difficult part of the immersive reporting process is the participant/observer dynamic. How much distance must reporters keep from subjects? Leon Dash writes, “the basic rule is to keep a professional distance. ... I don’t want them to see me as their friend.”¹⁵³ Dash refused to accept presents given to him by students he wrote about, as a result.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, Alex Kotlowitz admits, “Truthfully, one of the joys of my work is the friendships I make, and with the unlikeliest of people.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Riordan, 1.

¹⁵³ Boynton, 64.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 137.

Other reporters, such as Isabel Wilkerson, suggest a middle ground, describing the reporter/source relationship as one between acquaintances.¹⁵⁶

The participant/observer relationship came up in several ways over the course of this project. First, One in Four staff members began the project by referring to my work as “a way to get our message out.” I did not challenge this assertion directly early on, in part because I recognized that focusing the project on their stories would allow them to voice their perspectives and in part because I knew that this hope would allow for a greater commitment to access. However, as I interacted with the One in Four staff in person, I focused on maintaining the role of a journalist as opposed to that of a friend or advocate. Once I had the opportunity to explain my research, my role and the goals of my work, the One in Four staff stopped referring to the project as a “way to get our message out” and started speaking in the language of literary journalism. “Do you know how this story is going to come together?” they asked.

In addition, because I knew I would spend a substantial amount of time with the One in Four staff, I realized it would be important for me to actively try to view their work through a critical lens. Reading a variety of perspectives on male-outreach and bystander-intervention models as well as speaking with critics of the program ahead of time and during the tour allowed me to think critically about the One in Four program.

Riordan emphasized the importance of establishing clear boundaries and ground rules while interviewing survivors of sexual assault. She reminded me that telling stories of sexual assault may produce emotional reactions sources do not anticipate. She also emphasized the importance of allowing survivors to feel in control of the interview process. She explained that sexual assaults leave victims feeling powerless and that

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 172.

allowing them to control telling their stories is critical to their comfort with the interview process.¹⁵⁷

With this in mind, I began each interview with these sources by introducing my project, including the possibility of publication and asking for permission to ask them questions. I also told them to disclose only the details they felt comfortable sharing and to stop me at any time if they did not want to move forward. At the conclusion of these interviews, I thanked the sources for sharing their stories with me, I reminded them about the scope and potential publication of my project, and I asked which details they felt comfortable with me including in my writing. This process is not part of my usual approach to interviewing. However, the potential vulnerability of survivors of sexual assault, especially with regard to discussions about assaults, necessitated such precautions. All of the sources consented for me to use their stories as I saw appropriate. I believe my commitment to allowing these sources to control both the telling and the publication of their stories allowed for a deeper trust between us and a greater willingness to share their experiences with me.

Finally, Riordan warned that sources would be likely to ask if I had personally experienced sexual assault.¹⁵⁸ I have several personal connections to this topic. The statistics cited above suggest that it would be virtually impossible to graduate from college without some kind of personal experience with sexual assault – either as a primary survivor (someone who has been assaulted) or as a secondary survivor (someone who was close to someone assaulted). I decided before doing any reporting that I would not disclose the extent of my personal experience with sexual violence during work on

¹⁵⁷ Riordan, 1.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

this project. I believed that sharing my own personal connections to the topic might influence what sources were willing to tell me, and I wanted them to make those decisions based on the scope of the project and my journalistic role.

No one asked me directly about my personal experience with this topic. However, many asked what drew me to the subject or how I got involved with my reporting. When asked how or why I decided to do this project, I spoke about an article I wrote about campus safety last summer, which included a reference to One in Four. I explained that I was curious to learn more about the program and knew that I could use the group as a way to blend personal storytelling with an in-depth look at a complex issue. This answer seemed to satisfy my sources while emphasizing my previous journalistic experience and goals for my current work.

Resources Used

Human resources for this project included:

1. Three committee members: Dr. Frank Fee (chairman), Dr. Barbara Friedman, Dr. Crystal Feimster.
2. One in Four staff: John Foubert (founder); Adam Lalor (executive director); J.T. Newberry, James Ambrose, Jor-El Caraballo, Dan Mollison (four RV-Tour members).
3. Relatives of staff members interviewed for biographical background: Andrea Caraballo; Bonnie, Karl and Nick Mollison; Pamela Newberry; Hank and Emma Ambrose.
4. Administrators at schools participating in the North Carolina/South Carolina tour: Georgia Ringle, Kathy Bray-Merrell (Davidson College), Parvin Lewis (Clemson

University), Adam Tate (University of North Carolina at Wilmington), Amy Shuman, Laurel Banks and Kevin Cox (Wake Forest University).

5. Students at schools participating in the North Carolina/South Carolina tour (see Appendix B).
6. Additional experts in sexual-assault prevention (see Appendix B)
7. Leaders of other sexual-assault prevention efforts (see Appendix B).

Mechanical resources for this project included:

1. A laptop computer.
2. A digital voice recorder used during presentations on RV tour.

Financial resources for this project included:

1. Roughly \$2,200 of Roy H. Park funding.

Outline

Some works of literary journalism take the form of traditional narratives or short stories such as those Franklin describes as having “beginnings, middles, and ends.”¹⁵⁹ These stories unfold naturally, without much interference from the reporter, such as Franklin’s “Mrs. Kelly’s Monster.”¹⁶⁰ However, there are some works that are both literary and journalistic but do not take this strict form. Kerrane and Yagoda assert that they fall into two categories: one that “consists of works with the reporter at the forefront” and one they call “Style as Substance,” including works meeting an exceptional standard of writing.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Franklin, 25.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 28-39.

¹⁶¹ Kerrane and Yagoda, 16.

This project draws on elements of each of these interpretations. Narrative strands run throughout the final product. These primarily include the story of the evolution of sexual assault prevention efforts on college campuses including the development of One in Four, the individual life stories of the One in Four staff members and the story of the North Carolina/South Carolina tour.

In searching for ways to bring all of these storylines together, I read books written about other groups – primarily athletic teams. The work that resonated most with what I tried to do was *In These Girls Hope is a Muscle* by Madeleine Blais.¹⁶² In this book, Blais documents one season in the life of the Amherst Lady Hurricanes, a high-school girls' basketball team. She offers a nice balance between illustrating the accomplishments of the group and capturing the personalities of individual players, while noting a societal shift from her 1950s childhood, when girls sat on the sidelines of athletics, to a 1990s America, where girls could thrive in the world of sports.

Blais begins the book with a prologue providing the social and historical context for her work.¹⁶³ She then traces the primary developments of the basketball season, focusing on key practices, games and conversations. Interspersed between these scenes, Blais includes passages describing the personal stories of each player and their coach. These biographical details bring the story to life. This piece follows suit – relying on biographical details to illustrate the motivations for each staff member's participation in the group and using sketches of time spent with the group to illuminate the organization's significance and controversy. (For a bibliography of additional sources that served as structural guides, see Appendix C.)

¹⁶² Madeleine Blais, *In These Girls, Hope is a Muscle*, (New York: Warner Books, 1995).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1-12.

CHAPTER FOUR

NARRATIVE

Late one chilly afternoon in January, James Ambrose, J.T. Newberry, Jor-El Caraballo and Dan Mollison drove to the Cape Fear Custom RV repair shop off Interstate 40 in Leeland, N.C.

The four recent college graduates had been living in their 1997 Windsor Monaco recreational vehicle nearly five months. They had driven more than 16,000 miles through roughly 30 states, and the 37-foot vehicle that had been their bedroom, their bathroom, their kitchen, their office and their means of transportation was showing signs of fatigue. Layers of black and silver duct tape held the doors to exterior cargo bins closed, barely, during long drives across interstate highways. Longer strips of adhesive covered splits in the vehicle's plastic siding – casualties of run-ins with poles and trees. The blue carpeted steps that boosted passengers into the cabin no longer fully retracted when the door swung shut.

But a gap between the windshield and its rubber rim was a primary concern. Frigid air had whipped across the dashboard during the day's drive from Winston-Salem to the Carolina coast, and the four men were feeling the cold.

Newberry, a 23-year old with a small frame and dirty-blond hair, whom the others called the “captain” of the crew, had felt the winter wind slice into his breastbone as he sat behind the wheel all morning. Ambrose, a lanky African-American graduate of the

College of William and Mary, had worn a black, knit cap and gloves for the ride.

Mollison, tall and burly with spiky brown hair and a goatee, had bundled himself in a North Face parka for the trip.

Just as the sun began to dip behind an overpass for the evening, the four travelers pulled onto the gravel parking lot behind Cape Fear Custom RV. They had called ahead and hoped the mechanics at the shop would be able to fix their windshield. They had tried more than a dozen garages before this one, and they were skeptical anyone would be able to help.

Newberry walked inside the office to speak with the owner. Ambrose slipped off the bus with Caraballo, the slender alumnus of the University of North Carolina at Wilmington. The two men inspected the other vehicles in the lot.

A black, silver and tan Allegra Bus caught their attention. Ambrose pointed out the features he envied: a fold-down stepladder that extended to the roof, a shiny exhaust pipe and four “pop-outs” – sliding walls that allow for more cabin space in a parked RV. Their home had only one.

“Ours is better though,” Ambrose said.

Caraballo nodded.

“It has more character.”

“It has more love.”

Known for his dry humor, Ambrose was likely referring to the duct tape.

“You don’t need a new RV, you just need more duct tape,” had been his mantra all along.

But for pedestrians on the street, and for these men in more serious moments, the “character” of the RV’s exterior meant something different.

Red and blue paint stretching across the cream-colored bus titles the group’s adventure.

The One in Four National RV Tour.

Beneath that banner lettering, one sentence explained the name.

ONE in FOUR college women have survived a rape or attempted rape.

Under the dust along the back bumper, a slogan described the journey.

Men working to end rape, one school at a time.

Each year, One in Four, a national nonprofit organization, employs four men just out of college to tour the country doing exactly that. Ambrose, Newberry, Caraballo and Mollison were the fourth team on the road. Their trip had already included stops at 30 college campuses and military bases, where they had given presentations to more than 5,000 people, primarily men, about how to respond to and prevent sexual assault. It was their job. It was their passion. It was their mission. A leaky windshield did not discourage them, though on this particular day it did slow them down.

As Ambrose and Caraballo made their way back to their mobile home, Newberry returned with the owner of the shop. He took a quick look at the damage and said he could fix the glass. He estimated it wouldn’t cost more than a few hundred dollars. Newberry looked down and smiled.

The four men stepped back onto the RV to pack for the weekend. They threw shirts and laptop computers into duffel bags and awaited a ride to the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, where they would spend the weekend talking with students and

administrators. Ambrose unplugged electronics from the dashboard to protect them during the repairs. He and Mollison wrapped cords around a GPS device and a set of speakers before tucking them behind the driver's seat. But they left a note scribbled on fraying computer paper taped to the right of the steering wheel.

Dear One-in-Four van,

Thank you for everything you've done on the WM campus and nationally on the topic of sexual assault prevention. I only wish that you had been around when I began WM because maybe your education would've reached the student who tainted my college experience. Once again, thank you. Your program is invaluable.

Sincerely,

Samantha Collins '05

A male student allegedly raped Collins at the College of William and Mary in 2001. She says she became ill drinking at a fraternity party that evening, and her friends took her upstairs to an empty bedroom to recover. She passed out and remembers waking up to one of the fraternity members raping her. Collins wonders whether her friends would have left her alone in the fraternity bedroom had they seen One in Four's presentation. She believes her rape might have been prevented if her classmates had known about the risk of assault.

Collins is one of thousands of college women sexually assaulted each year. The statistic that is the basis for One in Four's name comes from a National Institute of Justice report released in 2000. Roughly 3 percent of the college women surveyed reported having experienced a rape or attempted rape within the previous academic year. The same report also estimated that about 21 percent of women had experienced rape or

attempted rape before that academic year. The four RV Tour members say that, added together, those statistics suggest that roughly one in four college women has experienced rape or attempted rape in her lifetime.

The study they cite defines rape as unwanted anal, vaginal or oral penetration by physical force or psychological coercion. Victims of these crimes can suffer physical and emotional trauma. The NIJ study revealed that bruises, black eyes and chipped teeth are among the most common physical injuries rape victims endure. Research has shown these women face an increased risk of depression, anxiety, phobias, substance abuse and difficulty with intimacy as well.

Collins left her note on the door of the One in Four RV in fall 2006, and Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison inherited it when they took over the tour this year. It reminds them of the high stakes of their work. A motto, painted on the outside of the RV explains why they have elected to confront the weight of her words.

Statistics can change. Men can help.

That has not always been a popular sentiment among leaders in anti-rape efforts.

Women, after all, organized the first public speak outs against sexual assault in the early 1970s. Women staffed the first rape crisis centers and 24-hour hot lines for rape victims. Women taught each other how to defend themselves against male attackers. They pushed for legal reform to make prosecuting perpetrators less painful for victims. They earned funding for sexual-assault awareness campaigns, especially on college campuses. And they did so without a lot of aid from men. While male professionals helped provide law enforcement, legislative leadership and health care, they often did not

volunteer to help with grassroots efforts. Radical feminists, who led many anti-rape efforts especially in the early days of the movement and blamed men for violence, did not often trust those who did try to get involved.

While early efforts drastically improved resources available to victims, studies suggest they did not reduce the prevalence of sexual assault. Many believe typical education efforts geared toward women, including self-defense training, failed because they did not target men, who commit 98 to 99 percent of all rapes.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, men began to organize to try to address that problem. A District of Columbia organization called Men Against Rape was one of the first organizations formed by men dedicated to preventing sexual assault. The organization now exists as a national nonprofit organization called Men Can Stop Rape.

The largest male-led effort, called the White Ribbon Campaign, began in Canada in 1991. It followed the so-called Montreal Massacre, in which a man shot and killed 14 women at a Canadian university and blamed feminism for the attack. On the second anniversary of the shooting, men began wearing white ribbons to show solidarity with women. The campaign has grown into an annual international day of remembrance.

Increasing numbers of men have begun to take on high-profile roles in rape prevention in the last decade, but the growing presence of men in anti-rape work has led to tension in the field. Roughly 90 percent of rape victims are female. Some debate whether men should educate others about a topic they rarely experience first hand. Audiences question the motivations of men involved. Some skeptics ask whether male educators have been sentenced to community service or are trying to pick up women.

When men gain attention for work women have done for decades, male and female leaders express frustration.

One in Four is a particularly controversial group. No other organization convinces young men to make such extreme sacrifices to do prevention work. Ambrose, Newberry, Mollison and Caraballo accepted \$10,000 salaries this year. They faced doubts from relatives and scorn from peers. They passed up time with girlfriends and lucrative job offers. Ambrose and Caraballo share a small bed that covers the engine in the back of their RV. Mollison and Newberry sleep on couches in the front. They shave and brush their teeth in Wal-Marts and truck stops.

The RV Tour members carry a certain aura of celebrity. Mechanics give them discounts. Audience members invite them to parties. Administrators who pay the group \$2,500 per day to have the group give them rave reviews. Local and national media publicize their tour.

Leaders disagree about whether the One in Four approach is a step in the right direction. John Foubert, an assistant professor of higher education at the College of William and Mary, designed the group's curriculum, called "The Men's Program," specifically for all-male audiences. He recently published an article in the peer-reviewed *National Association for Student Personnel Administrators Journal*, claiming the program reduces sexually coercive behavior among first-year fraternity men. He says the study proves that his program is the most effective. He points to it as a model for how men can stop rape.

Male and female colleagues scrutinize One in Four's methods and challenge Foubert's claims. "The Men's Program," for instance, excludes female voices. The four

educators stand on stage and lecture to male audiences for 65 minutes. Some claim the group's program encourages men to view women as helpless and passive while reinforcing sexism and marginalizing women from conversations they started years ago.

The dispute reflects fundamental conflicts among leaders working toward the same goal. While many encourage men to become involved in rape prevention, they disagree about the roles men should play.

Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison live and work at the center of that tension. Their experiences reveal the growth and turmoil of the anti-rape movement. Their stories help explain why members of their generation are trying to stop sexual violence. Their voices express optimism about the potential for men to help prevent a devastating problem historically seen as a women's issue. Reactions to their tour illustrate the obstacles standing in the way and raise questions about whether they are approaching the issue from the correct perspective.

For J.T. Newberry, work with sexual-assault prevention is not about fame or repentance or access to women. For Newberry, it is deeply personal. Anyone who wonders if men can understand the stigma of rape or comprehend what victims face should talk to him.

Newberry grew up in the Washington, D.C., suburb called Woodbridge, Va. He says a female relative who cared for him when he was a child molested him the summer he was 9 years old. Early in the season, he says, he asked the relative for permission to go to the neighborhood pool. He says she told him he could go on one condition: he had to remove his bathing suit first.

Newberry says his caregiver performed oral sex on him that morning, and she did several more times throughout the summer. Newberry later posted a description of his experience in an anonymous online forum.

“I get so angry when I think about how confused I was about what was going on,” he wrote. “I remember her on her knees looking back up at me. She would sometimes be naked, and then ask me to lie on top of her and suck on her breasts. I can remember that she would get mad if I bit too hard, and we would just lie there silently while she touched herself. Finally she would say it was okay to get off of her, and that we could go to the pool.”

Newberry says his sexual trauma did not end there. This is not uncommon for those who have survived abuse. Studies suggest that victims of assault are more likely to be targets of future assaults than those who have no previous experience with victimization. Researchers have not reached conclusions about the reasons for the link, though several different authors have established the existence of the phenomenon.

Newberry remembers playing video games at a neighbor’s house during the summer after his fifth-grade year, when the boy dared Newberry to pull down his pants. The childhood friend, just a few years older than Newberry, performed oral sex on him.

Two years later, a middle school teacher began calling Newberry at home and asking him questions about masturbation and sex. One day, Newberry says, the teacher called him into his office, held him in a headlock and threatened to make him perform oral sex, though he never did. The threat was traumatic enough, especially given Newberry’s history. He knew exactly the type of power the teacher had, and he feared the consequences.

Newberry says that the abuse had a serious impact on his life. He has suffered from anxiety and depression since he was a teenager. He has blamed himself for not doing more to prevent what happened to him. He has questioned his sexuality. He has struggled to establish boundaries with other people, especially women.

These experiences have, no doubt, factored into Newberry's pursuit of anti-rape work. He says he feels like some people he has told about his abuse have questioned it or trivialized it. He wants others to have a better sense of how to respond when people come forward with experiences like his. But when audience members ask why he is so passionate about his work, Newberry does not share these personal stories. This is, in part, because he questions the extent to which he is really a victim of sexual assault.

"I still don't think of myself as really part of it," he says.

He fears others might have a hard time hearing about incest committed by a female. He has not even disclosed many details of his story to the other men employed by One in Four. He says he also decided not to tell his story because he wants men to believe they should take an interest in rape prevention even if they do not have a personal connection to the issue.

"I didn't want to detract from the idea that normal guys can care about the topic," he says.

When asked about his motivations, he points to assault stories female friends have shared with him. He talks about one particular incident in college when a female friend reported a rape to him. Newberry remembers feeling frustrated when administrators chose to impose a two-week probation period for the perpetrator so that he could graduate with his class.

“How was the system developed that we’re so concerned about whether the perpetrator gets to graduate or attend parties?” he asks. “That’s injustice to the core.”

Newberry says this outrage motivates him. Women he meets on tour remind him how many female victims face resistance from administrators and how many perpetrators walk away from assaults with what Newberry considers unjust terms. He heard of another example of this at the group’s first stop of the second semester: Davidson College.

Ambrose, Caraballo, Mollison and Newberry arrived at Davidson one January evening as students were settling back after winter vacation. The small, liberal arts school is nestled in the quaint town of Davidson, N.C. The college’s Presbyterian church stands in one corner of the campus while a golf course sprawls from another. The campus was quiet enough to hear metal hooks clanking against a flagpole. Wooden Adirondack chairs sat vacant on the manicured lawn.

Georgia Ringle, Davidson’s health educator, who had invited One in Four to campus for the second time in three years, drove the four men to a local Hibachi restaurant for dinner with six student health educators. These students volunteered to teach their Davidson peers about topics ranging from smoking cessation to sexual assault.

Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison heard about the importance of the school’s honor code and respect for tradition as they watched a chef filet beef at their tables. They learned how Davidson students take final exams without proctors any time during a two-week period each semester. They heard about mixed-gendered housing, boating on a private lake, free laundry service and community bicycles.

But the following morning, the One in Four educators presented an abbreviated version of “The Men’s Program” to a small group of faculty and administrators, and they began to hear rumors of a different side of Davidson.

After the presentation, one faculty member asked the others in the room what happens when Davidson students report assaults on campus. Fountain Walker, the school’s chief of police, spoke about the pressures victims face.

“The first thing they say is, ‘I don’t want him to get in that much trouble,’” he said.

Research has shown that four out of five female rape victims know their perpetrators. Especially on a campus as small as Davidson’s, that may make it difficult for victims to report assaults. Victims in the United States report only five percent of sexual assaults – making it the most underreported crime by a large margin. Walker’s assertion may be part of the reason why. Victims also may face criticism from peers who know the men who raped them. They may hesitate to do something that may punish someone they once considered a friend. One of the goals of “The Men’s Program” is to teach men how to support women who disclose assaults so more women will come forward.

But Walker mentioned the institutional pressures victims face as well. He identified “marketing” as one of them, saying that the college may suffer if parents of prospective students see statistics of assaults. He also suggested that local district attorneys are reluctant to take cases without strong physical evidence that may not be collected if victims shower before approaching authorities.

Kathy Bray-Merrell, Davidson's associate dean of student life, countered. She said that though statistics of assaults may hurt recruitment of prospective students, they were important to have.

"We are committed to reporting," she said.

What happens after that concerns at least some on campus, however.

Deanna Lomax, a Davidson College junior, is one of them. She says a former student raped her in November 2005. Lomax did not report the incident immediately she says partly because she doubted her own impression of what had happened.

"I remember thinking, 'I know I said no. I know I said no,'" she says. "But I was starting to question it because he was so okay with it."

Weeks later, a friend told Lomax that the same man had raped her, and Lomax rethought her decision not to report.

"I blamed myself for the longest time for not saying anything because it could have prevented what happened to her," she says.

Lomax and her friend reported their experiences to college administrators. Lomax says three months later a school judicial board found the man guilty on two counts of sexual misconduct and sentenced him to social probation, which prohibited him from attending parties on campus. Ringle says that while the school expels students found guilty of selling drugs, the institution very rarely does more than suspend students for sexual misconduct.

That is exactly the type of story that inspires the members of One in Four – especially Newberry – to continue working. They see stories such as Lomax's

experience as examples of injustice, and they want to raise awareness about the realities of assault to encourage institutional change.

To try to prevent future rapes at Davidson, Lomax discussed her story with every fraternity on campus. She says most audiences were quiet, and her presentations allowed her to feel empowered. But there were more difficult audiences as well.

“I’ve had people say things like, ‘How did you know you didn’t want it?’” she says. “I was hoping that people at my school would be different.”

Lomax attended a One in Four presentation for female students when the group visited Davidson. Tears welled up in her eyes as she sat in the back of the auditorium and listened. Lomax says that, two years later, she has not fully recovered from her trauma, and she does not think she ever will.

Lomax left the presentation hoping that the men of One in Four could convince others at Davidson to recognize the problem of sexual assault in ways even the candid, vivid description of her experience could not. Foubert designed “The Men’s Program” with that idea in mind.

Foubert was working in student affairs at the University of Richmond in 1993 when a group of students asked if he could help them design an outreach program for men. Foubert, a young mentor who had recently received a master’s degree in psychology, agreed.

He began looking at programs available at the time and says he felt most of them treated men as potential rapists. Like several other male leaders, he tried to design one that treated men as allies rather than enemies.

Foubert has dedicated much of the last 15 years to researching and revising “The Men’s Program.” He says once he started working in the field, he began hearing more and more stories of women who had experienced sexual assault or rape, and the voices of those women inspired him to keep going.

“It’s devastating, but it is also motivating when you realize that you have to continue,” he says.

After his time at the University of Richmond, Foubert earned a doctoral degree in higher education at the University of Maryland. There, he formed the first college campus chapter of the organization that would later become One in Four. Foubert trained that student group to present “The Men’s Program” to peers on campus.

Though that student group has since folded, there are now One in Four chapters on more than 30 college campuses across the country. Foubert founded the national nonprofit organization to oversee those chapters in 1998, and the group sponsored the first RV Tour four years ago. Adam Lalor, executive director of One in Four, supervises the day-to-day operations of the organization, but Foubert helps select four new college graduates to lead the RV Tour each year. He continues to research and revise his program, and he earned tenure at the College of William and Mary this year.

Foubert’s work has served not only as the basis for his academic career but also as a source of spiritual fulfillment for a self-proclaimed, born-again Christian.

“The way for me being involved in working to end sexual assault is one of the primary ways I serve God,” he says. “I believe God has blessed my work in that area.”

Foubert’s religious conviction seems to manifest itself in the language he uses to describe his work. He and the One in Four staff members refer to their “mission” of

“getting the word out” about their “cause.” They say they want to “open people’s eyes” to their “message,” though not all of them share Foubert’s specific religious perspective. Mollison, in particular, does not follow Christian doctrine.

Foubert says his faith has also supported him in a field often lacking in funding and stability. Several times when One in Four has faced bankruptcy, anonymous donations have answered his prayers.

Now, Foubert says, he has found a version of “The Men’s Program” that he says creates lasting behavior change among first-year fraternity men who see it. He conducted a study at a small to mid-sized public college or university, where half of incoming first-year men saw the program in the first weeks of school. The men who pledged fraternities in their first semester showed a significant reduction in sexually coercive behavior as measured in a survey seven months later. The men who saw the program but did not pledge fraternities did not demonstrate significant behavior change. Foubert says that fraternity men are much more likely to commit coercive acts so it is easier to see a change in their responses.

Some question the claims Foubert makes about his work, and this study is no exception. While the study did show significant change in reports of sexually coercive behavior of fraternity men who saw the program, it did not show statistically significant attitude change as studies of previous iterations of “The Men’s Program” did. Alan Berkowitz, a clinical psychologist and rape-prevention consultant who has been one of the most vocal critics of Foubert’s work, says that concerns him.

“There’s something not right if, in all the other studies, attitudes changed, and in this study they didn’t change,” he says.

Part of the controversy of Foubert's claims comes from a disagreement among prevention experts about how to evaluate programmatic efficacy. Since sexual assault is a complex issue that is underreported, it is difficult to know exactly what impact programs have. In addition, some say Foubert's claim that his program is the most effective is unfair given that many programs have not been studied at all. Berkowitz suggests other programs may be just as effective, but they have not been studied.

Ambrose expresses concern about statements of efficacy for that reason.

"We should be careful about how we use that to our advantage," he says. "It's like Herndon High School saying we're the best school in Herndon."

Foubert admits that the study was not perfect. He conducted it himself. He limited the study to a sample of students from one university in one year, and it has not yet been replicated. It is unclear how effective the program can be with audiences at other schools. Davidson was a case in point.

Each college attracts audiences for One in Four presentations differently. Some require students to come. Others make fliers and hope students attend.

At Davidson, Ringle sent personal invitations to each student, and she required fraternity men and student athletes to attend presentations. Research has shown that members of both groups tend to accept myths that encourage rape, such as the idea that women enjoy being assaulted and the belief that men have the right to dominate relationships. One study also showed that fraternity men commit 55 percent of gang rapes on campuses. Many administrators target them as a result.

By the time the One in Four men made it to Davidson, students were on alert. As the men walked around the brick paths crossing through campus, students waved across the lawn.

“Are you guys One in Four?” they would say. “How’s it going?”

Their second night at Davidson, Ambrose, Caraballo, Mollison and Newberry took center stage in a large auditorium in front of about 250 male students. They wore their usual uniform: blue One in Four t-shirts and jeans. Ambrose and Caraballo stood stage right. Mollison and Newberry stood stage left. Ringle made sure ushers did not allow female students into the room. She said she wanted men to feel free to open up without fearing reactions from women. Curious about the presentation, she hid with several other women in the auditorium’s lighting booth to observe.

Ambrose began, as he does each presentation, by trying to establish a rapport with his audience. He took a step forward. With relaxed posture and a conversational tone, he asked how the students were doing.

“Just so you know, we’re not just going to stand up here and lecture to you about why you shouldn’t rape,” Ambrose began. “We already know you don’t do that. Instead we’re going to talk about what we can do about it. We want to talk about how to help our friends recover from these terrible experiences. We want to talk about things we can do in our everyday lives to decrease the incidence of rape all around us. We want each and every person here today to know that you have the power to make a difference in someone else’s life.”

Foubert says this is key to getting men to buy into the group’s program. He admits that the “covert” goal of the presentation is to convince men not to rape, but he says

denying that purpose breaks down walls men construct against rape-prevention programs. Research has shown that even men who commit rape do not consider themselves to be rapists, and Foubert suggests programs that approach men as potential perpetrators put them on the defensive and cause them to tune out.

“Sometimes you do what it takes to get them in the door,” Foubert says. “The script is crafted very carefully so that we’re able to get to that place in their mind where they’re best going to hear our message.”

After Ambrose introduced the program, each of the four men introduced himself. They mentioned the colleges they attended and the fraternities they joined. Mollison said he had written opinion columns for his school’s student newspaper. Newberry said he had managed two athletic teams.

Each detail was meant to establish the men as peers of the students in the room. Some evidence indicates that peer-education programs are the most effective, and Foubert selects young, accomplished leaders accordingly. But Foubert tries to control the content of each presentation to ensure efficacy similar to what he established in his latest study, and he demands that each presenter stick to the script as a result. They each deliver certain sections, and they say they picked their parts based on interests. Each section seems to resonate with the man who recites it. But their personalities do not always show through as they deliver their lines.

After the introductions, Ambrose explained the one in four statistic, and Newberry stepped forward.

“Alright, so, obviously rape is a disturbing subject,” he said. “There may be points in our presentation tonight that disturb you. If at any point you feel the need to get

up and leave the room a little bit, it's absolutely fine. But we do hope you'll stay with us as long as you can."

He continued by defining rape and sexual assault. PowerPoint slides stretching across a screen behind him explained the terms.

Rape, he said, is sexual intercourse when one person did not or could not consent. Sexual assault is a larger category of acts that included forced touching and rape. The legal definitions of these terms vary by state, and the One in Four definitions differ from the ones used in the study they cite as the basis for their name. But the idea is to give audience members a basic outline.

After the definitions, Ambrose, Caraballo, Mollison and Newberry walked to the wings of the stage as the house lights dimmed for a 15-minute video. The film describes a male-on-male rape of a police officer and asks viewers to imagine what it would feel like to be the victim of such an attack. It is graphic, and audience members almost universally respond in very visceral ways. They wince, double over in their chairs and cup their heads in their hands as they hear the police officer in the video describe two men orally and anally raping another man.

The video is one of the most controversial parts of "The Men's Program." Juliette Grimmett, North Carolina State University's rape-prevention coordinator who has done anti-rape work for more than a decade, says that showing a male-on-male rape only plays on homophobic tendencies in men and distracts them from thinking about violence against women. She suggests confronting male-on-female rape in more direct ways.

"How about the imagery that your best friend goes up and rapes another woman?" she asks.

Jennifer Schiffman, the assistant director of the women's studies program at the University of Delaware, has studied sexual-assault prevention on college campuses. She says she fears the impact imagining a rape may have on men in the audience who have already experienced assault first hand.

“No one asks women to imagine being raped, and no one asks them to relive that experience as a way of creating empathy with survivors,” she points out.

Molly Dragiewicz, an assistant professor of criminology at the University of Ontario Institute of Justice who has been involved in violence-prevention work since 1994, agrees.

“It's presumed that they are being good guys and helping their friends who may have been sexually assaulted in trying to get guys to empathize,” she says. “That's a problem given that there are a lot of male survivors of sexual assault that are asked to imagine being raped.”

Newberry knows how traumatic the video can be. After five months on the road, he often still leaves the room while it plays.

But some research suggests descriptions of male-on-female rapes can not only reinforce negative stereotypes about female victims, but also arouse perpetrators watching. Foubert says that a male-on-male rape scenario is an effective way to create empathy – which he believes is critical for rape prevention.

After the video, the four men returned to the Davidson stage, and Mollison and Caraballo stepped forward.

“We showed you this video so that you can understand or try to understand what it may feel like to experience rape,” Caraballo said. “Now if someone you care about

comes to you after going through something like this, it's important that you try to understand what it may feel like.”

This section is particularly important to Caraballo. As a psychology major, he learned about the importance of empathy. Part of his motivation for joining One in Four this year was to help others do the same.

He and Mollison discussed the video together, making connections between the officer's story and the experiences of female victims. Caraballo presented specific aspects of the male-on-male rape scenario, while Mollison presented female experiences. Mollison's role is another example of a part that resonates with its speaker. Women close to Mollison inspired his work on the tour.

Caraballo began by reminding the audience of the first part of the officer's account.

“You'll remember that the police officer was just doing his job,” Caraballo said. “He had no way of knowing what was about to happen.”

Mollison interjected.

“In the same way, when women are raped, many of these instances arise out of normal, everyday situations,” he said. “There are no big signals that a rape is about to occur.”

The two men alternated back and forth to illustrate several other points: Rape is about power and control. Victims often face doubt and interrogation from friends. They sometimes endure painful injuries and examinations following assaults.

After they finished, Mollison and Caraballo stepped back as Ambrose and Newberry stepped forward. They discussed ways men could help support friends who

disclose assaults: They could help friends find medical care, and they could listen to stories without judgment. They could contain their emotions so friends could focus on their own needs. They could encourage friends to seek counseling, and they could find support from counselors themselves.

Newberry emphasized one point in particular.

“We find that many survivors fear that they’re not going to be believed,” he said. “Because being able to talk about this to their parents, their friends, their boyfriends is such an important part of their recovery, we strongly encourage that you believe your friend always.”

His voice carried an almost pleading tone. He knows what impacts reactions can have on victims.

Grimmett criticizes these middle sections of the program because they do not include women’s voices.

“It creates a space where the people who are the ones suffering from this are not a part of it,” she says. “It’s continuing to create this power differential, and it in fact gives men power over this issue once again.”

Critics argue that point about the final sections of the program as well, when the four men discuss things men can do to prevent assault. This includes asking for consent during sex, not using derogatory language that may objectify women or reinforce male superiority, and intervening in situations in which a sexual assault is likely. This last piece, called bystander intervention, is the latest addition to “The Men’s Program.”

At Davidson, Newberry asked audience members to close their eyes and picture a woman they cared about. He walked them through a visual imagery exercise in which

they imagined that woman being raped by a man. At the end, he described another man walking into the room while the assault was taking place, noticing what was happening and then leaving without intervening. The idea was to encourage men to intervene in the future if they saw a similar situation unfolding.

Mark Anthony Neal, an associate professor at Duke University who studies masculinity and race and speaks with male audiences about sexual violence, suggests that while men might be willing to intervene when potential victims are women they care about, they may be less likely to do so if they don't know the women involved.

"I think it's a valuable starting point, but then when it comes to a woman who is not connected to themselves, they don't have the same sense of empathy," he says.

While Neal has not seen "The Men's Program" specifically, he does express concerns about bystander-intervention models in general. He claims that asking men to see themselves as protectors of women may reinforce the stereotype that women are helpless and need men to save them.

"Motivation can't be out of this protective mode," Neal says. "That does not suggest a partnership."

Foubert emphasizes that, after years of researching and revising his program, the first signs of behavior change among participants came after the addition of the bystander-intervention section.

At Davidson, student reactions varied.

After the visualization exercise, Newberry asked audience members how it felt to imagine someone they loved experiencing what the officer in the video had endured.

“We want to hear you straight from the gut,” he said. “What did it feel like to try to imagine someone closest to you having to go through something like that?”

No one in the audience responded.

“You can just call it out,” Newberry said. “What did it feel like?”

Finally, one man said, “Helpless.”

“Helpless,” Newberry repeated. “Definitely. What else?”

“Horrible,” someone else offered.

Newberry agreed.

“What did it feel like to try to imagine that guy who came back in and saw what was happening but then didn’t do anything?” he asked.

“Pussy,” one man called out.

“Coward,” said another.

“Probably not pussy,” Newberry said. “Coward I think is the best word for it. Keeping in mind some of the things we just talked about.” One in Four trains its men not to accept language they feel is derogatory toward women.

The men in the audience laughed.

“What else can we call this guy?” Newberry said.

“Let’s hear some vocabulary, what else could you call him?” Ambrose asked.

“Fuck-head,” one man said.

“Fuck-head – absolutely,” Newberry said. “Knowing what this guy knew, if you think he should have done something, please raise your hand.”

Looking around, apparently satisfied by the response, Newberry conceded the floor to Ambrose.

“Thank you,” Newberry said.

Ambrose told the audience members to consider a scenario in which a drunken roommate brought home a female student who was extremely intoxicated.

“So now that we’ve talked about a situation in which a cowardly fuck-head had the opportunity to step up and prevent someone from going through a lot of pain and suffering yet chose to do nothing, we want to try to go through a situation that you guys may find yourselves in and talk about ways you can act different,” he began.

He then asked what audience members would do if asked to leave the room to give the couple privacy.

One student suggested going back to sleep and not leaving the room.

“I like that,” Ambrose answered. “That’s assertive.”

He asked for other suggestions.

“Cock block,” one student yelled. The term refers to a situation in which someone prevents a man from seducing a woman. It is one the group frequently hears on the tour.

Ambrose fielded that response.

“Absolutely,” he said. “But in this situation when two people are drunk, are you really cock blocking, or are you blocking something else from happening?”

After a discussion of some other suggestions, including ordering pizza and watching television, Ambrose asked one more time, “Any other suggestions?”

“Hide in your closet and videotape it,” one man shouted back.

“That is not a good suggestion,” Ambrose said. “That’s terrible.”

He noticed the rest of the audience turning to glare at the student.

“You can all look at him, judge him,” Ambrose said.

The crowd laughed.

“Okay, now stop judging and look back up here,” Ambrose said, refocusing attention on one last imagined scenario and several new suggestions for interventions.

Newberry moved toward the close of this segment of the presentation.

“Just as we wrap up we just want to say, we recognize it’s hard as hell to be in one of these situations and look your friend in the eye and be like – no – let’s watch a movie instead,” Newberry said. “But one of the best ways you can do this is just approach your friends as friends.”

“I know I’ve taken care of my friends when they’ve been blacked out and just doing ridiculous things,” he continued. “In that situation, I know I’m not cock blocking. I know he’s not going to be able to get it up anyway. So if we look at this for real, a good friend would step in and help this guy out.”

The group was walking a fine line and, perhaps, crossing it. The men want to maintain a rapport with the audience and make sure that they’re seen as peers students can relate to. They want men to speak candidly. But they risk reinforcing views and behaviors some find offensive. The women in the lighting booth stiffened as Newberry spoke. He was not encouraging men to think about the consequences for potential victims of assault. He was focusing only on the experiences of men. Critics might argue this is the type of remark that distracts men from considering the real harm rape can cause.

The videotape comment was one the men of One in Four would joke about later, and they would commend Ambrose for how he handled the situation. They felt the

reactions of the other audience members showed they received the message of the presentation well.

But the exchange represents a larger problem facing One in Four. Even in one of the most well-respected schools in the country, where administrators publicize presentations and students support the educators, some men do not engage with the message of the group. Ambrose is usually the one to confront them.

Though each of the One in Four educators is a leader in his own way, Ambrose is the most obvious overachiever in the group. He grew up in Herndon, Va., the middle of three sons. His mother and father hold four master's degrees between them, two of which are in business administration.

Excellence in school and leadership activities was always a priority for Ambrose. His father paid him to bring home straight A's, but Ambrose's ambitions surpassed even his parents' high expectations.

At the College of William and Mary, Ambrose was the secretary of the Honor Council and the student liaison to the school's Board of Visitors. He traveled with the college president, giving presentations at fundraising events around the country. Meanwhile, Ambrose completed a double major in psychology and business administration. By his senior year, he had a generous corporate job offer, and Ambrose admits he was enticed by the possibility of making money. But something held Ambrose back from accepting the position.

Ambrose had been a member of the College of William and Mary's One in Four chapter for three years, and Foubert had kept an eye on him since he had joined the

group. Ambrose was exactly the type of leader Foubert likes to put on stage. He was a respected campus figure who could serve as a role model for peers.

Foubert asked if Ambrose would be willing to apply for the RV Tour, and he initially said no.

“I thought he was crazy,” Ambrose remembers. “Why would I want to live in a car for a year and make no money?”

But Foubert persisted, asking Ambrose to attend a recruitment weekend for the organization, and he began to consider the tour as a legitimate option.

Ambrose spoke with his parents and mentors, and he says they encouraged him to take the more financially advantageous option. But Ambrose learned more about the prevalence of sexual assault and, like Newberry, decided it was not getting the attention it deserved.

Ambrose also connected his work in trying to end violence against women with the work of African-Americans who gave him opportunities his parents never had. For him, the RV Tour is a push for social justice. He is what Newberry wishes he could be – a man who cares about rape prevention without personal ties to the issue. He soon grew too passionate about the cause to ignore it.

“It got to the point where I was like – it’s something you feel strongly about – are you too scared to follow your heart?” he says. “Part of being a leader is finding an issue you can be passionate about ... and if I can’t do that at 22, when can I do that?”

Ambrose decided to disregard advice from his parents and teachers and signed on for the tour. Like Foubert, he says Christian faith has played a major role in his commitment.

“I’ve felt spiritually led to do this,” he says. “Logically, for who I am and where I was, I could have spent a lifetime trying to convince myself to do this. But life doesn’t have to be logical.”

Ambrose has brought his polished public speaking skills to the stage in his work with One in Four. He is also known for his comic relief, which the other men say has gotten them through an emotionally draining year. When the group is exhausted after an overnight drive or a five-presentation day, he can usually find a way of picking them up for one last event or one more day on the road. He especially enjoys confronting tough audiences that he believes most need to hear what the group has to say. That tenacity showed at the group’s second stop of the semester: Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, N.C.

Administrators at Wake Forest scheduled One in Four to give five presentations to a variety of student and faculty audiences on a gray Thursday in January – one day after first-year students received bids from sororities and fraternities and one day before pledging began. Wet toilet paper, hung over from a bid-day celebration, dripped from tree limbs on the main quad as Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison walked to the counseling center that morning. There, Amy Shuman and Laurel Banks, two counseling center staff members, explained the purpose of their visit. They wanted the One in Four men to get students thinking about the risk of assault before one of the riskiest weekends of the year. They also hoped the group could spark student interest in creating a One in Four chapter. The women had tried to start a male-outreach group on their own but had not succeeded.

That evening, first-year men wandered into an auditorium lobby wearing sweatshirts and flip-flops, heads down and shoulders slouched. A flu epidemic swept through the campus that week. Many of the students coming through the front door looked like they would have preferred to have stayed in bed. Upperclassmen checked names of fraternity pledges and athletes off a list. They were required to attend.

Inside the auditorium, the One in Four men ran through their PowerPoint slides to make sure the projector worked. Ambrose excused himself to go to the bathroom, and when he returned he whispered to the other men.

“Make sure I tell you guys about what I just heard,” he said. “It’s going to be an interesting night.”

Before the event began, the four presenters stepped into a side hall to regroup. Before every presentation they circle together, wrap their arms around each other’s shoulders and share thoughts about the event – a ritual reminiscent of a pre-game huddle. There, Ambrose told his teammates what he had overheard in the bathroom.

“I’ve been accused, but I’ve never been convicted or anything,” one student had said to another standing at the sink.

The One in Four men took the stage at the base of a crowd of students facing them.

Shuman and Banks did not allow me to observe the presentations they gave to students. They said they wanted to make sure their students got as much out of the programs as possible. They feared having a woman in the room would change the experience.

During the presentation, I waited in the lobby and spoke with the student leaders responsible for organizing the event. They were members of a group called PREPARE, which loosely stands for Policy Group on Rape, Education, Prevention and Response. Volunteers involved with the group staff a 24-hour hot line for students who want to report or ask questions about rape. They also give presentations about sexual assault at new student orientations. The four men in the lobby said they remembered a One in Four presentation they had seen years before and thought it was a particularly effective follow-up to the programming they provide each fall.

“I think it really drives home on the foundation we’ve had,” senior Samuel Cashiola said. “We attack it from an educational standpoint. They attack it from an emotional standpoint.”

“A lot of people come up after and say, ‘I thought it was kind of dumb going into it, but I definitely learned a whole lot,’” said McFall Pearce, a junior economics major. “I think they evoke a lot more sympathy saying this is a men’s issue, and it can affect your life more than you would think.”

Danny Verwholt, a junior finance major, said he especially appreciated hearing the presentation given by a group of young men who understand sexual assault can be hard for male students to relate to.

“By having them in there alone, we feel like they can bring that up,” he said. “I think it helps that it’s run by people their own age.”

But the perspectives of the men required to attend the presentations differed from those of the men organizing the event.

I approached a group of four students walking out of the second presentation and asked what they thought of the program.

One mumbled a reply.

“I don’t know,” he said. “The video and everything made you actually think I guess.”

“I felt like they used a lot of worst-case scenarios,” one added.

By the second or third answer, the mass of men had congregated. Looking out at about 35 students, I asked what they thought of the video.

“Scary.”

“Graphic.”

“It was really irrelevant,” one said.

Did you take anything away from it?

“I learned I don’t want to be a cop anymore,” one said.

Others laughed.

Do you think the presentation will change anything you do in your life?

One glared.

“We’re not *rapists*,” he said.

“Yeah – it’s not like we rape girls to begin with.”

Others nodded.

“Yeah.”

I had fallen into the trap that has caught women for decades. I had seen them as potential perpetrators.

Okay. What about if a friend came to you and said she had been raped. Would you react differently now having seen the program?

They hesitated.

“Maybe.”

Would you intervene if you saw a situation like the one they described?

“Yeah – because it’d probably be a girl I was going after anyway, and I’d want to get with her myself,” one said.

“Probably not,” another said. “I don’t want to be a cock blocker.”

More laughs. This was not the type of response Foubert and the men of One in Four hoped for.

Some men started inching toward the door.

What do you think they could have done differently to make this more effective?

“Not had this so late at night,” one said.

“Yeah – we’re tired.”

One in the back mumbled, “They should have had a guy who was *actually* raped by two hobos.”

“*Hobos* or *Homos*?” I asked. I hadn’t quite heard what he had said, and I was thinking about claims that the video reinforces homophobia. But I knew I had made a mistake.

“Ooooooh,” the crowd roared. “*Hobos* or *homos*? Yea – two *homos*.”

Blood rushed to my face.

“Thanks for your time,” I said. “That’s all I’ve got.”

They filed out the door laughing as they chanted, “*Hobos* or *homos*?”

I couldn't be sure whether the group had responded to me with sarcasm because I was a woman or simply because I had asked questions. But after reading books, conducting interviews and observing presentations, I finally understood what One in Four was up against. I felt the resistance of the crowd and began to doubt anyone would be able to reach the men involved. I began to appreciate why Foubert says men need to hear about rape from other men. I started to understand why Wake Forest administrators had not wanted me in the room.

If there's one person who believes a presentation can make a difference in the lives of even the most defiant audience members, it's Mollison. He was once a sarcastic respondent to a rape-education program. He is also an example of a resistant student who came to appreciate the importance of rape prevention. An experience at the University of Illinois forced him to recognize that.

Mollison spent his childhood in Arlington Heights, an affluent, northwestern suburb of Chicago, where he grew up playing Whiffle ball and video games. He reminisces about building snow forts in the neighborhood cul-de-sac with his older brother, Nick, and playing epic card games late on Friday nights.

As a child, Mollison remained on the outskirts of social circles. He had strong bonds with individual friends and a high school sweetheart. But he calls himself an "individualist." He knew he never quite belonged to any one of the cliques he shuffled between as a child and adolescent, and he yearned for the support of a strong group of peers.

During his first semester at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in fall 2002, he joined the Kappa Delta Rho fraternity hoping to find camaraderie.

“I liked the idea of having a good group of guy friends who you live with,” Mollison remembers. “I knew there’d be enough guys that I could find someone there who would work for me.”

But a series of experiences that year left Mollison questioning his choice and ultimately set him on the path that led to work with One in Four.

The sequence began with a sexual-assault awareness workshop called Campus Acquaintance Rape Education (CARE), required for all University of Illinois first-year students. Never one to appreciate mandates, Mollison resisted attending the seminar until the last week it was offered. He, along with about 100 other students, came to a classroom in an underground tunnel connecting a complex of dorms on a November evening. Mollison didn’t recognize anyone in the crowd that night. He watched reluctantly as two male and two female students facilitated a discussion about acquaintance rape. They talked about types of force used in sexual encounters, effects sexual-assault victims experience and reasons why people tend to blame victims for rape.

Mollison challenged the educators.

“Let’s say I’m having sex with someone and she passes out, that means I have to stop immediately?” Mollison remembers asking.

He was not convinced.

“I was pissed off about having to be there, and I felt like men were always being blamed,” Mollison says.

Three weeks later, a friend told Mollison about her own sexual assault, and Mollison began to take interest in the issue. The CARE workshop came into play.

“It was instinctual,” he says. “I just knew what to do. I knew not to interrupt or give my own opinion. I knew what direction to point her.”

During winter break that year, Mollison decided he wanted to learn more about sexual assault. He enrolled in a course that would train him to facilitate future CARE workshops, and over the next semester Mollison learned of even deeper connections to sexual violence. A second friend disclosed an experience with sexual trauma, and Mollison helped support her through a draining recovery process.

Mollison says he also began to recognize a personal history of coercive behavior. While he says he feels confident he never did anything that met the legal definition of rape, he realized that he pressured his high school girlfriend to engage sexually in ways he does not think she was comfortable with.

“There were times when I would want something and she wouldn’t, and I would do something to get what I wanted,” Mollison admits. “I don’t know if she was consenting every time, and that was really terrifying.”

Guilt and regret seeped into Mollison throughout his spring 2003 CARE course.

“I realized when I was taking this class how easy it would be for a guy to commit rape and not even realize it,” Mollison says. “Good guys can rape.”

This is a controversial stance. The earliest research on rapists focused on those who had been incarcerated for their crimes and suggested that psychopathology accounted for the desire to commit sexual assault. Since then, studies have shown the

prevalence of acquaintance rape, and many in the field have begun to question the extent to which “normal guys” perpetrate crimes.

Mollison came to believe that education was the key to preventing sexual assault, and he began to blame his high school’s abstinence-only sex education program for failing to help him realize the harm sexual coercion can cause.

“I was really angry about health education,” Mollison says. “Instead of just showing pictures of diseased genitalia, show this is how somebody can be hurt.”

Mollison decided this was a role he wanted to play – to help men understand the power they hold for good and for bad.

He enrolled in a yearlong course to learn how to educate his own fraternity brothers about sexism and assault and quickly found that his closest peers were some of the toughest people to reach. When he confronted his brothers for using derogatory language toward women, they chastised him. After a particular incident his junior year when he heard a brother shouting catcalls to a woman outside their house, Mollison deactivated his membership. He says he felt tolerating such behavior required that he suppress his feelings for women.

“The things that are expected and demanded of men require that you don’t have empathy,” he says. “That’s what you give up if you buy into what it means to be a man. You give up the ability to feel, and if you don’t have the ability to feel, why is life worth living at all?”

This year Mollison has extended his desire to educate peers from the private to the public sphere. A primary focus for him continues to be outreach to men – helping them to understand the impact they can have on women’s lives. He wants to help other men

avoid the shame and guilt he feels about his own behavior. He also joined the tour partly for the same reason he had joined a fraternity. He was looking to connect with a group of peers though, for the most part, he has remained an outsider. When the men find themselves with down time, he often reads or goes for walks instead of socializing. When the other three laugh at inside jokes, Mollison is often the one left out.

Now that he's on tour, he says he finds that one of the most important things he can do is to show those who have experienced assault that men can and do care about prevention.

"I am doing this for my own reasons, and among those reasons is the joy of helping others and helping survivors," Mollison says. "I really believe that the most helpful thing we offer is just showing up and being there."

After the men presented their programs at Wake Forest, they received an email confirming that belief. A student who had attended the public presentation wrote on behalf of a friend who had recently survived an assault.

"She could not believe how well you guys understood what she went through almost step-by-step after she was assaulted," the student wrote. "She wanted me to tell you how unbelievable it was for her to hear you guys talk about her experience in an incredibly understanding, informed, and comforting way. ... I hope you guys realize what a great thing you're doing!"

Women have not always responded with such enthusiasm, especially as One in Four has attempted to reach out to female crowds with a presentation called "The Women's Program."

Foubert says he brought up the idea for “The Women’s Program” in 1999 – the first year he tried to organize a national tour. In preparation for the tour, Foubert decided that he would need to be able to market programs for men and women in order to book gigs at enough school to make the trip worthwhile. He anticipated a desire to reach out to both audiences.

But Foubert says he faced resistance at the University of Virginia where he was working at the time, and he put the curriculum aside. He did not find funding or personnel to staff an RV tour for several more years, and he did not need a women’s program in the meantime.

Adam Lalor, the current executive director of One in Four, says that after three years of the tour, the group realized it needed something to offer women. He says that was a reason many colleges cited for not inviting One in Four to come to their campuses.

This summer, Lalor and Foubert designed a curriculum for the One in Four staff to present to female audiences. Because of his early experiences with women’s programming at the University of Virginia, Foubert says he expected criticism from women about the idea of male presenters working with female audiences.

“I expected us to get at least a moderately loud chorus of, ‘Who the heck are you guys to talk to women about rape?’” he says.

Lalor reports that out of 845 women surveyed about the program this year, only 12 women suggested that the group not use the program in the future. Eighteen suggested using the program only after “major changes.” More than 600 respondents said One in Four should continue to present the program. But at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, the group did not find such convincing affirmation.

Ambrose, Newberry, Caraballo and Mollison spoke to a crowd of about 200 women in the Keenan Auditorium at UNC-Wilmington. The school required female athletes to attend. Many came from practices – hair in ponytails, joints in Ace bandages. They sat together in teams and whispered over the presentation.

In “The Women’s Program,” Newberry takes the introductory role Ambrose usually plays with male students. Not one usually comfortable speaking with women, Newberry’s voice quivered slightly as he spoke.

“How’s everyone doing tonight?” he asked.

In the same way “The Men’s Program” avoids approaching men as potential perpetrators, “The Women’s Program” avoids approaching women as potential victims. Instead, the men tell women in the audience they will learn how to help a friend.

“All four of us are here because on a very basic level, we all believe that rape is wrong,” Caraballo said. “So we’re here to add our perspectives to what you already know about sexual assault, and our hope is that what you learn here today will be helpful to you in case you have to help your friends go through this and also recover from some very difficult situations.”

Here again, Caraballo spoke from his psychology background. He hopes to pursue a career in counseling, and learning how to respond to victims of sexual assault is a preliminary step in that direction.

The four men introduced themselves as they do in “The Men’s Program,” but when Newberry mentioned he had graduated from the College of William and Mary, the crowd booed. The athletes had recently faced the school in a heated rivalry.

“All right,” Mollison said. “Tough crowd. *I did not go to the College of William and Mary.*”

Caraballo explained that he was an alumnus of UNC-Wilmington. The crowd applauded for him. But when Ambrose introduced himself right after, he faced another round of boos.

“I am a proud graduate of the College of William and Mary,” he said.

The lights dimmed as a video began to play. This video is different from the one shown in “The Men’s Program.” It is a reenactment of an interview between a psychologist and a rapist named Frank, shown behind a dark shadow. Over the course of the interview, Frank describes how he set up and raped women at parties. The video is meant to show women how manipulative rapists can be. This is not the image Mollison has of “good guys” committing rape. Frank is cold and calculating.

The women at UNC-Wilmington talked throughout the film. They started laughing when Frank described how one of his victims tried to wiggle free when he forced off her clothes.

“That actually helped, you know, because her blouse came off easier,” he said.

Later, Frank talked about how he held the woman down when she tried to resist.

“It pissed me off that she played along with it the whole way and then tried to squirm out of it at the end,” he said. “I mean, she was so plastered, she probably didn’t know what was going on anyway.”

The psychologist in the interview asked what happened next.

“I fucked her,” Frank said.

The women in the audience laughed and whispered to each other.

After the video, the men of One in Four returned to the stage.

“Now we want to pick apart Frank’s tactics, so we can better understand how men can rape the women they know,” Caraballo said.

He suggested that men who rape plan assaults ahead of time.

“Like many men who rape women that they know, Frank showed us that rapists see women as sexual objects to be conquered, coerced and used solely for their own pleasure,” Caraballo said.

“Notice also Frank’s complete lack of empathy for his victims,” Mollison said.

“While she was experiencing terror, he was angry with her rather than empathetic.”

Making these connections is meant to show women danger signs to look out for in perpetrators. Some research indicates that women who know characteristics of rapists are less likely to be attacked. But some say that putting pressure on women to reduce the risks of assault can make victims feel guilty about assaults that do occur. This mirrors reservations about more traditional prevention programs that target women rather than men. North Carolina State University’s Juliette Grimmett says she opposes any suggestion that women are the ones who must prevent assaults.

“I am very much against risk reduction as a prevention tool,” she says. “They don’t hold people accountable who are raping.”

“The Men’s Program” is intended to address that part of the equation, but the men of One in Four may be walking on shaky ground by isolating female audiences with a different message.

The remainder of “The Women’s Program” resembles “The Men’s Program.” Newberry talked about suggestions for how to help a friend who discloses an assault.

“We recognize that a lot of these suggestions you might have already heard before,” he said. “But tonight we’re going to try to go a little bit deeper so that you can understand the how and the why behind these suggestions.”

But by that point, the UNC-Wilmington audience had tuned out. When One in Four asked them to suggest bystander-intervention strategies, they hesitated before responding reluctantly. At the end of the presentation, when the men asked the women to recall what they had learned, the women shouted out talking points verbatim in a mocking tone.

In interviews after the presentation, the women said they didn’t enjoy the program because the men had talked in very mechanical ways.

“I felt like the whole thing was really scripted,” said Bridgid Boettler, a junior pole-vaulter. “It kind of works better when you have people speak from experience because that’s not scripted. Stories like that kind of stick with you more.”

She said she did not learn anything new.

“You kind of figure out as a freshman, like, how guys target girls, so I guess a lot of it you kind of know from experience,” Boettler added. “They always want to get some more than girls do.”

Dee Casey, the school’s coordinator for rape response and education, also commented about the stiffness of the presentation.

“I could feel their carefulness,” she said. “I think there’s a piece that’s really huge how respectful they were, but there’s a restraint in that.”

Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison acknowledge that they are more nervous talking to women than to men. Because they know that women experience rape more than men do, they worry about offending them.

Casey says the lecture style men seem to respond to may not work as well with women.

“I think it had a style that was more masculine,” she said. “I didn’t experience it as extremely patronizing, but there must have been part of that that came up for me.”

While some critics say men should not educate women about sexual assault, many emphasize the importance of men learning from women. Ross Wantland, the sexual-assault prevention educator at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a mentor to Mollison, says this is critical.

“I’ve had some men in my life who have been really important in shaping things, but the women in my life have been much more important in helping me shape things,” he says.

Caraballo appreciates the anxiety of speaking to female audiences as he does during “The Women’s Program” as well as the rewards of learning from women. He did both as a student at UNC-Wilmington. That is how his work with sexual-assault prevention began.

Carraballo started work in anti-rape efforts as a senior at UNC-Wilmington. He was looking for a place to do a practicum course to complete his bachelor’s degree, but the counseling center was not accepting student help. Carraballo heard through a

professor that the school's rape response unit was looking for student volunteers, and he offered to help them plan events for the spring semester.

Carraballo questioned his involvement in a historically female-dominated field. Midway through the spring, when a committee organizing a Take Back the Night rally asked if he would perform a reading during the annual speak out, he hesitated.

“The whole time I was so insecure and unsure of whether people were okay with me being there,” he says.

The evening of the rally, he marched in silence with about 100 students and faculty members – up the a path known as Chancellor's Walk, around the university's library and back to an amphitheater lit by a ring of candles. Students rang hand bells every two minutes – the estimate of how frequently perpetrators sexually assault women in the United States.

Caraballo took his place behind the microphone in the middle of the amphitheater and read his poem at the beginning of the program that night. He looked out across a crowd of students staring back at him from a grassy hill.

“I did feel the strain a little bit – of a man who was standing up in front of very strong women who had been dealing with this their whole lives,” he remembers. “And I'd only been talking about this for a couple of weeks.”

Caraballo read a poem aloud before taking his place among the silent audience members. Following his reading, a colleague from the counseling center shared her own personal experience of assault – one Caraballo had never heard before.

“During that whole experience I was beginning to understand how big the issue was,” he says. “It reminded me you just never know who has been affected, and I think that’s really hard to understand.”

Caraballo points to the night of his performance as the time when he knew he needed to work in the field. He says could feel warmth rising from the audience, and he knew, finally, that he was in the right place.

“That was one of the most validating experiences I’ve ever had,” he says. “Take Back the Night was the first time for me in a public venue I was saying I really care about this.”

For Caraballo, work with One in Four has been a continuation of what he began that evening last spring.

“One in Four has gave me the impact piece,” he says. “Now you’re really making an impact on individuals in a different way.”

This January, when Caraballo returned to UNC-Wilmington with the rest of the One in Four crew, he saw that other men at his alma mater have decided to follow his lead.

In addition, to presenting “The Men’s Program” and “The Women’s Program” at UNC-Wilmington, the One in Four educators helped undergraduates launch a new chapter on campus. Ambrose, Caraballo, Mollison and Newberry met 12 of the 16 members of the new One in Four group in a UNCW classroom early on a Saturday morning. Adam Tate, the school’s male-outreach coordinator for sexual-assault prevention, had structured the schedule for the day.

Part of the goal of chapter training is to educate new members about how to perform “The Men’s Program” for their peers. Each new member must practice presenting the program within the group and then must present it to students across campus. The idea is that students on each campus will be most receptive to hearing the message of the program from peers they know and respect.

Tate recruited men with this in mind. He asked residence hall personnel and faculty members to nominate student leaders they trusted, and then he interviewed each one to find the men he thought would work most effectively together.

At the training, the new members saw the One in Four RV Tour members present “The Men’s Program” and later heard their critiques of their presentation styles. They also rehearsed how to answer the toughest questions One in Four presenters hear from audiences: How do you know when a woman is too drunk to consent to sex? Why is it that men always get blamed for assaults? Don’t men get raped too? They also had the opportunity to discuss rape and sexism in more depth than One in Four can do in the standard one-hour program.

Tate began the afternoon session facing his students sitting behind tables pushed into a horseshoe. He talked about the coldness of his own father.

“It’s unreal how he could be that emotionally detached from everything,” he said.

He discussed how his father reinforced the need to keep his emotions inside and interact with other men in traditionally masculine ways.

“If you start crying or something – it’s over,” he said. “Men usually have to be doing something to hang out. I’m not going to be like, ‘Hey Mike – can we talk?’”

The twelve students seated around the room nodded as Tate discussed how dormitory halls on campus establish ground rules for the year. One hall at UNC-Wilmington had adopted the policy: If you score, tell the floor.

“This is like the proving grounds for how you stack up,” Tate said. “The quickest way of doing it is having sex with women. ... This for me is not an excuse for male behavior, but it is an explanation. To me it kind of makes me want to be more forgiving of men.”

One student agreed.

“The way I was taught about women was like – if you’re not a pimp, then you don’t deserve to live,” he said.

Another student discussed the pressure he felt to have sex with women and how that interfered with the emotional side of relationships he tried to establish.

“She has the ball. It’s in her court,” he said. “You do things to get that. The first date is like step one. It’s not like you’re getting to know that person.”

“They know they have a certain power over men because they know about that goal, and they exploit that power,” another said.

With that comment, the conversation seemed to be heading toward a more hostile discussion of women. The men in the room seemed to rally behind the idea that women hold greater sexual leverage than men do.

Rus Funk, co-founder of one of the original male-outreach prevention groups called Men Can Stop Rape, says that when men do not include women in trainings they risk misunderstanding issues and blaming women as a result.

“If a group of white people got together and want to talk about racism, my initial assumption is that it’s probably going to be backlash talk,” he said. “It’s the same kind of critique around men getting together.”

In this case, Tate tried to bring the group back to their mission.

“There’s no power when someone says, ‘I’m going to take that,’” Tate suggested.

Mollison also challenged the idea that women hold more power than men do.

“It’s power that’s defined by men,” he said.

Once the group transitioned into a discussion about how easily men can overpower women through sexual violence, the students began to discuss their desires to protect women from assault.

“I still kind of see that treating women as the most special creatures you’ve ever met – like I still see that,” one man said.

“In order to have a society procreate itself, you need women,” Tate suggested.

“In order to have a society flourish, you need women protected.”

This dynamic – the desire of men to use their own power to protect women – is at the heart of one of the deepest criticisms of the One in Four bystander model. Some believe it reinforces the belief that women are helpless and need men to intervene for them in order to stay safe.

Tate brought this to the fore.

“Protection is a very selfish thing,” he said. “Like – I’m going to go out and beat this guy up? Why? Because I don’t want him to be able to do it again? Okay – maybe. But really it’s because you’re angry.”

This theme came up throughout the afternoon. The group watched part of a gang rape in the movie “The Accused.” One student in the room said he wished he could see a similar scene unfold in real life so he could kill the men involved.

This is the type of conversation Grimmett fears – a discussion of how to respond to threats against women without women present to guide the conversation. The student’s comment showed the desire to respond to violence with violence – a cycle many anti-rape leaders try to discourage. It also did not indicate any concern for the victim’s needs.

No one challenged the statement, but this training was just the beginning for the new One in Four members. They were just starting to grapple with these gender dynamics, and if the other One in Four chapters are any indications, they will continue to grapple with these issues for quite some time.

Like the female consciousness-raising groups in the 1960s and 1970s, these all-male discussions allow participants to share their own experiences and try to work through how to make sense of them.

One student, a tall, well-respected campus leader, shared his own first-hand account of sexual coercion. He said his high school girlfriend forced him to have intercourse with her before he was ready.

“I didn’t really want to have sex with her, and she made it happen,” he said.

Another student talked about a time when he chose not to have sex with a woman who was very drunk at a party. Instead, he helped her back to her apartment and headed home. He said his friends gave him a hard time about not taking advantage of the situation.

“The whole ride home I’m getting shit from the back seat like, ‘Man, you’re such a pussy,’” he remembered. “‘Ass like that don’t come around that often.’”

The men in the room laughed, but they also nodded. They agreed that men face pressure from men and women to perform sexually. Newberry suggested that they needed to work to change that by modeling the behavior they want to see in peers.

“We have to be that change,” he said. “Otherwise, men are going to be like, ‘It’s nice what you’re doing, but let’s be real.’ They want to see that happen, and you will be that force on campus.”

The conversation spoke to what some high-profile male leaders in sexual-assault prevention have emphasized in books and documentary films in the last decade. Authors such as Jackson Katz and filmmakers such as Byron Hurt claim that expectations of masculinity create an environment in which men feel they have to seek out sex to prove their worth. Katz and Hurt, as well as this year’s One in Four crew, say that addressing those expectations is the key to convincing men to stop assaulting women.

Neal begins all of his presentations that way.

“I think you have to think about the parameters of who they are,” he said. “In what ways does sexual violence actually limit the humanity of men themselves?”

That element is not found in “The Men’s Program,” which focuses on ways to respond in specific situations of assault rather than on ways to address larger societal pressures.

Alan Berkowitz argues that the limitation is a major problem with the presentation.

“I personally think that a workshop in which men get to ask complicated and difficult questions and have a discussion is more effective,” he says.

Foubert says the group does not have time to do that in one hour, but a group of twelve men on a single campus can do that over the course of their college careers. That’s what chapters are designed to do.

Caraballo says he hopes that, ultimately, One in Four can exist to serve chapter members who give their own presentations rather than traveling to new campuses to present to audiences they don’t know.

“We on tour can only do so much,” he says. “To have chapters out there doing similar work – we really need to foster that as well and make sure that they’re really getting the support that they need.”

He adds that that seeing how far UNC-Wilmington has come in the year since he first stood behind a microphone and spoke out against sexual assault made him very proud.

“I never had a bunch of school spirit,” he says. “But it was a really moving experience for me to see some people I know doing this and seeing my home taking the next step.”

But after an inspiring training at UNC-Wilmington, the One in Four RV Tour made its way to Clemson University, where Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison returned to the harsh realities of presenting to a campus without much institutional support or student interest in their work.

Student athletes and fraternity members wandered into Clemson's Tillman Hall auditorium one Wednesday night this January. Outside the theatre, Greek life and athletics personnel checked off students' names as they entered. The event was mandatory.

At 7:30 p.m. Ambrose stepped forward on the school's stage and introduced the group. The microphones weren't working that night. Ambrose bellowed over whispers in the crowd.

Newberry defined rape and sexual assault. As he discussed reasons why women might not be able to consent to sex, he mentioned situations in which women were unconscious. This is not meant to be a laugh line, but the Clemson students glanced around the room at each other and snickered.

A student near the back of the auditorium held his head in his palm, eyes closed. On one side of the room a brunet in shorts buried his head in printouts of PowerPoint slides, presumably studying for an exam. When the lights dimmed and the video came up against the backdrop of the stage, nearly a dozen BlackBerry and cell phone screens lit up across the audience.

The police officer began to describe the video's simulated assault over the loud speakers.

"He pulls out his penis, and it's red, and it's large, and it's smelly," he said.

Laughter echoed around the room.

"You do it," he goes on. "He puts it in your mouth."

The audience groaned.

“The other one says, ‘I want to nail him in the ass,’” the officer continued on screen.

The audience laughed more loudly and continued to talk over the rest of the video.

Caraballo and Mollison took the stage after the film and followed the scripted deconstruction of each scene, but when Ambrose stepped back on stage for the bystander-intervention piece of the program, he made an impromptu decision to cut the presentation short. He left the audience with a final statistic without asking them to participate in any discussion. The group did not even attempt to walk the audience through the guided imagery Foubert claims is responsible for the program’s efficacy.

Ambrose later explained that he did not think the group could keep the attention of the rowdy audience and that he did not want to risk losing any credibility they established in the earlier sections of their talk.

Newberry agreed.

“I think it’s more detrimental the longer you stay and flounder around up there,” he said.

The evening was not a total loss, however. After the presentation, a middle-age couple approached Newberry and Mollison on stage. The man was creating his own violence-prevention group in a town nearby and asked the One in Four crew for advice in presenting to groups of men.

Mollison said later that he believes inspiring those two people sitting in an audience of snickering college students was worth the trip.

Still, Clemson student resistance to the group's presentation left questions unanswered: Can "The Men's Program" really make an impact on audiences that do not already take sexual assault seriously? Can the group really change behavior in one hour? Does One in Four deserve attention, praise and \$2,500 a day?

Foubert says the short answer to those questions is that the group does the best it can with the hour it gets, and results vary.

"There are some people who are sexist, and in an hour we are not going to change 20 years of ingrained sexism. But we may get them to see rape is wrong," he says. "I'd rather see them do that than do nothing."

North Carolina State University educator Juliette Grimmett says anti-rape leaders should push for more than an hour.

"If we continue to put that value on this then that's what kind of value they're going to put on it," she says.

University of Illinois' Ross Wantland says schools facing increasing pressure to make efforts to improve campus safety may be enticed by a program requiring relatively short periods time, few resources and little in-house expertise.

"Part of this is also that we live in a quick-fix society," he says. "It would be great if this one-hour program cleared up my acne. But I work with men for a full year, and they're just beginning to get it."

Rus Funk, co-founder of the organization now called Men Can Stop Rape, says he does not design programs that are less than three sessions long.

“Our experience and data consistently show that doing anything less than three sessions is a complete waste of time,” he says.

Each of the four facilitators this year has their own ideas for how to improve the program. Ambrose senses that the group needs to market itself as a one that focuses on healthy relationships as opposed to rape prevention. He says the more positive spin will allow for better fundraising and greater interest from schools and students.

Caraballo would like to see greater involvement with new and established chapters. He thinks individual campus groups can be more effective than four men driving around the country could ever be.

Mollison wishes “The Men’s Program” allowed for more dialogue and interaction.

“I think education research has shown that being actively engaged is more effective,” he says.

Newberry says he would also like to see a greater emphasis on dialogue, adding that One in Four should be part of the effort to allow men to feel safer talking about sex and sexual assault.

But even One in Four’s harshest critics admit that the value of the group extends beyond the reactions of their audiences.

Grimmett acknowledges that despite all of her reservations about male involvement in anti-rape efforts, she knows men have critical roles to play.

“I feel we cannot do this work without men because they are the ones that perpetrate rape,” she says.

Berkowitz suggests that One in Four's ability to inspire men should be commended.

Funk agrees.

"It has spoken to men in some kind of way that has gotten them engaged and gotten them involved," he says. "I think the demonstrated model of effectively engaging men cannot be denied."

University of Delaware's Jessica Schiffman says that involving men at the college level is especially important given the evolution of the anti-rape movement. Feminists who organized early anti-rape efforts focused on support for victims and resistance to patriarchy. But rape crisis centers and women's shelters soon began to rely on support from government agencies and private foundations. Grants often mandated credentialed service providers and eventually encouraged more politically active volunteers to abandon the grassroots efforts.

"Rape crisis centers as a whole are no longer political movements," Schiffman says. "The political piece gets lost there."

She suggests that campuses are the primary environments still conducive to social activism and change on this issue – in part because more and more college men are getting involved.

"Maybe that's where the movement is still alive," Schiffman says. "There are these men on campus who really care about these issues and really want to do something about it and are really allies in that struggle."

This year, One in Four attracted four men with very different backgrounds and very different motivations to lead the tour. Two have very personal connections to the

topic; two do not. Three come from the East Coast; one is from the Midwest. Two are white; two are men of color.

The desire to stand up in front of men and women and say that they care about rape unites them, and they say one of the most important things they do is to try to convince other young adults to do the same.

“Once you’re no longer ignorant to a problem, I feel like you’re forced to do something about it,” Caraballo says. “I guess that’s how I feel about this.”

The four men will continue their work on college campuses across the country through May, and then they will hand the RV off to a group of new recruits to lead next year’s tour. Ambrose may return to pursuing a position in the corporate world. Mollison is considering a move to California to pursue a career in filmmaking. Newberry is researching ways to enter law enforcement and try to address violence directly. Caraballo has been accepted to the Columbia University Teachers College and will pursue a master’s degree in counseling there.

Ambrose, especially, emphasizes that their work will not end in May, even if they choose not to pursue rape prevention professionally.

“It will be something that we carry with us for the rest of our lives,” he says. “And that should have some positive impact down the road.”

Foubert says he will continue his research on his programs and his efforts to inspire more men to join with him in his work.

“There’ll be nay-sayers,” he says. “Fine. I’m just going to do spend my time doing the next study and making it better.”

He acknowledges that he and his colleagues have a lot more work to do to get enough men involved to really make a difference.

“We’re just still so under the radar,” he says. “The tipping point is a long way off.”

Foubert continues to advise the College of William and Mary’s One in Four chapter. After he trained his new members this winter, he gathered them into a huddle, arms on each other’s shoulders, and warned the men of the challenges that lie ahead.

“Figuratively speaking, you’re going to get some scars in this movement,” he said. “It needs to be a cause worth fighting for, worth bleeding for, because there are scars and a lot of people that shouldn’t be there.”

Foubert also left the students with a vision to work toward. He asked the men to envision, years from now, their sons coming home from college and reporting that they joined a men’s group on campus geared toward reducing the prevalence of sexual assault.

“You joined One in Four?” Foubert suggested they, as fathers, might ask.

“No dad,” he said the sons would respond. “Because of the work you did here, I joined One in Forty.”

Students stood in silence.

“You’re ready to commit to the work that’s going to make that possible,” he said.

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CHAPTER FIVE

REFLECTION

Literary journalists take many risks in pursuit of their craft. They occasionally put themselves in harm's way to complete their reporting. Adrian LeBlanc did this in her work on *Random Family*¹⁶⁴ as she spent a significant amount of time in a dangerous Bronx neighborhood. Sonia Nazario faced danger as well as she traveled through Mexico for *Enrique's Journey*.¹⁶⁵ Reporters risk not only physical harm but also psychological difficulty when they become emotionally attached to subjects through intimate reporting.

In addition, writers tend to base narrative nonfiction on personal stories of “private persons.” This category of sources lowers the bar for the evidence required for plaintiffs to win libel suits against reporters. By focusing on personal stories rather than relying on expert testimonies, literary journalists open themselves up to the possibility of litigation.

In addition, private people may be less aware of the potential consequences of having their stories published. They may not know the “ground rules” of negotiating on- and off-the-record access with reporters. In this way, narrative nonfiction can pose risks for subjects who share intimate details. Jane Kramer expresses a particular concern about

¹⁶⁴ Adrian LeBlanc, *Random Family: Love, Drugs, Trouble, and Coming of Age in the Bronx* (New York: Scribner, 2003).

¹⁶⁵ Sonia Nazario, *Enrique's Journey* (New York: Random House, 2006).

this risk. She will change names in stories when she thinks sources don't understand the consequences of publication or if she feels they are in danger.¹⁶⁶

By relying on literary techniques that defy the norms of journalistic writing such as using direct quotes, statistics and sources for each piece of information, literary journalists also risk having their credibility questioned. This was the case when *The News & Observer* ran a series in November 2007 called "The Promises" about a National Guard sergeant recovering from time served in Iraq. Many readers wrote letters to the editor questioning the legitimacy of the form.¹⁶⁷ Even Truman Capote faced skepticism after publishing *In Cold Blood*.¹⁶⁸ It was hard for readers to imagine that the details he included were true.

Finally, literary journalists often invest incredible time and resources to complete reporting for long-form narratives and risk the possibility that they may end up with unusable stories. Stories may not pan out as anticipated. In reporting for *A Welfare Mother*, for example, Susan Sheehan spent three months interviewing subjects before she found the woman she ultimately profiled. Had she not had the luxury of spending two additional years working on the project, she might not have had the opportunity to create a work of such power. Subjects can also withdraw access or permission at any point. Jonathan Harr says he does not disclose the amount of time he intends to spend with sources because he fears driving them away.¹⁶⁹ Journalists must strike a balance between

¹⁶⁶ Boynton, 193.

¹⁶⁷ Ted Vaden, "Sergeant's Tale Not Unusual," *The News & Observer*, 18 November 2007.

¹⁶⁸ Truman Capote, *In Cold Blood: A True Account of a Multiple Murder and Its Consequences* (New York: Random House, 1965).

¹⁶⁹ Boynton, 111.

being honest with sources and making them comfortable enough to maintain a commitment to the project.

Risks and Benefits of This Project

I faced all of these challenges in my work on this thesis. While I never felt I was physically in danger during my reporting, I did spend six months approaching an emotionally draining subject. I knew I risked trauma of my own by listening to dramatic accounts of rape. I also knew I risked becoming attached to the four men I followed. I knew it might be difficult later to challenge their work. From this perspective, the project posed psychological risks. Writing about rape put me in an emotionally vulnerable position, and I chose to accept that reality. I did not feel traumatized in the end. If anything, this project allowed me to develop my ability to confront difficult subjects and hear intimate details of devastating experiences.

In addition, by writing about intensely personal stories of private persons, I knew I was opening up my subjects to re-traumatization if they faced scrutiny after publication. I especially confronted ethical and legal ambiguities in writing about incest committed by a female relative of one of my sources. I did not have the opportunity to interview the alleged perpetrator and, therefore, did not feel it was ethical to include such extreme accusations about her in my work. In this case, I chose not to risk potential litigation from or personal harm to a woman I could not confirm had committed the alleged crime.

I struggled with the delicate balance between maintaining access to my subjects and conveying honest expectations of their commitment to my project. I knew that, while I had written a lengthy proposal and was approaching a strict deadline, I risked losing the commitment of One in Four or access to the schools on the tour – either of which might

have compromised the final product. Had I been writing a series of articles, such a setback might not have felt so potentially devastating. In a series, the loss of sources for one article may not affect the integrity of other pieces. However, committing to one long-form piece magnified the risk of failure if the story did not materialize.

With this risk in mind, I was very careful in my negotiations with schools and One in Four staff. I tried to be clear about how much time and energy I hoped One in Four members would dedicate to the project so they would not feel blindsided by requests throughout my reporting. Especially early on, I explained and emphasized participants' rights to demand privacy and speak off the record or not at all. I tried to empower sources who had survived sexual assault to make decisions about what details to disclose in publication. I believe that my commitment to transparency helped establish trust with sources, which ultimately allowed me greater access.

In one instance, a school did withdraw access upon my arrival to campus. This was the most stressful moment in reporting. I had envisioned a narrative that would follow the path of my tour, and I was not sure how I would include a school that did not allow me to observe One in Four presentations. I also felt angry with the administrators who had originally agreed to allow me into programs, and it was difficult for me not to show my frustration in front of the administrators and the One in Four staff. I adjusted, however. I took the opportunity to observe men filing in and out of presentations and to highlight the importance some place on preserving all-male spaces for sexual-assault education. This was an exercise in the type of flexibility often necessary in reporting, especially on sensitive issues.

Despite these risks, or perhaps because of them, my work on this project was very rewarding. It gave me the opportunity to complete many different types of reporting. It challenged me to negotiate access with a variety of organizations, institutions and individuals. It allowed me time and space to conduct individual and group interviews – some of which involved very personal subject matter. I interviewed more than 60 participants. I compiled historical, political and social commentary from dozens of written sources. I constructed a comprehensive literature review, and I used every drop of it in conversations with experts in the field. I feel a sense of accomplishment about the scope of my work.

Creating the final product, a long-form narrative in the tradition of literary journalism, was the greatest challenge of this project. I returned home from my journey with a massive amount of personal, anecdotal, historical and empirical information. The story could have taken a number of forms. I tried to weave several narratives into one piece, but many untold stories remained in the margins. I did not, for instance, tell the story of a woman I met at the College of William and Mary, who had been raped daily with a broomstick in high school. She suffers such Post Traumatic Stress Disorder that, even years after her abuse, she does not feel comfortable anywhere other than her home or school. She disclosed the details of her experience at training for new members of a One in Four chapter. In preparation for her presentation, she scouted out the meeting room a week in advance to find escape routes from the building and the nearest phone to call for help in the event of an emergency. Her behavior illustrates the impact rape can have on victims. However, since the RV Tour members did not attend the training, I did not find the scene relevant to the focus of the piece. I chose not to include it as a result.

Decisions such as this one, as well as choices I made about the form, style and tone of the piece, challenged me. Leaving out poignant moments of the tour pained me. Struggling to find an appropriate structure for the piece frustrated me. In the end, I did not feel I could do justice to the devastation of rape or even the intensity of my own experiences on the tour. But I am proud of what I *was* able to accomplish in the final narrative. I believe I was able to draw out some of the complexity of male involvement in anti-rape efforts. I believe I was able to weave several narratives into one story. I believe I was able to share many perspectives on a very difficult topic. I am pleased with these achievements.

Project Limitations

I should note several limitations of this project. First, I did not have the time or the funding to travel with One in Four outside of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. As a result, the schools I observed were relatively homogeneous. One in Four gave presentations around the country this year, and I would liked to have seen the men perform across a larger geographic area. This might have allowed me to draw contrasts between or identify similarities within a more diverse group of audience members. I also would have liked the opportunity to watch the One in Four leaders over a longer period of time. This might have allowed me to collect richer details within a more obvious narrative arc. In particular, the men of One in Four said they wished I had observed an overnight drive or one of several RV breakdowns to see how the group functions under pressure. They also spoke about more vocal audiences that might have provided more dramatic scenes.

One limitation I tried to avoid was selecting a particular target audience for my writing at the outset of this project. I thought that selecting a specific market up front might limit the details I could include in my narrative. For instance, I believe that young-adult readers would be most interested in the personal stories of their peers – the One in Four leaders and the students they address. Friends in their twenties whom I spoke with about the project expressed the most interest in learning why Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison chose to commit to One in Four. I feared that selecting this target audience would prevent me from including a historical perspective, which may not be of significant interest to this group.

I can also imagine marketing a version of this piece to a magazine for older women. This audience might remember the conception of the anti-rape movement and might be more interested in learning about the more recent evolution of it. A focus on the personal stories of the One in Four leaders may fall outside the scope of a story for those readers. Because I was personally interested in the motivations of the men, I did not want to accept this limitation. By keeping my options open, I hoped to allow for greater complexity in my writing. I wanted to weave many different elements into the narrative.

However, I realize now that this decision may have weakened my writing in the end. Because I did not have a particular audience in mind, I struggled to select which details to include. The story ran longer than I anticipated, and I still don't feel I was able to capture the complexity of the topic. A more defined focus may have allowed for greater cohesion. Sacrificing breadth may have permitted greater depth.

I expect that publishing this work will require selecting a particular audience and carving out a narrative with a more specific focus. I think there are several possible

approaches to take. One story might focus on the broader topic of male involvement in sexual-assault prevention. Such a story might include looks at other male-outreach groups involved in rape prevention and explore the evolution of the anti-rape movement. An article discussing current responses to sexual assault on college campuses might elaborate on the variety of university rape-prevention efforts and disagreements about how to evaluate them. This area is rich with controversy, and by focusing specifically on One in Four I was not able to do justice to the different aspects of this debate. In contrast, a story focusing on the lives of Ambrose, Caraballo, Newberry and Mollison might appeal to younger audiences interested in why their peers would choose an unusual path but not as concerned with the history of anti-rape efforts.

A third option would take the form Kerrane and Yagoda call “works with the writer at the forefront.”¹⁷⁰ This would include a more intimate, first person account of my trip with One in Four. I generally resist use of the first person because it takes the focus away from subjects. However, my reporting on this piece involved an interesting dynamic as a female reporter observed male-outreach rape-education efforts. A description of my observations and my reactions to what I saw could allow me to add a different dimension to the story. Female readers may be especially interested in what it was like to witness the dynamics of male groups discussing women and sexual violence. In this case, the story would focus more explicitly on my experience than the current piece does.

Future Work

I have learned too much about sexual assault to turn away from the topic after the completion of this project. My conversations with students and professionals across the

¹⁷⁰ Kerrane and Yagoda, 16.

country have left me thinking about many additional stories I would like to pursue. First, many women including Davidson College's Deanna Lomax and the College of William and Mary's Samantha Collins discussed frustrations with school judicial proceedings related to the assaults they survived. This issue is difficult to explore because schools keep disciplinary records confidential and administrators resist discussing rapes on their campuses. However, I cannot ignore the prevalence of complaints about how schools handle rape accusations. Students consistently claimed that schools dismissed their stories and imposed minimal sentences on offenders. These concerns deserve consideration.

In addition, as I observed the audiences at One in Four presentations, I began to wonder whether education programs for younger students would be more effective. I have since learned of many prevention programs geared toward high school and middle school students. In an era of abstinence-only sex education, these programs are particularly controversial. Several leaders of these efforts describe challenges of working with school boards and administrators. However, problems of bullying and school violence have gained attention in recent years, and some claim that schools are recognizing a need for increased violence-prevention programming. I would like to explore the controversies surrounding these efforts in future work.

Finally, One in Four members and other rape-prevention professionals discussed the need for cross-cultural and even international anti-rape efforts. Funk spoke about the need for rape-prevention leaders to form cross-cultural alliances and relationships with gay and bisexual men. He said prevention efforts have often focused on white, straight

populations. One in Four, for instance, has never presented its programs to a predominantly African-American audience. This merits additional attention.

Of Note for Future Students

Students considering narrative theses in the years to come should understand the challenges and rewards of literary journalism. The craft is challenging logistically, creatively and intellectually, but it is also deeply rewarding. This project forced me to draw on everything I learned in journalism school and to surpass any expectations I set for my education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I believe that master's theses should not only reflect what students have learned in graduate school, but also challenge students to move beyond the skills they have established in pursuit of greater ambitions. This project pushed me to develop a vision for what I ultimately hope to achieve in my career and allowed me to move toward those goals with guidance and support from faculty and peers.

Perhaps more importantly, the bonds I established with sources for this project were powerful on very personal levels. I listened as rape survivors shared the most intimate details of their experiences. I sat across from Newberry as he disclosed aspects of his life he had not told even his closest colleagues or friends. Sources cried in interviews, and they spoke of fear and shame. It was an honor to hear their stories. It was also inspiring to watch young men and women find the courage to retell such painful experiences. I will never forget their optimism despite pain and injustice. Their strength made profound impacts on me. They gave me the confidence to ask difficult questions and to surrender my own authority in order to allow others to respond on their own terms.

These are the gifts of intimate reporting. My experience was invaluable, and I am profoundly grateful for it.

APPENDIX A

SOURCES RELATED TO SEXUAL ASSAULT

Baxandall, Rosalyn and Linda Gordon, eds. *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

This book is a collection of excerpts from articles, songs, speeches, poems and cartoons that document the evolutions of the Women's Liberation Movement. These primary documents help paint a vivid picture of the Women's Liberation Movement and help explain tactics and debates which may have contributed to contemporary approaches to sexism and rape. Of particular importance to this project is Chapter 8, "Objectification, Harassment, Violence." It traces the growing awareness of rape in the 1970s, which provided a contextual beginning for my research.

Berkeley, Kathleen. *The Women's Liberation Movement in America*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999.

This is a concise but comprehensive history of the American Women's Liberation Movement. Because anti-rape efforts sprang out of the Women's Liberation Movement, this book provided key context in evaluating the trajectory of approaches to sexual assault.

Berkowitz, Alan, ed. *Men and Rape: Theory, Research, and Prevention Programs in Higher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994.

This book is an anthology of articles related to rape-prevention programs geared toward men. Of particular importance is Berkowitz's article, "Research on College Men and Rape," which documents that most men who commit rape do not define their behavior as assault and therefore do not see themselves as rapists. This was particularly relevant because One in Four is based on the premise that men want to see themselves as helpers rather than perpetrators. The article also describes characteristics of rapists and suggests rape-supportive environments encourage rape. The article also posits that prevention programs should involve all-male audiences and be facilitated by peers. A later chapter, "A Model Acquaintance Rape Prevention Program for Men," supports this.

***Beyond Beats and Rhymes*. Prod. and dir. Byron Hurt. 1 hr. 1 minute. God Bless the Child Productions. 2006. DVD.**

This film explores portrayals of masculinity, objectification of women and violence in hip-hop and argues that these elements of "rape culture" have risen over the last five decades. This is part of a larger contemporary discourse about masculinity and "rape culture," which One in Four staff members say they hope to begin to address.

Brownmiller, Susan. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.

This is one of the seminal works of the anti-rape movement, which helped raise awareness and action in the 1970s. This helped establish feminist thinking about rape at the time and provides a contrast to the ways the One in Four staff members view issues of sexual assault today.

Buchwald, Emilie et al, eds. *Transforming a Rape Culture*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2005.

This is an anthology of essays about “rape culture” – the idea that elements of society contribute to an environment that encourages or allows for rape. One in Four staff members have claimed to be trying to work to change rape culture, so a deeper understanding of what that was helpful.

Delacoste, Frederique and Felice Newman, eds. *Fight Back!: Feminist Resistance to Male Violence*. Minneapolis: Cleis Press, 1981.

This is an anthology of articles and essays about various facets of the anti-rape movement in the 1970s. These are primarily written from the perspectives of the women involved in organizing and providing services for rape victims, so the collection conveys the political and personal intensity of the time and the views of those involved. This set up a nice contrast to the perspectives of more contemporary activists and service providers, including the staff members of One in Four.

Fabiano, Patricia et al. “Engaging Men as Social Justice Allies in Ending Violence Against Women: Evidence for a Social Norms Approach.” *Journal of American College Health*. 52(3) p 105-112. Nov/Dec 2003

This study focuses on one college and compares the value males and females place on consent as well as their willingness to intervene in an assault vs. male perceptions of these norms. This advocates for a programs based on a “social norms” approach. This study also lists other male-outreach programs and suggests that they have been successful in changing behavior. I considered this in light of the One in Four research.

Faludi, Susan. *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1991.

This book explores what Faludi claims is a “backlash” against women as a result of conservative responses to the Women’s Liberation Movement. It primarily focuses on trends in the 1980s in popular culture and politics, though Faludi examines the consequences of these developments for the personal lives of women. The ideas contained within this book serve as the basis for some discourse in “rape culture” discussions. Activists such as Byron Hurt argue that violence against and objectification of women escalated in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of this backlash – a response to the threat of increasingly powerful women.

Fisher, Bonnie. “Crime and Fear on Campus.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. No. 539 (1995): 85-101.

This article begins with a list of media events in the 1990s that led to an increase in attention paid to sexual assault on college campuses. It claims that scholars were only beginning to study victimization at the time and that there was not much known about the effectiveness of school reactions to the problem of sexual assault. The author traces the history of *in loco parentis*, sexual-assault legislation, school liability and university

responses to particular incidences of rape and legal pressure to try to prevent it. This was helpful in evaluating the context for One in Four.

Fisher, Bonnie et al. “Crime in the Ivory Tower: The Level and Sources of Student Victimization.” *Criminology*. 36(3) 1998 p. 671-703.

This study followed the National Crime Victimization Survey and focused on violent crime and theft on college campuses. The title suggests that the thinking at the time was that universities were immune from these types of crimes. The findings of this survey suggest otherwise. The authors were specifically interested in investigating Lifestyle-Routine Activities Theory of Victimization. They looked at four components related to that theory: proximity to crime, exposure to crime (through exposure to certain types of situations), target attractiveness and capable guardianship. With regard to sexual assault, the authors found that students who partied heavily were more likely to be victims of on-campus violent crime. They also found that rates of sexual assault for college women were higher than for non-college women of the same age group, though the validity of this comparison is debatable.

--“The Sexual Victimization of College Women.” National Institute of Justice. December 2000.

This report, sponsored by the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Statistics in 2000, was a national survey of about 4,400 college students. It involved telephone interviews in which trained researchers asked participants a series of screening questions to determine whether they had experienced sexual assault and then filed reports for each incident. The study revealed an increase in the estimated incidence of rape over the National Crime Victimization Survey, and argued that the question format yielded the results. In addition, it identified risk factors of women who were more likely to be assaulted, revealed that 90 percent of those who experienced rape or attempted rape knew their perpetrators and that less than 5 percent reported rape to police.

Foubert, John. “A Review of Research on Fraternities: On Balance They’re Worth Having,” *Synthesis: Law and Policy in Higher Education*. (Fall 1995): 514-515.

This literature review shows the pros and cons of fraternities on college campuses. Despite the literature showing that fraternity men committed 55 percent of gang rapes on campuses and that alcohol abuse is more prevalent among fraternity men, Foubert argues that they are worth having because they provide leadership opportunities and encourage extracurricular activities among male students.

--“Anti-Rape On the Road: Men Hit the Highways to Share a Powerful Message.” *About Campus*. (November/December 2005): 24-27.

This brief article describes Foubert’s conception of “The Men’s Program” and describes the process of the RV Tour. It is a personal note as opposed to a research study. It provides a brief summary of the program.

Foubert, John and Bradford Perry. “Creating Lasting Attitude and Behavior

Change in Fraternity Members and Male Student Athletes: The Qualitative Impact of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program.” *Violence Against Women*. 13(1) January 2007, 1-17.

This is the first study to show lasting changes five months after “The Men’s Program.” It is a qualitative study so the results are not generalizable. It discusses the importance of the rape video (33% related changes to the video - raising the question if anyway could just show the video) and the program’s relationship to Belief System Theory and Elaborate Likelihood Model. It describes the reasons to target student athletes and fraternity men and the importance of empathy-induction models. The most cited change among men who saw the program was related to telling jokes.

Foubert, John and Edwin Cowell. “Perceptions of a Rape Prevention Program by Fraternity Men and Male Student Athletes: Powerful Effects and Implications for Changing Behavior.” *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal*. Vol. 42, No. 1. (Fall 2004): 1-20.

This qualitative study surveys fraternity members and student athletes directly after participation in “The Men’s Program,” One in Four’s prevention curriculum. This study reveals the importance of showing the video detailing a male-on-male assault. It also includes the students’ suggestions that future programs include discussions about the relationship between alcohol consumption and consent, which Foubert tested at a later date. This study also begins with an explanation of “belief system theory” and “elaborate likelihood model,” the bases for the program.

Foubert, John and Johnathan Newberry. “Effects of Two Versions of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program on Fraternity Men’s Survivor Empathy, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intent to Commit Rape or Sexual Assault.” *Journal of College Student Development*. Vol. 47, No. 2 (March/April 2006): 133-148.

This paper compares two forms of “The Men’s Program” – one with an alcohol/bystander-intervention component and one with an alcohol/consent component with a control group. The study shows that both forms of “The Men’s Program” led to “decrements in rape myth acceptance, likelihood of raping, and likelihood of committing sexual assault and a significant increase in empathy toward survivors,” though the control group also showed a decrease in the likelihood to rape, and the difference between the groups was not significant. The paper argues that the bystander intervention piece was more effective because of its relationship to the Belief System Theory, which promotes approaching men as possible helpers rather than possible rapists, and its relationship to the Elaboration Likelihood Model, which suggests that participants will learn, retain and change more when they believe program content applies to their lives. The paper explains the importance of the male sexual-assault video and stresses the importance of an all-male audience. It also describes the relationship between alcohol use and rape.

Foubert, John and Kenneth Marriot. “Effects of a Sexual Assault Peer Education Program on Men’s Belief in Rape Myths.” *Sex Roles*. Vol. 36, No. 314. (1997): 257-266.

This article defines “rape myths,” and it explores the link between belief in these myths and the prevalence of rape. It promotes a focus on men as “helpers” to actually prevent sexual assault as opposed to just providing support after sexual assault. It also explains the need for establishing a control group in studying the effectiveness of prevention efforts.

Foubert, John and Marylu McEwan. “An All-Male Rape Prevention Peer Education Program: Decreasing Fraternity Men’s Behavioral Intent to Rape.” *Journal of College Student Development*. Vol. 39, No. 6. (November/December 1998): 548-556.

This study proves the reduction in rape-myth acceptance (compared to a control group) and intent to harm (not compared to control group) in fraternity men exposed to “The Men’s Program.” It highlights the importance of an all-male group and calls for future studies about actual behavior as opposed to attitudes and behavioral intent.

Foubert, John et al. “Behavior Differences Seven Months Later: Effects of a Rape Prevention Program on First-Year Men Who Join Fraternities.” *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal*. Vol. 4, No. 44 (2007) 728-749.

This is Foubert’s latest study about “The Men’s Program.” The program is designed to talk to men as “potential helpers” rather than as potential rapists. The paper describes the program and explains its theoretical design and revision after research and feedback. The study shows that men who join fraternities in their first year of college who saw “The Men’s Program” reported committing fewer and less severe cases of sexually coercive behavior than fraternity men who did not see it. This was evaluated critically in the literature review and narrative. Also of note, the authors suggest that there is not necessarily a causal link between attitudes and behaviors, note why surveys of perpetrators are more accurate than interviews and explores the current research about the impact of alcohol consumption and fraternity membership on coercive behavior. Limitations of the study include a focus on one college campus, failure to randomly assign students to be in fraternities or not and possible effects of a pre-test.

--“An Exploration of Fraternity Culture and Implications for Programs to Address Alcohol-Related Sexual Assault.” *College Student Journal*. (June 2006): 361-371.

This is a qualitative study of fraternity social norms regarding sexual consent and alcohol use. It is based on the argument that one must study fraternity culture to understand how to change it. The research includes quotations from fraternity men about how they determine whether to ask for consent, how they perceive consent, and the impact alcohol and familiarity with sexual partners makes in the process. The authors conclude that prevention programs must address alcohol and consent. The fraternity men also suggested including strategies for bystander intervention.

--“Reactions of First-Year Men to a Rape Prevention Program: Attitude and Predicted Behavior Change.” *National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal*. Vol. 43, No. 3. (2006): 578-598.

This is a qualitative study of first-year students exposed to “The Men’s Program.” They responded to a questionnaire directly after the program, which measured intent to change behavior as opposed to actual behavior change. Though many said they would change their behavior, some said they would not. The questionnaire format did not allow for follow-up questions to learn why not. Therefore, this study begs for more research about the people the program did not influence and the extent to which it actually changed the behavior of those who reported they intended to change.

Freedman, Estelle. *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2002.

This is another historical look at the Women’s Liberation Movement. Of particular importance is Part IV: The Politics of Health and Sexuality. This includes a chapter on gender and violence, in which Freedman traces the history of legal, social and political views of rape through several centuries as well as formal organizing against rape in the late twentieth century and its impact on the legal system.

Gilbert, Barbara, et al. “Changing the Sexual Aggression-Supportive Attitudes of Men: A Psychoeducational Intervention.” *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. Vol. 38, No. 2 (1997): 197-203.

This study explores the effectiveness of an intervention based on the elaboration likelihood model but is not “The Men’s Program.” It uses a pre-test and post-test to measure attitudes and then uses a follow-up phone call to determine if participants were willing to donate time to prevention activities. This study is more evidence for the validity of ELM. It also emphasizes the need for research-based approaches.

Hong, Loulou. “Toward a Transformed Approach to Prevention: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence.” *Journal of American College Health*. 48 (May 2000): 269-279.

This is a yearlong case study of participants in a program called Men Against Violence, a peer-support network for men on college campuses. The program aims to provide an environment where male students can challenge cultural norms that may promote acceptance of sexual assault. The study suggests that the MAV program was effective at changing the beliefs and the behaviors of those involved. At first glance, this would disprove Foubert’s claim that One in Four is the first program to be able to show long-term changes in perpetrator behavior. However, this study is flawed for several reasons. First, it is a case study rather than Foubert’s experimental design. In addition, the beliefs and behaviors of program participants are studied during their participation in the program rather than months after completion of the program. In addition, only a small group of men can participate in MAV at one time, as it is an ongoing experience that requires a commitment of time and energy, while One in Four is a one-hour presentation that can be shared with campuses across the country with relative ease. Therefore, this study illustrates an example of another male-outreach effort without really jeopardizing Foubert’s assertions. Other noteworthy assertions include a claim that campus approaches have been female-centered and a claim that this is an attempt to change masculine hegemony with an approach based on feminist studies.

Katz, Jackson. *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How All Men Can Help*. Naperville, Illinois: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2006.

Jackson Katz is one of the most well-known and well-respected male sexual-assault prevention activists. His book outlines the idea that masculinity is socially constructed in contemporary American society and why he thinks the expectations of masculinity contribute to the prevalence of sexual assault. He also discusses how men can work to prevent sexual assault, though his work differs from that of One in Four.

Kilmartin, Christopher and Julie Allison. *Men's Violence Against Women: Theory, Research, and Activism*. Manwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2007.

This is a very thorough exploration of violence against women. It includes social, theoretical and historical contexts for sexual assault. In addition, it discusses several model programs for prevention, including One in Four. It also discusses other programs, which was helpful by way of comparison.

Lonsway, Kimberly. "Preventing Acquaintance Rape Through Education: What Do We Know?" *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Vol. 20 (1996) 229-265.

This is a literature review of prevention programs assessed to date. It defines rape, discusses the "shattering" of the original view of rape, explains that most prevention programs focus on women and calls for increasingly scientific approaches to assessing programs. It discusses the beginnings of the "elaboration likelihood model" and shows problems with confrontational models of prevention.

Neal Mark Anthony. Interview by Rebecca Blatt. 17 November 2007.

Mark Anthony Neal is an associate professor of African-American studies at Duke University, who calls himself a "male feminist." His work specializes in race, masculinity, gender studies and popular culture. I interviewed him in his office at Duke, and we spoke at length about masculinity and its effect on "rape culture." We also spoke about the problems of sexual assault within African-American communities specifically. Finally, we discussed the challenges male activists confront as they speak to groups of men about assault. He pointed me to several of the resources found here.

***No!* Prod. and dir. Aishah Shahidah Simmons. 1 hr. 25 minutes. AfroLez Productions. 2006. DVD.**

This film explores the prevalence of sexual assault in African-American communities. It includes testimonies from several rape survivors and explores the history of rape against African-American women as well as reasons why African-American women are reluctant to report rape.

Riordan, Christina. Interview by Rebecca Blatt. 16 November 2007.

Christina Riordan is the executive director of the Orange County (NC) Rape Crisis Center. I spoke with her about how to prepare for interviewing victims of sexual assault. She suggested that I take cards directing sources to a rape crisis center in the event that they feel triggered by conversations. She also discussed the possibility that survivors would be "re-traumatized" by the interviews or by publication of their stories.

She suggested ways I could try to protect myself from becoming overwhelmed by extended work on such a heavy topic.

Rosen, Ruth. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America.* New York: Penguin Books, 2000.

This book traces the roots and major developments of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, the section entitled "When Is a Custom a Crime" discusses the activists and publications that raised awareness about rape in particular. This provided important background for the development of the anti-rape movement.

Rothman, Emily and Jay Silverman. "The Effect of a College Sexual Assault Prevention Program on First-year Students' Victimization Rates." *Journal of American College Health.* 55(5) March/April 2007: 283-290.

This is a study of a population-based sexual-assault prevention program. It compares assault statistics of a freshman class required to participate in the prevention program to the previous year's statistics for a class not exposed to the program. The study found that students in the older (control) class had a 74% greater chance of reporting sexual assault than members of the younger (experimental) class did. Interestingly, the study did not reveal a decrease in risk for those with a history of sexual assault.

Scheel, Elizabeth, et al. "Making Rape Education Meaningful for Men: The Case for Eliminating the Emphasis on Men as Perpetrators, Protectors, or Victims." *Sociological Practice: A Journal of Clinical and Applied Sociology.* 3(4) December 2001: 257-278.

This is a qualitative study of men's responses to viewing a video of a fictional woman reporting a rape. The authors claim the research indicates that men want to help rape victims but do not know how. They argue that prevention efforts could use this motivation as a way of making programs feel relevant. This evidence supports One in Four's approach.

Schewe, Paul. "Guidelines for Developing Rape Prevention and Risk Reduction Interventions" in *Preventing Violence in Relationships: Interventions Across the Life Span.* Paul Schewe ed. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2002.

This chapter discusses many components commonly found in prevention programs. Of particular relevance to this project are the discussion on the importance of creating victim empathy, the validity of self-defense strategies, the negative consequences of a confrontational approach and arguments for single-sex prevention groups.

Schwartz, Martin and Victoria Pitts. "Exploring a Feminist Routine Activities Approach to Explaining Sexual Assault." *Justice Quarterly.* Vol. 12 No. 1 (1995): 9-30.

This is the original application of “routine activities theory” to sexual assault. This is the basis for the claim that women with certain risk factors are more likely to experience sexual assault. In this article, the authors assert that women who drink more frequently and heavily and women who have friends who have intoxicated women to sexually coerce them are more likely to become victims. This article also discusses definitions of sexual assault.

Schwartz, Martin and Walter DeKeseredy. *Sexual Assault on the College Campus: The Role of Male Peer Support*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997.

This book discusses the incidence and prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses and the role of male peer support in propagating sexual assault. Of particular relevance to my work was a section called “Men’s Strategies,” which describes various ways men can attempt to reduce sexual assault and suggests that some women have resisted such efforts. This served as a jumping-off point for my exploration of how women have responded to male involvement in anti-rape efforts.

Sexual Assault on Campus: What Colleges and Universities are Doing About It. National Institute of Justice. December 2005.

This study evaluates university compliance with the Clery Act and finds that only 37 percent of colleges comply with it. The publication discusses the lack of support for victims, lack of prevention efforts, lack of availability of crime data and lack of trained staff as reasons for university failures.

Sloan, J et al. “Assessing the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990: An Analysis of the Victim Reporting Practices of College and University Students.” *Crime and Delinquency*. 43(2) 148. (1997)

This report gives the history and intent of the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990, and then attempts to test the validity of its statistics by comparing them to a victimization survey of 3,400 college students at 12 schools. The study shows that crimes are underreported, primarily because the offenses were “minor” or “private matters,” and the Act therefore does not reflect actual crime prevalence on campuses. It suggests that the Act be revisited.

***Tough Guise Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity*. Dir. Sut Jhally. 1 hr. 21 mins. Media Education Foundation. 1999. DVD.**

This film explores the “culture of masculinity” and the way portrayals of masculinity in popular culture contribute to acceptance of violence against women while restricting the freedom of men and boys. It also traces what Jackson Katz refers to as a backlash against the Women’s Liberation Movement, which he claims leads to objectification and victimization of women.

Ward, Krisitin. *Evaluation 1999-2000: Mentors in Violence Prevention*. Northeastern University < <http://www.sportinsociety.org/vpd/mvp.php>> 3 Decembr 2007.

This report includes qualitative and quantitative data studying the impact of the Mentors in Violence Prevention Program. The study shows that the MAV program was

related to positive change in students' knowledge about rape, attitudes about gender violence and self-perceived ability to stand up against sexual assault and intervene in particular instances of it.

Warshaw, Robin, ed. *I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988.

This is the book based on Mary P. Koss's original study of rape on college campuses, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health. In an afterword, Koss explains that when she began her research career in 1976, the term "date rape" had not yet been invented. In 1978 she received federal funding to study college campuses and worked with *Ms. Magazine* to launch the survey. It provided a wealth of information and was the first citation for the one-in-four statistic. Pages 164-167 discuss 1980s outreach programs for men. Page 92 discusses evolution in thinking about why men rape.

APPENDIX B HUMAN SOURCES

Hank and Emma Ambrose: Parents of James Ambrose.

James Ambrose: Member of RV tour.

Lizzy Bell: Senior at Wake Forest University who is a member of the group responsible for inviting One in Four to the school's campus.

Vanessa Bezy: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, Delta Zeta sorority member, audience member at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Donna Bickford: Director of the Carolina Women's Center and UNC-Chapel Hill.

Bridgid Boettler: UNC-Wilmington junior, track team athlete, audience member at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Kathy Bray-Merrell: Davidson College associate dean of students.

Ashton Brooks: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, Delta Zeta sorority member, audience member at One in Four Women's Program.

Sabrina Brown: Area coordinator for residence life at Davidson College.

Carolyn Byerly: Associate professor of journalism and mass communication at Howard University, who worked in one of the first rape crisis centers in the 1970s and early 1980s. Her research focuses on violence against women and the media.

Rebecca Caldwell: Director of Substance Abuse Prevention and Education Program and Collaboration for Assault Response and Education at UNC-Wilmington.

Andrea Caraballo: Jor-El Caraballo's mother.

Jor-El Caraballo: Member of RV tour.

Dee Casey: Assistant director for violence prevention at UNC-Wilmington.

Samuel Cashiola: Wake Forest University senior, member of Center for Awareness Response and Education peer education group.

Sarah Cohen: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, Delta Zeta sorority member, audience member at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Brian Coleman: UNC-Wilmington junior, criminal justice major, experienced peer educator and vocal member of new One in Four campus chapter.

Molly Dragiewicz: Assistant professor of criminology at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology who has studied rape prevention on college campuses.

Katy Finley: Davidson College junior, co-president of First Response (school's 24-hour sexual-assault support line).

John Foubert: Founder of One in Four and author of many research reports about its evolution and effectiveness.

Juliette Grimmatt: North Carolina State University's rape prevention education coordinator, who has been involved in anti-rape work for more than a decade. She is a critic of One in Four.

Jenna Helmink: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, track team athlete, audience member at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Trisha Hunsaker: Sexual-assault education coordinator of the College of William and Mary.

Ellen Ioanes: Davidson College student, co-president of school's rape-awareness committee.

John Jenkins: UNC-Wilmington senior, member of Delta Chi fraternity, audience member of One in Four's presentation of "The Men's Program."

Wendy Jenkins: College of William and Mary senior and sexual-assault survivor who shared her story with new chapter members.

Christopher Kilmartin: Professor at the University of Mary Washington and leading researcher on rapist psychology and the importance of actual versus perceived attitudes of college men.

Jennifer Knox: Area coordinator for residence life at Davidson College.

Adam Lalar: Executive director of One in Four.

Lloyd Leonard: Coordinator for prevention and education at Family Services, Inc., nonprofit in Winston Salem. He attended a One in Four presentation of "The Men's Program" at Wake Forest University, and his work focuses on matching college men with middle school and high school students to serve as mentors in violence prevention.

Parvin Lewis: Director of health education for Clemson University and contact for One in Four visit.

Deanna Lomax: Davidson College junior, rape survivor who shared her story with every fraternity on campus in hopes of prevention. She was in the audience at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Rebecca Macy: UNC-Chapel Hill assistant professor of social work whose research focuses on sexual-assault prevention.

Dan Mollison: Member of RV tour.

Karl and Bonnie Mollison: Dan Mollison's parents.

Nick Mollison: Dan Mollison's brother.

Mark Anthony Neal: Duke University associate professor who studies race, gender and masculinity and speaks about issues relating to sexual assault especially within the African-American community.

Jonathan Todd (J.T.) Newberry: Member of RV tour.

Pamela Newberry: Mother of J.T. Newberry.

McFall Pearce: Wake Forest University junior, executive board member of Center for Awareness Response and Education peer-education group.

Georgia Ringle: Davidson College health educator and contact for One in Four visit.

Christina Riordan: Executive director of Orange Country Rape Crisis Center.

Michael Sanchez: UNC-Wilmington junior, public relations major and member of One in Four campus chapter.

Jessica Schiffman: Assistant director of the University of Delaware Women's Studies Program. Her research focuses on sexual-assault policies and prevention practices on college campuses.

Susy Schultz: Former journalist, director of advocacy and communication for Chicago Foundation for Women, which has recently created a history of the anti-rape movement and begun doing male-outreach prevention work.

Carter Shotwell: College of William and Mary senior, training coordinator for college One in Four chapter, future RV Tour member.

Amy Shuman: Staff counselor and coordinator of testing at Wake Forest University, contact for One in Four visit.

Esta Soler: Founder and executive director of the Domestic Violence Prevention Fund who has worked in violence prevention since 1982. She was among the women who pushed for the Violence Against Women Act, and she has earned millions of dollars in federal funding for prevention work, including new programs focusing on involving men.

Lamonte Stamps: Area coordinator for residence life at Davidson College.

Adam Tate: Male-outreach coordinator for UNC-Wilmington's Collaboration for Assault Response and Education, advisor to campus chapter of One in Four, contact for One in Four RV Tour visit.

Colleen Tully: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, Delta Zeta sorority member, audience member at One in Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Samantha Unger: UNC-Wilmington sophomore, Delta Zeta sorority member, audience member at Four's presentation of "The Women's Program."

Tony Ventimiglia: UNC-Wilmington freshman, political science major and member of One in Four campus chapter.

Danny Verwholt: Wake Forest University junior, member of Center for Awareness Response and Education peer-education group.

Ross Wantland: Coordinator of sexual assault education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and mentor to RV tour member Dan Mollison.

Valerie Weinman: Childhood friend and former girlfriend of Dan Mollison.

John Xenakis: Wake Forest University junior, executive board member of Center for Awareness Response and Education peer-education group.

APPENDIX C
SOURCES RELATED TO METHODOLOGY

Models of Reporting and Structure

Abraham, Laurie. “Can This Marriage Be Saved?” *The New York Times*. 12 August 2007.

Abraham explores a couples-therapy group in Philadelphia. She discusses the background of the therapist in some detail and mostly leads the reader through the activities of the group. Of the most interest to me was the way Abraham illustrates group dynamics primarily with direct quotes as well as descriptions of gestures and expressions as I tried to do in my narrative.

Bissinger, H. G. *Friday Night Lights: A Town, A Team, And a Dream*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1990.

Bissinger documents a season of the Permian High School Panthers, a football team in Odessa, Texas. By narrating the experience of one season, Bissinger not only traces the dynamics and personalities of the team, but also explores its impact on Odessa. This is an example of immersive journalism. Bissinger spent four months with the team, going not only to team practices and meetings, but also to the homes and classes of its players in order to understand them and depict their humanity. In addition, Bissinger conducted countless interviews with other people in the surrounding community to try to understand the social, political and economic climate in which these players lived. This book served as a guide primarily for how I reported personalities of a group and the larger context for a narrative.

Blais, Madeleine. *In These Girls, Hope is a Muscle*. New York: Warner Books, 1995.

Blais documents one season in the life of the Amherst Lady Hurricanes, a high-school girls' basketball team. She offers a nice balance between illustrating the accomplishments of the group and capturing the personalities of individual players. This was particularly helpful as I attempted to do the same: capture the dynamics of a group while illuminating the motivations of individuals. But the parallels to my project ran deeper. Part of the author's motivation in writing this book came from the realization that the Amherst team represented a societal shift from her 1950s childhood, in which girls sat on the sidelines of athletics, to a 1990s America, where girls could thrive in the world of sports. I was motivated by an interest in a similar shift: the change from a society that primarily viewed sexual assault as a “women's issue” to a contemporary environment where male college graduates feel comfortable dedicating their professional lives to addressing the topic themselves. This served as an inspiration for profiling one group can allow an author to speak to a larger social and political trend. It also served as a structural guide to weaving narratives of individuals and a team.

Boo, Katherine. “Swamp Nurse.” *The New Yorker*. 6 February 2006. 54.

Boo profiles a Louisiana nurse who makes house calls to at-risk mothers to teach them how to raise their children and try to help them improve their quality of life. This is

a good example of how to weave a strong narrative with historical background and the results of research studies. Most importantly, Boo questions the validity of one character's research about his own program – an issue I confronted as well, as many of the studies about One in Four were conducted by its founder.

Didion, Joan. *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1961.

This is a collection of essays Didion published primarily in magazines in the mid-1960s. I would not consider all of these examples of literary journalism in the strictest sense. “Goodbye to All That” is a personal essay about a period of Didion's life spent in New York City and the evolution of emotions that resulted from her experiences. There is no evidence of extensive reporting or research there. However, Didion's gentle tone and candid reflexivity is inspiring. In addition, some of her selections are closer to the spirit of literary journalism. For instance, in “Some Dreamers of the Golden Dream,” Didion's investigation of Lucille Miller, a California woman convicted of first-degree murder, Didion opens with a lengthy description of the San Bernadino Valley where the story unfolds. This sets the scene and the mood for the piece and illustrates restraint in not rushing into a narrative that is powerful in itself. In addition, the book is peppered with Didion's reflections about her craft. Her admissions were reassuring to an aspiring writer.

Hall, Donald. *The Best Day The Word Day: Life with Jane Kenyon*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

Donald Hall weaves two stories together in this heartbreaking work. He alternates between tracing his courtship and life with his wife, Jane Kenyon, and telling the story of her leukemia and eventual death. The effectiveness of this vacillation between two narrative strands inspired motivated me to use a similar structure to weave together several threads in my own work. In particular, I tried to alternate between personal stories of One in Four staff and my journey on the North Carolina/South Carolina tour.

Harrington, Walt. *At the Heart of It: Ordinary People, Extraordinary Lives*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996.

A collection of stories originally published in the *Washington Post Magazine*, this anthology includes profiles of “ordinary” people ranging from a dying reverend to female soccer players on a high school team. Harrington manages to make the ordinary, in fact, extraordinary, through honest storytelling and the genuine sense of wonder and respect for his subjects. These stories were examples of strong character development and a belief in the strength of personal narratives, which was the basis for my work.

Kaplan, Laura. *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1995.

Kaplan describes the creation and evolution of Jane, an underground abortion service that worked with women in the years leading up to the Roe v. Wade decision. Kaplan was part of Jane herself, but she did quite a bit of reporting in order to confirm the details of her own memories and to include perspectives of others involved. This was

a good example of tracing the development of an organization and trying to illustrate group dynamics, especially around a politically charged issue.

Orlean, Susan. “Orchid Fever.” *The New Yorker*. 23 January 1995. 40.

This is the profile of John Laroche, a man who pled guilty for stealing endangered wild orchids, which led to Orlean’s book, *The Orchid Thief*. Several elements of literary journalism are apparent here. Orlean develops Laroche’s character quickly and vividly. Readers learn about his childhood obsessions, his speech patterns, and in turn develop quite a visceral sense of him. Orlean also conveys sympathy for and curiosity about a man so passionate about a plant most people know very little about. I felt the same sense of awe for the men I profiled in my project, and I tried to bring a similar sense of humility and respect for them in my work.

Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.

This book chronicles causes of and responses to the AIDS outbreak in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Shilts crafts a narrative not by focusing on the life of one particular character, but rather by tracing the life of an epidemic. The result is a page-turner that manages to capture the complex social and political climate of the 1980s that shaped the American response to AIDS. Shilts’ method was relevant because part of my work traced social responses to sexual assault.

***Spellbound*. Produced and Directed by Jeff Blitz, 1 hr. 37 min., HBO Cinemax Documentary Films, 2002.**

The film traces the paths of eight competitors to the National Spelling Bee, exposing both the capacity of the contest to inspire and also the danger of the related academic pressure. The film not only captures the intensity of the final competition, but also explores the backgrounds of each contestant. Blitz blends what are essentially eight student profiles into one cohesive film. This is a fine example of how to spin eight narratives around a central event and how to use visual detail and interview sound bites to convey senses of place and context.

Advice on Technique

Boynton, Robert. *The New New Journalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 2005.

This includes interviews with 19 of highly regarded literary journalists. Boynton asks these reporters to describe their writing and reporting processes including everything from how they find topics to what they as the purpose of the work. The authors offer snippets of wisdom and hints about how to imitate their approaches to the craft.

Cote, William and Roger Simpson, eds. *Covering Violence: A Guide to Ethical Reporting about Victims and Trauma*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

This is a comprehensive “how-to” guide to reporting on and writing about traumatic experiences. This addresses everything from ethical dilemmas about approaching victims of crimes to advice on how to process journalist emotions and what

type of details to include in describing assaults. Because I knew I might encounter victims of sexual assault in my reporting, this was especially helpful background information.

Gardner, John. *The Art of Fiction: Notes on Craft for Young Writers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

This book is divided into two parts: Part I outlines theory about fiction and Part II details Gardner's advice for creating it. I was interested primarily in the latter, as literary journalism seeks to use the techniques usually reserved for fiction writers. In pursuing such a project, it makes sense to learn about these storytelling techniques from those most familiar with them. Gardner works his way from a discussion of individual words and sentences to generalizations about the primary types of narrative structures.

Meyers, Marian. *News Coverage of Violence Against Women: Engendering Blame*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997.

In this qualitative textual analysis of coverage of violence against women, Meyers argues that such crimes have been presented in a way that reflects "traditional notions of appropriate gender roles...rooted in patriarchy" (3). From Meyers' perspective, female victims have been presented as "deviants worthy of condemnation" in mass media, and pushes for a feminist approach to such coverage (4). This is clearly only one way of looking at this coverage, but the perspective helped inform choices I made in my writing.

Franklin, Jon. *Writing for Story: Craft Secrets of Dramatic Non-fiction*. New York: Plume, 1986.

This guide offers advice for how to structure narrative non-fiction pieces and includes examples of work Franklin finds reflect his approach. Franklin primarily focuses on literary journalism that reads like a short story or a novel – seamlessly flowing from scene to scene. Franklin also discusses mechanics such as word choice and sentence structure.

Harrington, Walt. "A Writer's Essay: Seeking the Extraordinary in the Ordinary." *Intimate Journalism*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997.

In this essay, Harrington discusses suggestions for how to approach writing and reporting for intimate journalism. He also describes how he thinks about the craft in general, drawing on what he calls the "genealogy" of the form and the purpose he sees for it. He argues that intimate journalism is more than feature writing or telling human-interest stories, but rather an attempt to show the humanity of each subject in a way that evokes an emotional reaction from the reader. This purpose particularly resonated with me.

Kramer, Mark and Wendy Call eds. *Telling True Stories: A Non-fiction Writer's Guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*. New York: Plume, 2007.

This guidebook is arranged as a progression through the writing process, beginning with suggestions for finding topics and concluding with publishing completed works. Top literary journalists contribute tips by way of brief (usually one to five page)

passages describing how they approach their work. Of particular interest to me are Parts IV and VI: “Constructing a Structure” and “Ethics.”

Sims, Norman and Mark Kramer, eds. *Literary Journalism: A New Collection of the Best American Nonfiction*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995.

This collection includes brief biographies and works of fifteen literary journalists. “The Road is Very Unfair: Trucking Across Africa in the Age of AIDS” by Ted Conover was particularly relevant to my work as it, too, chronicles a road trip. Conover captures the sense of Africa through telling details and a first-person narrative that combines the story of his adventure with context about the larger social and political climate. In addition, Sims and Kramer each write introductory essays about creating literary journalism.

Zinsser, William. *On Writing Well: A Classic Guide to Writing Nonfiction*. New York: Collins, 1976.

This is a back-to-basics approach to crafting nonfiction writing. Zinsser gives readers bite-sized nuggets of literary wisdom in short chapters ranging from “The Audience” to “Writing about People: The Interview.” Of particular interest to me are “Enjoyment, Fear and Confidence,” a pep-talk for developing writers, and “Writing about Places: The Travel Article,” suggestions for capturing a sense of place in writing. Zinsser’s no-nonsense commitment to clear, concise writing inspired me during the writing and editing process.

Literary Inspiration: Passion, Voice, Tone

Boland, Eavan. *In a Time of Violence*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.

This is a collection of poems by Eavan Boland, a contemporary Irish poet who now teaches at Stanford University. She writes primarily of Ireland, motherhood and aging. I admire Boland’s crisp details and ruthless economy. When I was searching for a sense of my own voice, I turned to Boland’s words found here.

Hall, Donald. *Life Work*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

This is essentially an extended essay on Hall’s relationship to literary work, which also serves as an autobiographical framework. What is instructive about this work is not so much the content or technique but the tone and voice of Hall’s prose. The writing is tender and honest. It has a gentle cadence, and there is beauty in the way he writes. I returned to this book for a sense of tranquility before sitting down to write.

Kenyon, Jane. *Otherwise: New and Selected Poems*. St. Paul: Graywolf Press, 1996.

This anthology includes poems from nearly two decades of Kenyon’s life. Like Boland, Kenyon is a poet with a strong and confident yet humble, female voice. I respond to the passion of both women.

Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Letters to a Young Poet*. Trans. M. D. Herter Norton. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1934.

This collection contains translations of 10 letters poet Rainer Maria Rilke wrote to a student, Franz Xaver Kappus, around the turn of the twentieth century. His letters contain advice for deciding whether or not to embark on a career in literature and responses to drafts Kappus sent to him for review. I am more interested in the inspiration and reassurance Rilke provides to Kappus than his remarks on individual pieces. Rilke writes, “This above all – ask yourself in the stillest hour of your night: must I write?...And if this should be affirmative...then build your life accordingly to this necessity” (19). This passage prompted me, in part, to enroll at UNC. In the midst of this overwhelming project, I returned to those words on more than one occasion. In addition, Rilke advises, “I want to beg you, as much as I can, dear sir, to be patient toward all that is unsolved in your heart and to try to love the *questions themselves*...Do not now seek the answers, which cannot be given you because you would not be able to live them” (34-35). In the midst of a venture through uncharted waters and a very challenging topic, this plea for patience and faith was worth remembering as well.

Context: Critical and Historical Looks at the Form

Hartsock, John. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2000.

This is a scholarly approach to the study of literary journalism. It includes several critical essays that trace the foundation, evolution and reception of the form. In particular, Hartsock notes some elements of literary journalism present in the nineteenth century, which he claims culminated in the first era of literary journalism in the 1890s. This helps counter Wolfe’s argument that literary journalism came into its own in the 1960s. My historical look at the form included Hartsock’s perspective.

Jensen, Jay. “The New Journalism in Historical Perspective.” *Journalism History*. 1(2) 37 (Summer 1974).

This article provides a brief history of literary journalism. Of particular importance was the claim that the “new journalism” of the 1960s came in response to the social turmoil of the time.

Kerrane, Kevin and Ben Yagoda, eds. *The Art of Fact*. New York: Scribner, 1997.

This anthology of literary journalism includes works from Defoe to Didion. It spans several centuries and provides a rich history of the evolution of literary journalism. It also serves as a counterargument to Wolfe’s claim that literary journalism was “new” in the 1960s. Of particular importance are Yagoda and Kerrane’s introductory chapters, which discuss their selection criteria and their historical perspective. This was a foundation for my own definition of the form and influenced my understanding of its roots.

Webb, Joseph. “Historical Perspective on the New Journalism.” *Journalism History*. 1(2) 37 (Summer 1974).

This article provides a detailed explanation of the difference between the subjectivity of literary journalism and the objectivity of traditional journalism. This

provided a helpful lens through which to view the goals and purpose of literary journalistic pursuits and helped define what literary journalism is.

Wolfe, Tom and E. W. Johnson, eds. *The New Journalism*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973.

This historic anthology is a collection of literary journalism from the 1960s and early 1970s, but perhaps most important for me are the introductory chapters written by Tom Wolfe. Wolfe describes the “new journalism,” essentially another term for “literary journalism,” and claims that it is, in fact, new, though many critics have argued otherwise. I highlighted Wolfe’s assertions and used them to draw contrasts with those of several historians. I also found the enthusiasm his writing carries for the experimental spirit of literary journalism to be contagious.

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