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Walking the walk or just talk?: A global examination of men's intentions to take violence

preventative action

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Abstract

Given the increasing prominence of both bystander-based approaches to gender-based violence (GBV) prevention and of proactively engaging men and boys to join efforts to end GBV, understanding the factors that support men's anti-violence bystander behavior is important. This study examined correlates of willingness to engage in violence preventative bystander behavior in a global sample of 299 adult men engaged in GBV prevention events or work. Participants came from over 50 countries and provided data via an online, anonymous survey available in English, Spanish and French. Path analysis was used to model participants' willingness to engage in a variety of violence preventative behaviors in the future, with variable selection guided by the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) and by research implicating gender-related attitudes in bystander willingness and behavior. Findings suggest that bystander willingness was supported by past bystander behavior, self-efficacy to engage in bystander behavior, positive beliefs about the contributions of anti-violence involvement, and by an awareness of male privilege. Social network support for GBV prevention work, and support for gender equity were not significant correlates of bystander willingness in the full path model. These findings held across participants from the Global North and Global South, suggesting that self-efficacy, an awareness of male privilege, and positive attitudes toward anti-violence work are factors which may support men's violence preventative actions across broad regional contexts.

Keywords: Bystander, engaging men, gender-based violence, prevention, sexual assault, intimate partner violence

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As global efforts to prevent gender-based violence (GBV) mature, two interrelated trends are becoming central to the ways in which violence prevention programming is conceptualized and implemented. First, proactively engaging men and boys as partners and allies in ending GBV has become a widely accepted, core element of reducing GBV. This trend emerges from a solidifying recognition that men's participation is crucial to challenging and ultimately eradicating a problem which, globally, is largely perpetrated by males (e.g., Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2014). Second, both within men's engagement efforts, and parallel to them, GBV prevention efforts increasingly incorporate "bystander" approaches. Bystander-based prevention programming engages community members and builds their capacity and skills to recognize, respond to, and disrupt disrespectful behavior or situations that might lead to sexual assault or intimate partner violence (Banyard, Moynihan & Plante, 2007). Bystander-based prevention is becoming a commonplace strategy on North American college campuses (see for review, Katz & Moore, 2013), and encouraging positive bystander behavior is often among the aims of programs that seek to mobilize men and boys to take action to address GBV in their communities.

As the implementation of and scholarship regarding bystander-based prevention expands, attention is increasingly focused on understanding the factors that support or hinder individuals' willingness to intervene in violence-related behavior or situations. Although encouraging these behaviors is a common goal in programming for boys and men, research focusing specifically on the factors that support men's willingness to be a 'proactive' bystander is needed, particularly in samples outside of North America. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to test correlates of

willingness to engage in actions that could help to reduce GBV in a global sample of men who participate in violence prevention events or work.

Bystander Approaches to Prevention: The State of the Evidence

Evidence of the impact of bystander-based prevention programming is growing, primarily from U.S. secondary and post-secondary school contexts. Bystander programs addressing teen dating violence in the U.S. have been shown to increase participants' willingness to intercede on behalf of peers (see for review, Storer, Casey, & Herrenkohl, 2016), and a recent review of campus-based bystander programs documented that, overall, these efforts increased the frequency with which both male and female participants subsequently intervened in situations that could lead to a sexual assault (Katz & Moore, 2013). Very recent research demonstrates that campus contexts that implement bystander-based prevention programs such as Green Dot can experience reductions in overall rates of sexual assault and other forms of victimization (Coker et al., 2015).

Evidence of the effectiveness of programs outside of North America that encourage violence preventative behaviors is somewhat more sparse, in part because "bystander" components in these efforts may be just one of many aims and strategies embedded in larger programs. However, several programs specifically aimed at engaging men and boys in GBV prevention include the uptake of bystander behaviors and anti-violence activism as a goal, including *Project H*, a comprehensive sexual health promotion and GBV violence curriculum originating in South America (Promundo, 2002), and *One Man Can*, a gender-justice and family health promotion program developed in South Africa (Hendricks et al., 2013). Further, some promising evidence specific to increasing bystander behavior is emerging across global regions. A pilot evaluation of *Parivartan* (an adaptation of the U.S.-based Coaching Boys into Men)

found that it successfully increased gender equitable attitudes and decreased negative bystander responses (such as joining into disrespectful behavior toward girls) among 10-16 year old male cricket players in India (Miller et al., 2014). Other encouraging findings come from a control group comparison test of the program *Your Moment of Truth* in Kenya, which documented an increase among male adolescents in intervening in harassment or potential physical or sexual assaults (Keller et al., 2017). Collectively, this research suggests the global promise of fostering the capacity and skills for violence preventative action among men, and indicates the importance of better understanding the factors that best support men to enact these behaviors across contexts.

Predictors of Bystander Behavior and Intentions

Scholarship regarding the factors that support or hinder bystander behavior has expanded rapidly, particularly with respect to predictors of youth and college student intervening behavior. Much less research has examined how adult men weigh decisions about whether and how to take action to prevent GBV, with virtually no research that we can locate examining this outside of North America. On the whole, adolescent and college age men in the U.S. are less likely than young women to intervene in situations that could lead to sexual assault (Edwards et al., 2015; Hoxmeier, Acock & Flay, 2017; McMahon, 2010), rendering it important to identify modifiable factors that are particularly salient to increasing the likelihood that men are willing to engage in bystander behavior. Indeed, ideas about masculinity and gender-related attitudes are implicated in men's willingness to take action. In samples of college-age men in the U.S., endorsing victim blaming attitudes (McMahon, 2010), perceiving that one's masculinity could be called into question or scrutinized (Leone, Parrott, Swartout & Tharp, 2016), or adhering to male gender norms of toughness (Leone, et al., 2016) are associated with decreased confidence in and willingness to intervene to reduce GBV. Qualitative evidence suggests that even men who self-

identified as anti-violence allies feel constrained by perceived masculine norms that proscribe

challenging other men or impeding their sexual access to women when deciding whether to

intervene in problematic peer behavior (Casey & Ohler, 2012).

Emerging evidence also suggests the salience of the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB;

Ajzen, 1991) as a useful framework for capturing many of the cognitive and social normative

factors that support or hinder bystander behavior (e.g., Hoxmeier, 2016; McMahon et al., 2014).

The TPB asserts that behavior (in this case, taking action to address disrespectful or abusive

behavior toward women) is predicted by individuals' intentions to engage in that behavior. Prior

research has indeed shown that willingness to engage in intervening behavior predicts future

bystander actions among U.S. college students (McMahon et al., 2015). Intentions are then

predicted by attitudes, (defined as affective evaluations of potential outcomes of that behavior),

perceived social norms (beliefs about what important others would approve of or do themselves),

and perceived behavioral control, an individuals' self-efficacy to engage in the behavior. As a

whole, the TPB has been shown to distinguish between interveners and non-interveners in

situations associated with campus-based sexual assault in the U.S. (Hoxmeier, 2016).

Each construct within the TPB may also be useful for identifying modifiable bystander-

related beliefs, skills, and perceptions that can be targeted in prevention interventions to foster

increased violence prevention willingness, and specifically among men. For example, consistent

with the TPB construct of social norms, college-age men in the U.S. are less willing to try to take

action in situations that could lead to a sexual assault if they perceive their male peers as

reluctant to intervene (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Similarly, youth in the U.S. report that

their assessments of the potential outcomes associated with intervening in bullying and teen

dating violence (attitudes) impact their willingness to take action (Edwards et al., 2015). Finally,

multiple studies show the central importance of possessing the skills for intervening (self-efficacy), for U.S. colleges students addressing potential sexual assaults (Burn, 2009; Hoxmeier et al., 2016), and Italian youth responding to bullying (Pozzoli & Gini, 2012).

Pinpointing the specific gender-related beliefs, normative perceptions, and attitudes toward intervening that are associated with the uptake of bystander behaviors can inform the tailoring of GBV prevention interventions across contexts. Identifying these cognitive correlates of violence preventative behavior may also augment the contributions of other bystander behavior frameworks such as the Situational Model of Bystander Behavior (Latané & Darley, 1969), which shares the construct of self-efficacy and identifies more situation-specific predictors of helpful bystander responses. The purpose of this exploratory study was therefore to examine correlates of bystander willingness in an international sample of men who participate in GBV prevention events or work. Although we could not precisely replicate all constructs in the TPB, this framework guided variable selection in the analysis. More specifically, we aimed to 1) describe men's willingness (intentions) to use a variety of both proactive and reactive bystander behaviors to address GBV, 2) test the utility of gender related attitudes and correlates selected based on guidance from the TPB for modeling willingness to engage in bystander behaviors, and 3) examine variance in correlates of bystander willingness across broad geographic regions.

Methods

Procedures

All study procedures were approved by the University of Washington Institutional Review Board. Data were from a larger study of the experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of men around the world who participate in violence prevention events or work. Data were collected through an anonymous online survey available in English, Spanish and French.

Outreach to survey respondents was accomplished through emailed invitations (also in English, Spanish and French) posted on violence and prevention-related list serves, and sent to over 400 organizations globally that are involved in GBV response and prevention. Organizations were identified via publicly available contact information, and were contacted twice each with information about the survey and requests to forward the survey link to possibly eligible participants. Eligibility criteria included identifying primarily as male, being 18 years of age or older, and attending some kind of GBV prevention event (e.g. a discussion group, educational event, or community event), or being involved in violence prevention work as a volunteer or employee in the past year. Interested individuals receiving the survey invitation email could then click on a link to access the survey in their preferred language. The survey wording was translated from English into Spanish and French, with back-translation conducted for accuracy. The survey was pilot tested by native speakers in all three languages, and adjustments were subsequently made to enhance accuracy, and to maximize cross-language consistency in question meanings. Respondents were not offered incentives to participate.

As noted above, data for these analyses came from a parent study with a larger aim related to understanding the range of violence prevention events happening around the world, and the perceptions and characteristics of the men attending those events. This study presents unique findings regarding correlates of bystander willingness not summarized elsewhere; findings regarding the nature of prevention events attended by men, their pathways to involvement in those events, and the nature of their violence-related involvement can be found in Carlson et al., 2017, Casey et al., 2017 and Tolman et al., 2016, respectively.

Sample

The sample for the analyses described here included 299 participants. While just over 400 individuals responded to the survey, only respondents with full data regarding geographic location and the outcome variable were retained for analysis; missing data on these items may be attributable to their location near the end of an admittedly long survey. Participants in this sample were between the ages of 18 to "over 65" (m= 41.30, sd = 13.52). Length of anti-violence involvement among participants ranged from less than one year to nearly 22 years, with 56% reporting involvement of five years or less, 38% reporting 6-15 years of involvement, and 5.1% reporting more than 16 years of involvement. Approximately 62.2% of participants were employed at a violence prevention-related organization at the time of survey completion, 22.7% had volunteered with an organization, and 15.1% of participants were not formally employed nor volunteering at a relevant organization.

Regionally, approximately 9.4% of participants were from Africa, 5.7% from Asia, 10.7% from Europe, 16.1% from Latin America and the Caribbean (inclusive of Mexico), 57.2% from North America (49.6% from the U.S. and 7.6% from Canada), and 1.0% from Oceania. To parse out the over-representation of participants from North America and Europe, and in recognition that these regions, along with Australia, have more established bystander-based programming, participants from the Australia, Canada, Europe, and the U.S. were categorized as residing in the Global North and comprised 68.9% of the sample. All other respondents were categorized as residing in the Global South. This was done to reduce the extent to which Global North participants' perceptions were driving findings. We recognize that these are broad, incredibly internally heterogeneous regions. Testing a multi-group model as described below with smaller regions was not possible with the sample size available here, however (suggested

minimum sample for each group in a multi-group model is 100; Kline (2005)). At the same time, we did not feel it was defensible to present findings for the sample as a whole given the overrepresentation of North American participants in particular.

Measures

Survey items were developed largely from previous qualitative work by the research team, and in consultation with practitioners. The survey was pilot tested with practitioners in multiple countries prior to finalization. Variables included in the analyses described here were selected based on guidance from the TPB and previous research documenting the role of gender-related attitudes in bystander willingness and behavior. As testing correlates of bystander willingness was not a primary aim of the project as a whole, constructs from TPB could not be exactly matched. Below we describe our approach to measuring our outcome variable (willingness to engage in bystander behavior) and the correlates of that variable, respectively.

Outcome variable: Willingness to engage in bystander behaviors. Willingness to engage in bystander behaviors over the next six months is the outcome variable in these analyses; this maintains the temporal ordering of our approach to measuring violence preventative willingness and behavior, respectively. Bystander behavior items in our survey asked about specific behaviors that participants used in the six months prior to taking the survey, and thus data regarding behavior precedes in time information about participants' bystander-related willingness. Items assessing bystander willingness were developed for this study, informed by existing scales such as the Bystander Efficacy Scale (Banyard et al., 2007). Eleven possible behaviors were included in the scale, inclusive of both proactive (e.g. talking to a younger man or relative about respect in relationships) and reactive (e.g. helping a woman who was being harassed to be safe) behaviors that men could take in their daily lives to prevent

violence. Willingness items started with the stem "In the next 6 months, how willing are you to…" with response options ranging from 1 "not at all willing" to 7 "very willing." An overall mean score across the items was computed; Cronbach's alpha for the bystander willingness items was .91 in this sample.

Correlates of bystander willingness. Consistent with the TPB, we selected variables that best matched the attitudes, norms, and perceived behavioral control constructs as defined by the TPB model. Perceived behavioral control, or *bystander self-efficacy*, was measured via an 11-item scale using the same behavioral examples as the willingness scale described above, and followed guidance from the Bystander Efficacy Scale (Banyard et al., 2007). The stem for the items was "how confident are you that you could… [take each of the listed actions] with response options ranging from 1 "not at all confident" to 7 "very confident." Mean self-efficacy scores were calculated; the alpha for self-efficacy items for this sample was .89.

As defined by the TPB, social norms are perceptions of what important referents want the respondent to do, or would do themselves. In these analyses, *social network norms* were assessed by asking respondents to indicate what proportion of the men in their social networks "would be willing to participate in events like the one you attended." Four reference groups were assessed; friends, family, co-workers, and community members. Response options ranged from 1 "none," 2 "a few," 3 "about half," 4 "most," and 5 "all," and a mean score was derived across the four reference groups.

Because we did not have a directly corresponding construct for attitudes toward bystander behaviors, as defined by the TPB, we used a 17-item scale measuring respondents' *beliefs about their anti-violence contributions* over time. These questions were developed based on two previous qualitative studies by the team with U.S.-based and global samples, respectively

(authors, blinded for review), in consultation with and pilot tested by current prevention practitioners. These items were also informed by the conceptual model of ally development proposed by Edwards (2006). Items described possible outcomes of anti-violence involvement, and reasons for maintaining that involvement such as "I can make a difference in this problem," "It helps improve my relationships with women," "I would like to expand ideas about masculinity and what it means to be a man," and "I want the world to be safer for my children." Respondents were asked to rate each item on a scale that ranged from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree." A mean score was derived across items; internal consistency for these items in this sample was .74.

In addition to the constructs selected for their congruence to the TPB, consistent with previous literature, we also examined the contribution of gender-related attitudes, and of past bystander behavior to future willingness to engage in violence prevention. For the former, two subscales from the Male Gender Equality Scale (Allen, 2010) were used to assess *support for gender equality* and *recognition of male privilege,* respectively. Sample items for the support for gender equality subscale include "I value women's and men's intellect equally," and "It bothers me that some men use power to have sexual control over women." Items in the recognition of male privilege scale include "I have changed some of my beliefs and behaviors in order to become less sexist." Response options spanned a three-point scale inclusive of -1 "disagree," 0 "neither agree nor disagree," and 1 "agree." Overall mean scores for each scale were computed. Cronbach's alpha for gender equity and male privilege items for the participants included in these analyses were .76 and .80, respectively.

Prior bystander behaviors were assessed using identical items to the willingness and self-efficacy items, and simply asked whether the respondent had used each behavior (yes/no) in the past six months. 'Yes' responses were summed for an overall bystander behavior score.

Demographics. Participants gave their age in years; response options were capped at 64 or older to attenuate an unwieldy drop-down menu for this survey item. As preliminary bivariate analyses revealed age to be significantly correlated with willingness to engage in bystander behaviors (but not other study variables), it was included in the model as covariate of the outcome variable. The United Nations (UN) list of countries was used to elicit country of residence, and to group countries into larger geographic regions (UN, 2013).

Analysis Approach

Aim 1, which was to examine men's willingness to use various bystander behaviors, was addressed descriptively by examining the mean bystander willingness score for each bystander item among men in the Global North and Global South, respectively. Aims 2 and 3 were to test the contributions of TPB and attitudinal constructs to bystander willingness, and to assess invariance of relationships between these variables across broad global regions. We used path analysis to address aims 2 and 3 and examined regional variance in correlates of bystander willingness by assessing invariance of the path coefficients of our hypothesized, TPB-informed model across participants in the Global North and Global South (see for reference, figures 1 and 2). Testing for invariance was accomplished by comparing two models. First, we examined whether the pattern of relations among study variables was comparable by specifying an unrestricted baseline model (i.e. no parameter constraints are specified). We then compared the unrestricted model to a second model where all paths were constrained to be invariant across groups. To assess fit of each individual model, we used the widely accepted criteria articulated

by Hu and Bentler (1999). A model demonstrates a good fit to the data when: the chi-square (χ2) test is non-significant, a χ2/df ratio < 3, the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA) value ≤ .06, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) value ≥ .95, and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) ≤ .08. Because the second constrained model is nested within the unrestricted model, the change in fit is assessed by comparing fit indices across models. Traditionally, model comparisons are made by examining the change in the (χ2) statistic. However, it has been noted that the χ2 statistic is particularly sensitive to sample size and should be used in conjunction with other model fit statistics (Barrett, 2007). When testing nested models (as is the case in measurement invariance), it is common to assess change in fit by comparing the CFI of the two competing models (e.g., Chen et al., 2003). Decreases of 0.01 or less in the CFI will be interpreted to suggest invariance at that step (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). All path analyses were conducted in Mplus version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017).

Results

Willingness to Act: Descriptive Findings

Responsive to our first aim, descriptive statistics for bystander willingness items are displayed by respondents' global region in Table 1. Willingness to engage in both proactive and reactive bystander behaviors was extremely high across all items except "seek help or guidance because of my own behavior towards women," with mean responses for nearly all other items falling within one point of the highest rating, 7 ("extremely willing"), for participants in both the Global North and Global South. Particularly strongly endorsed future bystander behaviors included providing support to someone who had been victimized, referring survivors to resources, and starting a conversation with another man about GBV. Although willingness to

seek help or guidance was scored lowest, for both global regions, the mean willingness score for this item was still above the midpoint of the seven-point scale.

Path Analysis of Correlates of Bystander Behavior

All descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for variables in the path model are summarized in Table 2. In bivariate analyses, all hypothesized correlates were statistically significantly associated with bystander willingness in the sample as a whole and were retained in the full model. Missing data for independent variable scores ranged from 0-17%. While there is no established cutoff criterion for an acceptable percentage of missing data to yield valid estimates, previous work has demonstrated that maximum likelihood produces estimates comparable to the dataset without missing when up to 60% of data is missing data (Dong & Peng, 2013). Maximization likelihood was used to address missing data in all tested models.

As a whole, fit indices for the unrestricted model suggested a very strong fit to the data: $\chi2(12, N = 299) = 19.54$, $p = .08$, $\chi2/df =1.63$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .07 [0.00 - 0.12], SRMR = .04. All fit indices were excellent except the RMSEA, which was slightly out of range. Model statistics for the second, constrained model were compared to those of the unrestricted model. Fit statistics for the constrained model were as follows: $\chi2(19, N = 299) = 27.75$, $p = .09$, $\chi2/df =1.46$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06 [0.00 - 0.10], SRMR = .05. As the CFI demonstrated no change across the unrestricted and constrained models, Chueng and Rensvold's (2002) criterion for model invariance was satisfied. The hypothesized model accounted for 62% of the variance in willingness to engage in bystander behaviors among respondents from the Global North and 48% of the variance for Global South participants. Path coefficients for the unrestricted models for Global North and Global South respondents are shown below in Figures 2 and 3, respectively.

Relative to research aims 2 and 3, then, among both Global North and Global South participants, prior bystander behavior, self-efficacy to engage in bystander behavior, and recognition of male privilege were significantly positively associated with future willingness to take action to address GBV. In this multivariate context, however, awareness of gender inequality and the degree of social network support for GBV prevention activities did not have significant associations with bystander willingness. The relationship between respondent age and willingness differed slightly across the two regions; younger men in the Global North were more likely to be willing to take action than older men (an association missing among men from the Global South). The different relationship between age and bystander behavior across regions may be an artifact of age distribution across regions, however, and may be a Type I error; age had a bi-modal distribution in the Global North sample with a disproportionate but still small (n=10) cluster of men who indicated an age of 64 or older. Distributional issues were not present in other correlates.

Discussion

Members of this global sample of men who are involved in violence prevention work or events reported nearly universal willingness to use a variety of behaviors to address gender-based violence. This included both reactive behaviors that could interrupt a future, specific incident of violence, such as assisting someone who is being harassed, as well as more forward-looking actions that hold the potential to proactively foster norms of respect and safety in their social networks and communities. Coupled with the fact that participants reported using, on average, nearly 6 bystander behaviors in the past 6 months, this high degree of willingness to take concrete action is an encouraging descriptive finding. The consistency of participants' willingness to engage in violence preventative behavior, both across the behaviors we assessed

and across regions, suggests that self-identified anti-violence allies are "walking their talk," and using behaviors consistent with the notion of being an ally. This is heartening news for men's anti-violence programs, for whom cultivating violence preventative behavior among participants is often a core aim.

Some variance in bystander willingness was present among participants, however, and findings suggest that a substantial amount of this variance can be accounted for by correlates informed by the TPB and by previous research linking gender-related attitudes to bystander behavior. An impressive 62% and 48% of variance in bystander willingness was modelled among participants among the Global North and Global South, respectively. This lends some support to the growing body of evidence that the TPB and its respective constructs are useful and potentially powerful tools for informing prevention programming. More specifically, our findings suggest that bystander willingness could be considerably supported via programming approaches that foster self-efficacy and confidence related to enacting violence preventative behaviors, and that promote optimistic beliefs about the potential positive outcomes of those behaviors. We discuss each of these TPB-specific constructs in turn, below.

Consistent with a considerable amount of behavioral research more generally, and bystander research in particular (e.g., Burn, 2009; Hoxmeier et al., 2016), self-efficacy was one of the stronger correlates of bystander willingness in the model. Even after accounting for past bystander behavior, self-efficacy was significantly associated with future willingness among men in both the Global North and Global South. It is not surprising that feeling skilled and equipped to recognize and act on situations that perpetuate violence would increase one's willingness to do so. Yet fostering bystander self-efficacy likely requires context-specific attention to the particular kinds of bystander "opportunities" men are likely to encounter, and to the range of context-

appropriate options for disrupting or intervening in those moments. Indeed, skill-building around salient scenarios participants are likely to encounter is an integral part of several evidence-based bystander programs for young people in the U.S., including Green Dot (Coker et al., 2015) and Bringing in the Bystander (Banyard et al., 2007). These findings lend credence to the enduring importance of self-efficacy for men of all ages and across regions. Further, these results extend to proactive violence preventative behaviors such as initiating conversations about healthy relationships with younger men, highlighting the importance of modelling and practicing the culturally-specific skills this demands across regions and contexts.

Men's beliefs about their anti-violence contributions were also significantly related to future bystander willingness. Similar to the TPB construct of attitudes, this suggests that the more optimistic men are about their anti-violence involvement having an impact, the greater their willingness to take risks to act on behalf of those goals. Again – it is not surprising that individuals would be more motivated to take actions, even potentially uncomfortable ones, if they believe those actions can have a larger desired impact. However, this may be an underexplored area of prevention programming. Many men's engagement programs now approach attendees in a positive, strengths-based manner as potential partners in creating a solution to gender-based violence (e.g., Katz, Heisterkamp & Fleming, 2011). Yet it may also be important to elicit and explicitly leverage men's specific hopes for they change they want to see, the particular difference they feel they can make, or the unique skills they bring to the violence prevention table as a tool for strengthening motivation and sustained engagement. Success stories, providing evidence of the impact of bystander actions, and encouraging men to contribute their individual, specific skills or talents may be elements of enhancing men's "attitudes" or beliefs that positive outcomes can result from taking an active stance against

violence. Future research is also needed that identifies the specific beliefs that are most associated with sustained willingness to engage in bystander actions; findings presented here aggregate those beliefs and may obscure particularly powerful motivators.

Inconsistent with the TPB, however, was our finding that social network support was not related to bystander willingness in the full path model. Men in the sample were largely employees or volunteers with violence prevention organizations, some of whom had been involved with violence prevention for several years. It may be that the nature of their social networks was more distally associated with their anti-violence involvement, and therefore eclipsed by other more immediate correlates in the model such as self-efficacy. Measurement may also be an issue here. We used an aggregate measure of men's peer, family, work, and community social connections, and it may be that some subgroups within men's social networks are more powerful drivers of their intentions and behaviors. Indeed, peer networks have been particularly implicated in both men's sexually aggressive behavior (Thompson et al., 2011) and men's willingness to intervene to reduce GBV (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Men's perception of other men's willingness to attend prevention events may also incompletely represent relevant dimensions of social norms. Future research is needed that takes a closer look at the relative importance and impact of perceived norms emanating from distinct parts of men's social worlds on their willingness to engage in bystander behavior.

Beyond TPB-informed constructs, recognition of male privilege was also significantly associated with bystander willingness in this sample in both the Global North and Global South. Coupled with the fact that support for gender equality was not a significant associate of bystander willingness in this sample, this finding surfaces some interesting implications. Generally, support for gender equity was markedly high in this sample (.87 on a scale ranging

from -1.0 to 1.0), and something of a ceiling effect may be operating. Endorsing gender equity in a general sense may be an early entrée or prerequisite to initiating involvement in GBV prevention for men, and may be a construct that is not as useful in distinguishing between anti-violence allies in terms of their bystander willingness. On the other hand, an awareness of one's own gender-based privilege and potential complicity in perpetuating gender inequality through that privilege is perhaps a subsequent stage of awareness for which there is more variability among men engaged in GBV prevention. It may be that endorsing gender equity is a necessary but insufficient aspect of being willing to take violence preventative actions, and that an awareness of the need to also leverage one's own unearned social privilege is another critical support for this behavior (alongside the skills for and positive beliefs about doing so).

Indeed, research has shown that self-labelling as an "ally" is not always accompanied by a critical analysis and awareness of one's own privilege or complicity in inequity, which can, in turn, be associated not only with bystander inaction, but the perpetuation of gender inequity and harm in anti-violence spaces (Macomber, 2015). Similarly, in his conceptual model of social justice ally development, Edwards (2006) suggests that an awareness of inequity may proceed and be separate from an awareness of one's own complicity or contributions to that inequity. As a whole, this implies that when bystander-based men's engagement efforts incorporate specific attention to helping men identify and acknowledge their gender privilege and perhaps to building skills around specifically leveraging that privilege to disrupt the mistreatment of women, they may be more successful at fostering bystander willingness among participants. This also suggests the utility of seeing support for gender equity and recognition of male privilege as highly related, but distinct topics to address within GBV prevention programming.

Finally, we want to acknowledge that although we have adopted the term "bystander" behavior in this paper, this is not terminology that is universally applied or relevant globally. Characterizing the mobilization of community members as fostering and motivating proactive "bystanders" is language that appears to be used primarily in North America (and perhaps the Global North more generally), and that is contested or misunderstood language even there (Katz et al., 2011). Much if not most of men's anti-violence engagement work around the globe consists of efforts to foster proactive (and yet still violence preventative) behavior such as initiating conversations with other men about healthy relationships, encouraging or taking on gender equitable distributions of domestic labor, being a role model for younger males, etc. As noted above, our own measure of "bystander" behavior included both these proactive kinds of behaviors as well as reactive behaviors needed to interrupt a specific potential incident of violence. We retained the term "bystander" here to be consistent with the literature the measure was based on, and with previous discussions of this data. To reflect the broader ways that anti-violence actions are both conceptualized and described globally, however, we argue for the future use of the term "violence preventative behaviors," a phrase we occasionally employ above. This terminology is more consistent with the full range of formal and informal, and proactive and reactive ways that individuals could chip away at the problem of GBV in their communities. It is important to note that, as with any proposed terminology, the phrase "violence preventative behaviors" should also be vetted for fit in local contexts prior to adoption.

It may also be that the constructs included in our model (skills, attitudes, norms, etc.) differentially predict men's ability to enact specific actions within the broad rubric of "violence preventative behavior" and future research is needed that more specifically parses this out. It may be for example, that skills are a more powerful predictor of intervening in problematic

behavior in the moment, but that a recognition of male privilege is a stronger component of some proactive behaviors such as initiating critical conversations with other men. These relationships are likely to be contextually specific as well, and dependent upon the locally and culturally relevant hurdles to gender equity that men face in their particular communities. This exploratory research suggests that, very generally speaking, TPB and gender attitude-related constructs are associated with bystander willingness across global regions, and more research is needed that identifies both the specific constructs that are most relevant in those spaces, as well as the specific violence preventative behaviors they best support.

Limitations

As noted above, a primary limitation of these analyses is that the sample size prevented an examination of the bystander willingness model within smaller geographic regions. This work therefore represents a broad, exploratory look at the general global relevance of the correlates of bystander willingness included here, and lays the groundwork for more regionally specific studies of how these constructs are related to the development of violence preventative actions. The restriction of participation to English, French, and Spanish speakers as well as to those with internet and computer access also constitutes a limitation. These analyses primarily represent men who have made GBV prevention a formal part of their lives through their employment and volunteer work; the factors that support their bystander willingness may be different than those that support bystander behavior among men with less exposure to GBV prevention programming, or who are new to this work. Finally, although the TPB informed construct selection in these secondary analyses, the TPB itself could not be exactly replicated. Further validation of the TPB (and the most salient outcome and normative beliefs within it) as a useful

conceptual tool for understanding bystander behavior and willingness requires more exact measurement of the theory's constructs.

Conclusion

Participants in this global sample of men engaged in anti-violence work reported a reassuring and strong degree of willingness to engage in a variety of behaviors that hold the potential to reduce GBV. Additionally, this willingness is associated with men's bystander-related self-efficacy, their beliefs about the importance and impact of their work, and their awareness of their own gender privilege. These correlates remained relevant after the disproportionate influence of North American respondents in this sample was accounted for, suggesting that constructs related to recognizing male privilege and those from the TPB may be useful tools for informing prevention programming across geographic regions. This work, to understand how GBV prevention programming with men and boys can be made most efficacious, is especially important given the rapid expansion of such efforts (Flood, 2015) and the scarcity of resources for these endeavors. Continued work is needed to pinpoint the more specific beliefs and skills most supportive of men's violence prevention behaviors (as bystanders and otherwise) and gender equitable activism both within and across regional contexts.

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Table 1. Descriptive summary of Bystander behavior willingness items by global region

In the next six months how willing are you to:

	Global North		Global South	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1.) Talk to son or younger male relative about respect in relationships with women	5.99	1.44	6.38	1.28
2.) Tell a man who was saying disrespectful things about women to stop	6.18	1.10	6.22	1.22
3.) Help a woman who is being harassed or who is drunk to get away from a situation in which she could be harmed	6.24	1.09	6.13	1.39
4.) Confront a male friend or family member about his abusive behavior towards a woman	6.04	1.25	6.23	1.30
5.) Seek help or guidance because of my own behavior towards women	4.71	2.13	5.41	2.02
6.) Start a conversation with another man about violence against women	6.20	1.17	6.46	1.25
7.) Provide support to someone who told me they had been victimized	6.48	.95	6.40	1.26
8.) Refer a survivor to resources I know about in my community	6.60	.80	6.45	1.19
9.) Invite another man or boy to participate in a violence prevention	6.19	1.17	6.40	1.30
10.) Interact with a partner in a more respectful way than before	6.18	1.30	6.32	1.53
11.) Increase the amount of time I spend helping with violence prevention events	5.61	1.49	6.17	1.55

Table 2. Path model constructs: descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for the full sample (n=299)

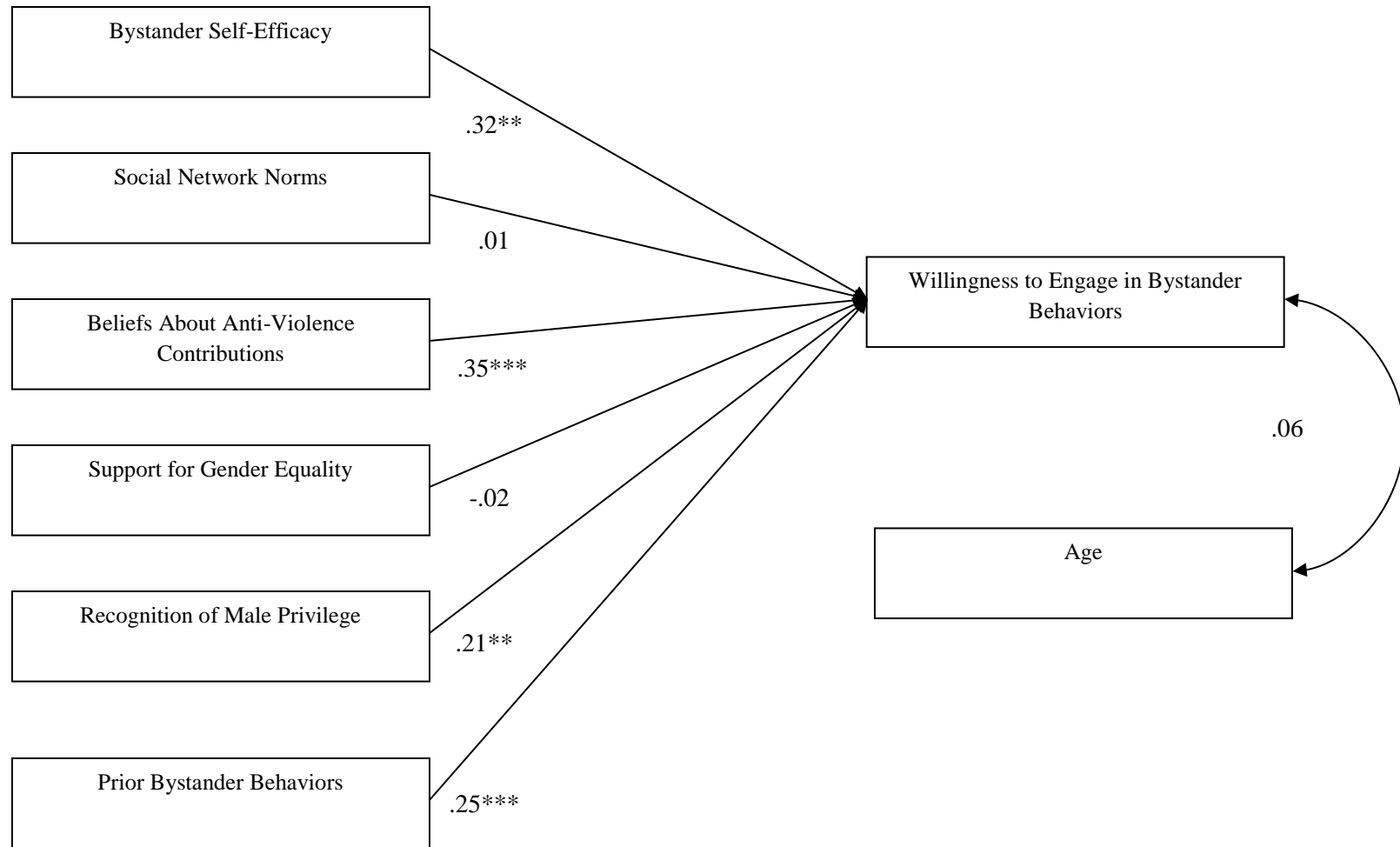|	M	SD	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Bystander self-efficacy	6.20	.83	.24***	.17**	.28**	.26***	.42***	-.07	.64***
2. Social network norms	2.85	.83		.17*	.05	.17**	.24***	-.04	.23***
3. Beliefs about anti-violence contributions	5.59	1.07			.16*	.26***	.14*	.02	.36***
4. Support for gender equity	.87	.19				.37***	.09	.03	.26***
5. Awareness of male privilege	.55	.33					.26***	-.10	.42***
6. Past bystander behavior	5.7	2.61						-.09	.64***
7. Age	41.30	13.52							-.17**
8. Bystander willingness	6.10	.97							

* p <.05   ** p <.01 *** p <.001

Figure 1. Global North Path Model
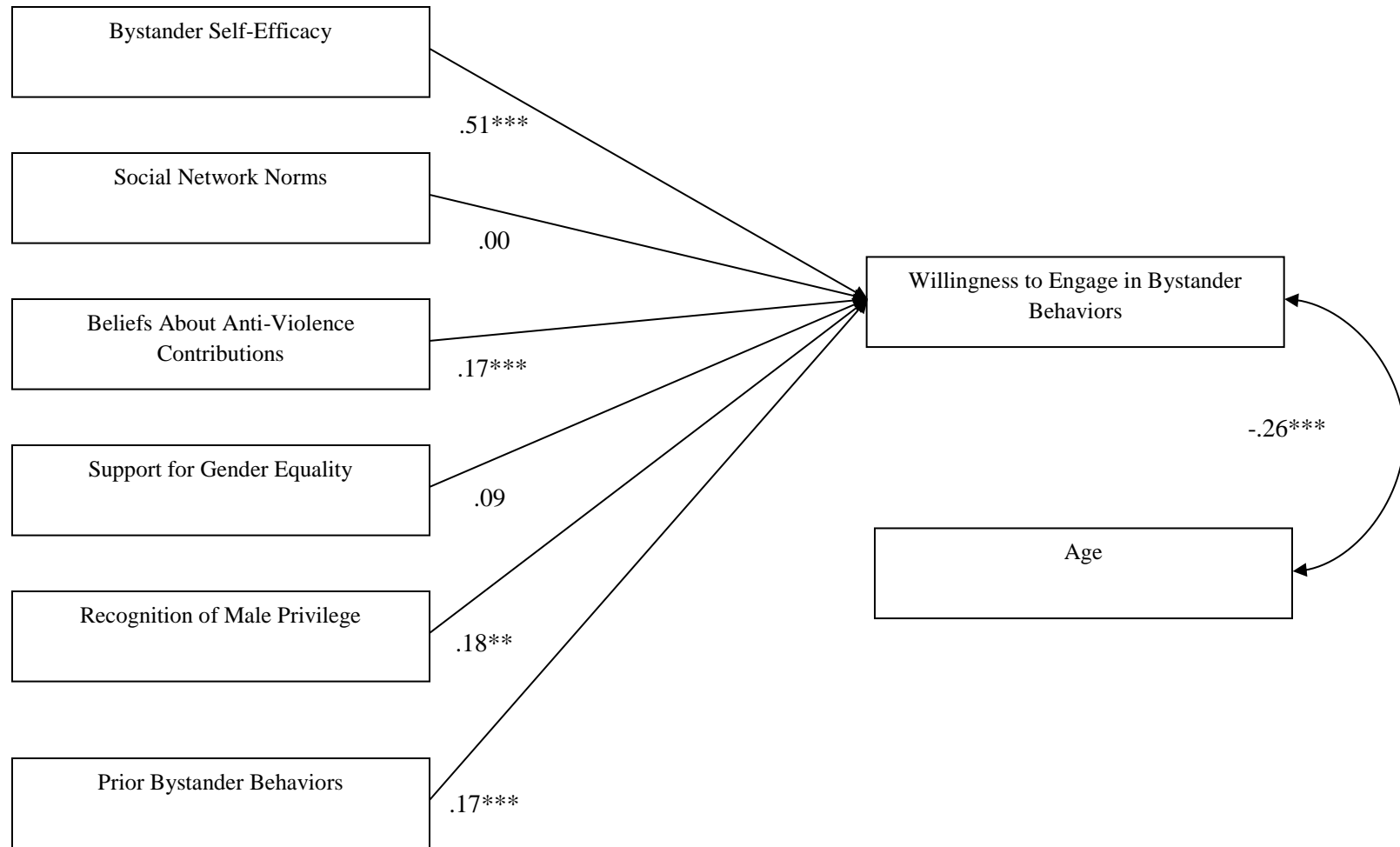
Note. Single-headed arrows refer to significant hypothesized paths. Double-headed arrows refer to correlations between variables. Path coefficients and correlation coefficients are standardized estimates. Significance of coefficients is indicated, *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Figure 2. Global South Path Model

Note. Single-headed arrows refer to significant hypothesized paths. Double-headed arrows refer to correlations between variables. Path coefficients and correlation coefficients are standardized estimates. Significance of coefficients is indicated, *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.