

Attitudes Toward Date Rape Among University Students in South Korea

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Abstract The purpose of this study is to examine attitudes toward date rape among university students in South Korea. Participants included 163 students recruited from two universities in South Korea. Results show that male students were less rejecting of date rape-tolerant attitudes than female students were. Also, male students were less rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain conditions. Attending a sexual assault educational program was associated with more rejection of date rape-tolerant attitudes among females, but not among males. The results will be of particular value to advocates who provide rape prevention and victim intervention programs.

Keywords Date rape · Attitudes · South Korea · University students

Introduction

Although public awareness of rape has grown, date rape remains underrecognized and understudied in South Korea. Most studies about rape focus on rape in general, rather than date rape in particular. The purpose of this study is to examine attitudes toward date rape among university students in South Korea. Specifically, the present study investigates whether there are differences in attitudes toward date rape by gender and by attendance of sexual assault educational program. This study will provide valuable information on developing programs for rape prevention and victim intervention.

While date rape is often used as an exchangeable term for acquaintance rape in much of the literature, it is more appropriate to refer to date rape as one type of acquaintance rape (Bechhofer and Parrot 1991; Sampson 2002), which “involves nonconsensual sex between two people who are dating, whether it is a first date or an established relationship” (Shultz et al. 2000, p. 193). Although estimates of the prevalence of date rape vary across studies according to definitions used (Sawyer et al. 1998), studies conducted in the USA show that date rape is a serious problem, especially among adolescents and college students. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) found that nearly 15% of 341 college women surveyed experienced date rape. In her nationally representative sample of college students, Koss (1988) found that about 27% of women have experienced rape or attempted rape since the age of 14 and 57% of these sexual assaults occurred during a date. Schubot’s (2001) study using a random sample of South Dakota high school students in 1997 reported that almost 12% of female respondents had been forced to have sexual intercourse on a date. Of the few resources available, statistics show that date rape is a problem in South Korea as well. The Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center (2001) revealed that nearly 78% of all cases of

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sexual victimization reported to their hotline involved a perpetrator who was an acquaintance of the victim; dating partners accounted for 12% of the acquaintance perpetrators. In a sample of 531 college students in South Korea, Chang (2002) found that about 20% of respondents had experienced some kind of sexual victimization on a date during the previous year and approximately 6% were victims of date rape.

However, date rape is rarely recognized either as sexually abusive or as criminal (Ward 1995). Frazier and Seales (1997) reported that in a sample of students from a large Midwestern university in the United States, while 100% of women raped by strangers identified their experiences as rape, only half of those raped by an acquaintance did so. The failure to acknowledge that date rape is rape may reflect societal beliefs that “real rape is a rape by a stranger who uses a weapon—an assault done at night, outside, with a lot of violence, resistance by the victim, and hence severe wounds and signs of struggle” (Burt 1991, p. 27). Such a societal belief may imply that date rape is not really a crime and not as traumatizing as rape perpetrated by strangers. Date rape victims, however, suffer the same psychological effects as stranger rape victims, such as PTSD, anxiety, and depression (Bechhofer and Parrot 1991; Frazier and Seales 1997; Shapiro and Schwarz 1997).

Attitudes toward date rape in Korean society can be better understood within a cultural–historical framework. Korean society has been strongly influenced by Confucianism, which imparts different standards of sexual morality for men and women (Gil and Anderson 1999; Kim 2003). Under the influence of Confucianism, woman’s chastity is strongly emphasized, and woman’s sexuality is considered invisible and perceived to be controlled only by her husband for reproduction or his pleasure (Abraham 1999; Gil and Anderson 1999; Hong et al. 1993; Luo 2000). In South Korea, rape has historically been seen as an act of sex that violates a woman’s chastity and a victim of rape has been viewed as a woman who lost her chastity; therefore, a victim’s sexual history has been considered a core element in determining whether she deserves legal protection (Chang et al. 2003; Shim 1998, 2001). Until the mid-1990s, the offense of rape in South Korea was situated in the criminal code under the heading, *Crime Against Chastity*, which represents such societal perceptions. In 1994, to endorse stronger criminal penalties for sexual crimes and to protect victims, the Korean government passed the *Act on Punishment of Sexual Violence Crimes and Protection of Victims*. However, this Act still puts great emphasis on the elements of the “physical evidence of penetration,” “the level of resistance of the victim,” and “victim’s sexual history” as evidence to prove that a rape occurred (Han 1994; Chang et al. 2003). Societal emphasis

on the sexual components of rape may trivialize the impact of rape and shift the blame from the assailant to the victim under certain circumstances, such as when rape occurs during a date. In addition, since the victim is required to demonstrate having put up utmost resistance in order to be able to bring a charge against the perpetrator, when a victim is intoxicated or when rape occurs in either the victim’s or the perpetrator’s house, charges are often dismissed as the cases of *Hwa Kan*, Korean word for consent sex with someone that they are not married to, rather than the cases of *Kang Kan*, Korean word for rape (Chang et al. 2003). Under such societal perception, victims of date rape become often revictimized by the legal and judicial process. For example, in 2004, five teenage girls in South Korea were raped repeatedly by a group of teenage boys living in the same province. After the victims reported the incidents to the police, they were blamed for “embarrassing the hometown” by the police officer and were threatened by the boys’ families (Lee and Lee 2004). The society viewed the case as an episode that resulted from “bad” behaviors by some teenage girls dating boys rather than a perpetration of rape.

Attitudes toward date rape can be examined by discussing different underlying constructs of rape attitudes, such as attitudes toward victims of rape, motivation of perpetration of rape, and gender role stereotypes in sexual relations. Attitudes toward victims of rape are related to the victim blame and victim deservedness (e.g., “Rape of a woman by a man she knows can be defined as a woman who changed her mind afterward”; “Women who have had prior sexual relationships should not complain about rape”; “In the majority of date rapes the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation”; Feild 1978, p. 164; Lanier and Green 2006, p. 86; Ward 1988, p. 134). Another theme regarding attitudes is the belief that men’s sexual arousal is motivation for rape (e.g., “The reason most rapists commit rape is for sex”; “Date rapists are usually motivated by an overwhelming, unfulfilled sexual desire”; Feild 1978, p. 164; Lanier and Green 2006, p. 86). Gender role stereotypes in sexual relations can include female token resistance. Female token resistance, which refers to the idea that women say no to sex when they really mean yes (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh 1988, p. 872), has been focused on rape attitudes literatures because it may increase the likelihood of perpetration of rape, dismissing a woman’s genuine refusal to have sex as token refusal and/or being used as a justification for ignoring a woman’s verbal resistance (Krahé 1998; Krahé et al. 2000).

Factors that influence attitudes toward date rape have been identified in a number of studies using samples living in the United States (e.g., Anderson et al. 1997; Holcomb et al. 1991; Kassing et al. 2005). Gender is the most frequently examined variable, with males being less likely than females to reject date rape-supportive attitudes

(Holcomb et al. 1991; Lanier and Elliot 1997), more likely to blame the victims when date rape occurs (Harrison et al. 1991) and less likely to perceive a situation as date rape (Osman and Davis 1997). Such stronger rape-tolerant attitudes among men may be explained by patriarchal gender roles and expectations. In a patriarchal culture, men are taught to be dominant, rewarded for being tough, and encouraged to behave in sexually aggressive ways (Brinson 1992; DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005; Warshaw and Parrot 1991), and such values and beliefs are often reinforced through male peer groups (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 1998).

Attendance at a sexual assault educational program is considered a predictor of attitudes toward rape primarily because changing rape-tolerant attitudes is a common focus of these programs (Shultz et al. 2000). Several studies conducted in the United States have shown that people who had attended a sexual assault educational program were more likely to reject rape-tolerant attitudes than those who had completed these educational programs (Black et al. 2000; Hinck and Thomas 1999; Shultz et al. 2000; Szymanski et al. 1993), but not all research demonstrates such effects (Borden et al. 1988; Ellis et al. 1992). Several studies indicate that gender is a factor that explains such different results. Heppner et al.'s (1995) study evaluating the effectiveness of a sexual assault education program found that men showed more rebound toward their preprogram attitudes than women at the follow-up evaluation. Similarly, Lenihan et al. (1992) found positive significant changes only among female participants.

Although date rape is a problem in the Korean society, very little research has been conducted on attitudes toward date rape. Of the few research studies, Hong and Cho (2002) found that male students were less likely to reject the belief that forcible sex is acceptable in an intimate relationship and showed more victim-blaming attitudes than their female counterparts. Similarly, Shin (1993) found that male students were less likely to view forced sexual intercourse against a woman's will as a rape.

In this study, several hypotheses were posed. First, compared to male students in South Korea, female students would be more rejecting of date rape-tolerant attitudes and would be more rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain conditions. Second, compared to those who did not attend the program, students who attended a sexual assault educational program would be more rejecting of date rape-tolerant attitudes and would be more rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain conditions. Finally, the relationship between attitudes toward date rape (measured by the CDRAS and the FDR) and attendance of sexual assault educational program would differ by gender.

Method

Participants

Two hundred fifty surveys were distributed to undergraduate and graduate students in two universities in South Korea. One hundred sixty-three ($n=163$) college students completed the survey and the response rate was 65%. Of those 163 respondents, 57% were female and 43% were male. Eighty-two percent of the respondents were undergraduate students and 18% were graduate students. Their age ranged from 19 to 39, with a mean age of 23 ($SD=3.90$). Forty-five percent of the respondents said that they had attended a sexual assault educational program, while 55% had not.

Procedure

Participants were students enrolled in either undergraduate or graduate social work courses and the questionnaires were administered at the end of a regularly scheduled class period. The survey packet, which consisted of a cover letter and questionnaire, was distributed. Students were told that participation in this study was voluntary and no name or other identifying information would be collected. IRB approval of this study was obtained through the IRB process of University of Texas at Austin.

Measure

Attitudes toward date rape were assessed using the College Date Rape Attitudes Survey (CDRAS; Lanier and Green 2006) and the Attitudes Toward Forcible Date Rape (FDR) Scale (Fischer and Chen 1994)

The College Date Rape Attitudes Survey (CDRAS)

The College Date Rape Attitudes Survey (CDRAS) includes 17 items measuring attitudes related to date rape in the context of heterosexual college dating. All items on the instrument were scored on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree. High scores indicate that a student is less tolerant of date rape. With the 17 statements of CDRAS, Cronbach's alpha of the scale was .83 (Lanier and Green 2006). Internal-consistency values (coefficient alpha) were .79 for the Korean version of the CDRAS. Using principal components analysis, Lanier and Green (2006) presented four independent factors in the CDRAS scale: *entitlement*, *blame shifting*, *traditional roles*, and *overwhelming sexual arousal*. In the current study, though the coefficient alpha of the CDRAS for all the 17 items was acceptable, .79, most

subscales did not display acceptable alphas (below .60). Therefore, the subscales were not included in the analyses.

The Attitudes Toward Forcible Date Rape (FDR) Scale

The Attitudes Toward Forcible Date Rape (FDR) Scale consists of a forcible date rape vignette by Mahoney (1983) and six items measuring attitudes toward forcible date rape (Fischer and Chen 1994). For the current study, a forcible date rape vignette was presented to the participants and students were asked to indicate the extent to which the male behavior in the vignette is acceptable for each of the six different circumstances, such as “If she had gotten him sexually excited,” “If they had dated each other for a long time,” and “If she was going to have intercourse with him, then changed her mind.” Fischer and Chen (1994) reported that the FDR scale is unidimensional, which measure attitudes toward the use of force to have sex in a sexual interaction with a date. The items were scored on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) definitely acceptable to

(5) definitely unacceptable. Higher scores indicate less acceptance of the use of force to have sex on a date. With the six statements of the FDR, the scale has a Cronbach’s alpha of .92 (Fischer and Chen 1994). The coefficient alpha for the Korean version of the FDR was .85.

Participants were also asked several demographic questions and whether they had attended any educational programs on sexual assault. However, comparisons among program curricula length and format were not evaluated.

Translation

The questionnaires were translated from English into Hangul (the Korean language) by bilingual Korean graduate students. A blind back translation by other Korean students was used to check for accuracy, sensitivity, and validity of the translation. Wilkinson and McNeil (1996) recommend this two-step translation process for cross-cultural assessment. Both the English and the translated version of the instruments were reviewed by a Korean–American professor to

Table 1 Mean and *SD* of the CDRAS scale among Korean university students.

	All (<i>N</i> =163) mean (<i>SD</i>)	Male (<i>N</i> =69) mean (<i>SD</i>)	Female (<i>N</i> =93) mean (<i>SD</i>)
CDRAS overall score ^a	3.66 (.49)	3.51 (.48)	3.77 (.48)
CDRAS item scores			
Most women enjoy being submissive in sexual relations	3.57 (.89)	3.61 (.93)	3.54 (.87)
If a woman dresses in a sexy dress she is asking for sex	3.85 (1.05)	3.58 (.99)	4.04 (1.05)
If a woman asks a man out on a date then she is definitely interested in having sex	4.47 (.66)	4.26 (.72)	4.63 (.57)
In the majority of date rapes the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation	4.00 (.99)	3.90 (1.05)	4.08 (.95)
A man is entitled to intercourse if his partner had agreed to it but at the last moment changed her mind	4.09 (1.03)	4.12 (.85)	4.06 (1.15)
Many women pretend they don’t want to have sex because they don’t want to appear “easy”	2.90 (1.23)	2.80 (1.11)	2.96 (1.32)
A man can control his behavior no matter how sexually aroused he feels ^b	3.37 (1.03)	3.23 (1.02)	3.47 (1.04)
The degree of a woman’s resistance should be a major factor in determining if a rape has occurred	3.02 (1.21)	3.06 (1.14)	3.01 (1.26)
When a woman says “no” to sex what she really means is “maybe”	3.19 (1.12)	3.30 (1.03)	3.11 (1.18)
If a woman lets a man buy her dinner or pay for a movie or drinks, she owes him sex	4.65 (.70)	4.57 (.81)	4.72 (.60)
Women provoke rape by their behavior	3.77 (1.01)	3.59 (1.00)	3.91 (1.01)
Women often lie about being raped to get back at their dates	3.65 (1.03)	3.42 (.91)	3.83 (1.09)
It is okay to pressure a date to drink alcohol in order to improve one’s chances of getting one’s date to have sex	4.17 (.92)	3.97 (.98)	4.33 (.84)
When a woman asks her date back to her place, I expect that something sexual will take place	3.25 (1.07)	3.01 (1.01)	3.43 (1.10)
Date rapists are usually motivated by an overwhelming, unfulfilled sexual desire	3.33 (1.16)	3.06 (1.12)	3.54 (1.16)
In most cases when a woman was raped she was asking for it	3.95 (1.01)	3.58 (1.03)	4.22 (.91)
When a woman fondles a man’s genitals it means she has consented to sexual intercourse	2.94 (1.30)	2.64 (1.26)	3.16 (1.31)

^a Higher scores indicate little agreement on statement.

^b The score was reversed.

Table 2 Mean and *SD* of the FDR scale among Korean university students.

	All (<i>N</i> =163) mean (<i>SD</i>)	Male (<i>N</i> =69) mean (<i>SD</i>)	Female (<i>N</i> =93) mean (<i>SD</i>)
FDR overall score ^a	3.06 (.84)	2.75 (.78)	3.31 (.80)
FDR item scores			
If she had gotten him sexually excited	2.86 (1.09)	2.45 (.93)	3.17 (1.10)
If she let him touch her breasts	2.85 (1.18)	2.51 (1.11)	3.11 (1.18)
If they had dated each other for a long time	3.58 (1.09)	3.33 (1.08)	3.77 (1.06)
If she was going to have intercourse with him and then changed her mind	3.19 (1.11)	2.93 (1.14)	3.41 (1.05)
If she led him on	2.47 (1.04)	2.19 (.93)	2.67 (1.09)
If he was so sexually excited he couldn't stop	3.43 (1.13)	3.07 (1.12)	3.71 (1.07)

^aHigher scores indicate little agreement on statement.

ensure that the translations were correct and that the content was the same. For equivalence of terms in the two versions, the word of rape was worded *Kangkan*, the Korean word for rape.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The results of preliminary analyses indicate that, based on the overall CDRAS score, respondents were somewhat intolerant, or answered between “neutral” and “disagree”, to date rape-tolerant statements ($M=3.66$, $SD=.49$). The mean score of each item in the CDRAS was also examined. Items reflecting the idea of token resistance, such as item 6 and item 9, were among the items with the lowest mean scores: The mean score of the item 6 (“Many women pretend they do not want to have sex because they don't want to appear easy”) was the lowest among 17 items ($M=2.90$; $SD=1.23$) and the mean score of the item 9 (“When a woman says no to sex what she really means is maybe”) was the fourth lowest ($M=3.19$; $SD=1.12$). Both male and female students showed quite strong belief regarding female's use of token resistance: especially the item 6 had the second lowest mean for males ($M=2.80$; $SD=1.11$) and the lowest mean for females ($M=2.96$; $SD=1.32$). Items related to the belief that sex is motivation for rape, such as item 7, 15 and 17, were also among the items with the lowest mean values. Item 17 (“When a woman fondles a man's genitals it means she has consented to sexual intercourse”) had the lowest mean for males ($M=2.64$; $SD=1.26$) and the fourth lowest mean for females ($M=3.16$; $SD=1.31$). Table 1 presents mean scores for the overall CDRAS scale and each item.

The overall FDR score ($M=3.06$, $SD=.84$) suggests that respondents were mostly “not sure” about whether the described vignette was “acceptable” or “unacceptable” under certain conditions. Item 5 (“If she had let him on”)

had the lowest mean scores for both men ($M=2.19$, $SD=.93$) and women ($M=2.67$, $SD=1.09$), which means that both male and female students least reject the use of force to have sex on a date under the situation, if she led him on. Table 2 presents mean scores for the overall FDR scale and each item.

Multivariate Analyses

Considering both the significant correlation, $r(163)=.50$, $p<.001$ and conceptual similarity between what the CDRAS and the FDR measure, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with gender and previous attendance at a sexual assault educational program as independent variables was performed instead of two separate univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) for the CDRAS and the FDR as dependent variables. As presented in Table 3, the multivariate test result, Wilks' lambda=.96, $F(2, 157)=3.64$, $p=.029$,

Table 3 Factorial MANOVA: CDRAS and FDR by gender and program attendance.

	Wilks' lambda	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	
				Between Group	Error
Gender (G)					
Multivariate test	.85	13.64	2	157	<.001
Univariate test					
CDRAS		13.82	1	158	<.001
FDR		24.41	1	158	<.001
Program attendance (PA)					
Multivariate test	.98	1.48	2	157	.231
Univariate test					
CDRAS		2.01	1	158	.159
FDR		2.26	1	158	.135
G×PA					
Multivariate test	.96	3.64	2	157	.029
Univariate test					
CDRAS		2.72	1	158	.101
FDR		7.01	1	158	.009

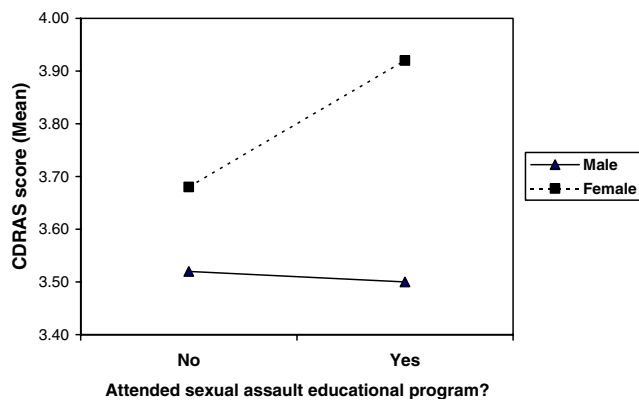


Fig. 1 Effect of attending sexual assault educational program on CDRAS.

indicates that there exists an interaction between effects of gender and previous attendance at a sexual assault awareness program to Korean college students' attitudes toward date rape.

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate the differences in the effects of previous attendance at a sexual assault educational program on the CDRAS and the FDR by gender, respectively. Female students who attended a program were significantly more rejecting of date rape-supportive attitudes measured by the CDRAS than those who did not, $t(54)=2.17$, $p=.035$. On the other hand, previous attendance at a program does not have a significant effect on male students, $t(67)=.15$, $p=.880$. Similarly, female students who attended a program were more rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain circumstances measured by the FDR than those who did not, $t(50)=2.85$, $p=.006$. On the other hand, previous attendance at a program does not have a significant effect on male students, $t(67)=.76$, $p=.453$.

Given the significant interaction effects between students' gender and prior attendance at a sexual assault awareness program, the main effects were interpreted. The multivariate

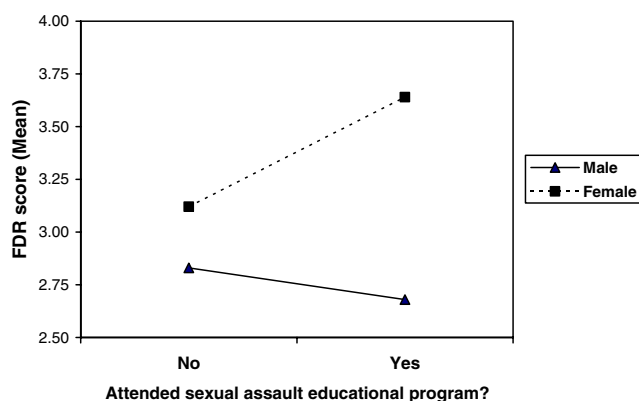


Fig. 2 Effects of attending sexual assault educational program on FDR.

test results indicate a gender difference in the CDRAS and the FDR scores collectively, Wilks' Lambda=.85, $F(2, 157)=13.64$, $p<.001$. Univariate analysis results show that the mean difference between male and female students was significant for the CDRAS, $F(1, 158)=13.82$, $p<.001$. Compared to female students ($M=3.77$, $SD=.48$), male students ($M=3.51$, $SD=.48$) were less rejecting of date rape-tolerant attitudes. Results also indicated that the mean difference between male and female students was significant for the FDR, $F(1, 158)=24.41$, $p<.001$. Compared to female students ($M=3.31$, $SD=.80$), male students ($M=2.75$, $SD=.78$) were less rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain conditions.

The main effect of previous attendance at a sexual assault awareness program in the multivariate test was not statistically significant, Wilks' lambda=.98, $F(2, 157)=1.48$, $p=.231$. Univariate analysis results show that the mean difference between the two groups was not significant for the CDRAS, $F(1, 158)=2.01$, $p=.159$ or the FDR, $F(1, 158)=2.26$, $p=.135$. Mean scores of students who had attended a sexual educational program (for the CDRAS, $M=3.70$, $SD=.55$; for the FDR, $M=3.13$, $SD=1.00$) were not significantly different from those of students who had not (for the CDRAS, $M=3.63$, $SD=.44$; for the FDR, $M=3.02$, $SD=.68$).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine attitudes toward date rape among university students in South Korea. Mean scores of the CDRAS and the FDR indicate higher levels of date rape tolerant attitudes among Korean students, especially in comparison to mean scores found in similar studies with US college students (Lanier and Green 2006; Fischer and Chen 1994). Higher rates of tolerant attitudes toward date rape among Korean students may be supported by the studies comparing rape attitudes between Asian and US populations (Yamawaki and Tschanz 2005; Ward 1988; Ward et al. 1988). For example, a cross-cultural study of 15 countries (Ward et al. 1988) reported that Asian countries exhibited more negative attitudes toward rape victims in comparison to the USA. Item analyses for the CDRAS reveal that students showed less rejection especially toward items reflecting female token resistance and sex as a motivation for rape. These findings may not be surprising in Korean society, which historically views female sexuality only in terms of reproduction, keeps women silent about their sexuality, and treats rape as an act of sex rather than act of violence.

Regarding gender differences, male students were less rejecting of date-rape supportive attitudes than female

students were. Also, male students were less rejecting of the belief that the use of force to have sex on a date is acceptable under certain conditions. These results replicate the findings of the previous studies conducted in the USA (Fischer and Chen 1994; Holcomb et al. 1991; Harrison et al. 1991; Lanier and Elliot 1997; Osman and Davis 1997) and in South Korea (Hong and Cho 2002; Shin 1993).

Another interesting finding involves the interaction between gender and previous attendance at a sexual assault educational program. Multivariate analyses found that attending a sexual assault educational program was associated with more rejection of date rape-tolerant attitudes among females, but not among males. This finding may be supported by Heppner et al.'s (1995) study and Lenihan et al.'s (1992) study, which indicated that the effects of sexual assault educational program differed across gender. In both studies, females were consistently bigger beneficiaries than males in terms of attitudinal change following an educational program. Most universities in South Korea provide sexual assault education during new student orientation week. Although attendance at the program is not mandatory, it may be possible that female attendees are more motivated to hear presentation than their male counterparts, which may lead to more attitudinal change among female attendees. To better understand the effects of attendance at an educational program on rape attitudes, future study needs to include such variables as a reason for attendance, content relevancy and motivation.

There are several limitations to this study that must be acknowledged. First, convenience samples from two universities limit the generalizability of the results; therefore, the results cannot be generalized to all college students in South Korea. Second, the somewhat low response rate (65%) may have biased the results if students who refused to participate were either more or less likely to be aware of the issues of rape than were those who participated. Third, it is possible there was a risk of socially desirable responses, since the topic of this study is a very sensitive issue. Finally, this study did not ask about the educational program that students attended, such as program curriculum, length or format of the program, and reason for attendance. Therefore, results for this study regarding the effects of previous attendance at an educational program on date rape attitudes should be viewed only as a tentative indication. It should be acknowledged that differences in attitudes between those who had and had not attended a sexual assault education program are not evidence that attendance at the program caused attitude change.

In spite of these limitations, the findings of this study have important implications for the design of programs for increasing sexual assault awareness. Despite extensive sexual assault education and research over the last 25 years, we still face the feminization of this issue. In Korean

society, and perhaps also in the USA, men are likely to believe that rape is a women's issue. Sexual assault prevention projects or campaigns that target men, such as *Men Can Stop Rape* and *Men Against Violence* in the USA, are very limited in South Korea. Much of our previous efforts have been focused on protecting women from sexual assault, rather than changing male knowledge about or attitudes toward rape. Rape-tolerant societies trivialize the seriousness of rape (Hall et al. 1986) and discourage victims from disclosing assaults and seeking treatment (Thompson and West 1992). Undoubtedly, educational and preventive efforts are best aimed at eliminating beliefs that rape may be justified under certain circumstances and other victim-blaming attitudes. Moreover, curricula should be constructed to take audience gender into consideration. Schewe and O'Donohue (1996) argue that although "rape prevention is a men's issue" (p. 45), the majority of rape prevention programs are targeted toward women. Development of rape prevention programming should be targeted toward men. The findings of this study indicate that effective methods of education for men and women may also vary. In addition, such efforts should be targeted in university settings and in family, workplace and religious institutions on a consistent basis. It seems plausible that these programs are probably best offered by sexual assault advocates who can teach a specific gender-focused curriculum to men and boys with the aim of increasing knowledge and awareness about rape and empathy and sensitivity toward victims. Moreover, the focus of these programs should also include strategies about how men can and should help prevent sexual violence in their communities. Issues such as power and control, entitlement, gender roles, and equity in intimate relationships should also be addressed.

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