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Not just a Women's Issue: Evaluating Gender Violence Prevention Programs for Men on College Campuses

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Not just a Women's Issue:

Evaluating Gender Violence Prevention Programs for Men on College Campuses

By

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A Thesis

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Abstract

As the attention surrounding sexual violence on college campuses grows, colleges are feeling increased pressure to address the issue. One such way is gender violence prevention programming, specifically for engaging men. This study is a comparative analysis of three such programs: Mentors in Violence Prevention, Coaching Boys into Men, and A Call to Men. The current study was guided by the research questions: What past scholarship informs current approaches to sexual violence on college campuses, specifically approaches aimed at men? What criteria should be used to evaluate these programs? What guidance can help inform campuses as well as current and future programs? Programs were analyzed based on a synthesis of criteria given from previous research. The results showed that there is room for improvement in the programs currently available nationally to best foster real change on campus. These criteria could be the basis of guidance for programming for men to improve these programs or the development of other programs, both nationally and campus based.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter One: Introduction

The national conversation around sexual assault on college campuses in the United States has steadily increased in the past few decades, exponentially in the last five years alone (Heldman & Dirks, Blowing the Whistle on College Campus Rape, 2014). Changing policies coupled with the rise of student activism have brought the conversation about sexual assault on campuses to a much wider public arena. Recently there have been many initiatives, including a myriad coming directly from the White House, that have focused on college campus sexual assault and domestic violence, such as *NO MORE*, *It's On Us*, and *Not Alone.* With a rise in public consciousness, there also needs to be a rise in solutions to the problem. One solution is expanding programming beyond just response and toward prevention. This means moving beyond teaching women how not to get raped, which can often perpetuate the victim-blaming culture, toward programming that specifically talks to men about preventing gender violence. Despite the increase in sexual assault awareness, a recent survey of 21 institutions that host such programs revealed that only two included specific proposals or strategies for changes in men's behavior (Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012, p. 508).

As survivors have pushed to have their stories heard and advocates have campaigned for survivor's rights, more and more experiences of sexual violence have made it to the public consciousness. A recent example of a prominent story is the violent rape of an unconscious 23-year-old woman by Brock Turner, a Stanford University athlete. Despite being convicted of three felonies in conjunction with the sexual assault, Turner was only sentenced to serve six months in county jail and subsequently got out after three months for good behavior. As troubling as this story is, it is, unfortunately, not uncommon, specifically for male athletes on college campuses. Benedict and Klein (1997) found that while college men who are athletes are

more likely to be arrested for sexual assault, they are less likely to be convicted than their non-athlete counterparts. Stories of acquaintance rape on college campuses are strengthening the public understanding that an assaulter is often someone the victim knows, despite a continued focus on stranger rape (Schwartz & Dekeserey, 1997). The Turner case also sends a message to others around the nation: that it is still the victim's fault regardless of their actions. The complicity of institutions to condone men's violence has only further fueled survivors and activists to raise awareness, tell their stories, and push for bystander intervention programs. The Brock Turner case is one example of a growing evidence of motivation for better understanding gender-based violence education aimed at men.

Research has shown bystander intervention programs to be effective at challenging and changing campus cultures (Elias-Lambert & Black, 2016; Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011; The National Sexual Violence Resource Center, 2013). The National Sexual Violence Center (2013) published a report that highlighted many positive changes from the implementation of bystander intervention programs, including but not limited to: less acceptance of rape myths, increased likelihood to intervene, and an increased awareness of the problem of sexual violence (The National Sexual Violence Resource Center, 2013, p. 29). However, research becomes limited when comparing intervention programs that specifically aim to engage men.

The research questions that guide this study were used to examine men's programming and involvement on college campuses in the gender violence prevention field. What past scholarship informs current approaches to sexual violence on college campuses, specifically approaches aimed at men? What criteria should be used to evaluate these programs? What guidance can help inform campuses as well as current and future programs? This study examines

and compares three programs using recommended standards outlined in the existing research. Findings are used to make assessments about current programming and implications for future work in the engagement of men in the gender violence prevention field. This comparison can aid schools and student organizations in efficiently choosing what program is most useful for their needs and why. This research is socially important because of the current state of gendered violence, not only on college campuses, but also in the nation in general.

Definitions and Statistics

To avoid ambiguity and confusion, this section defines the central terms used throughout this study. When talking about prevention programming or efforts, the definition given by Sarah McMahon, Judy L. Postmus, and Ruth Anne Koenick (2015) is useful: "primary prevention occurs before the onset of the problem, with the goal to reduce the actual incidence of the problem and to promote general well being targeted to a generic audience" (p. 115). Rape prevention program researcher Alan Berkowitz (2004) specifically defines gender-based violence prevention to include "any program or activity that reduces or prevents future violence against women by men" (p. 2). Gender-based violence and violence against women are both used as umbrella terms to encapsulate a broad number of behaviors:

> Sexual misconduct refers to a spectrum of behaviors that may or may not include physical contact such as stalking, sexual harassment, dating and interpersonal violence, and sexual assault. Sexual assault refers to any unwanted sexual activity. Rape is any unwanted penetration: whether oral, anal, or vaginal. Rape, sexual assault, and some (but not all) behaviors on the sexual misconduct spectrum are crimes. Rape and sexual assault are always sexual misconduct, but sexual misconduct is not always rape or sexual assault. (Mazar & Kirkner, 2016, p. 132)

Sexual assault against men, transgender, and gender non-comforming folks are also included under these umbrella terms. As the conversation about campus sexual assault gains national attention, the need to be clear about the scope of the problem has become increasingly important. Recently college campuses have endured, "scandal after scandal concerning sexual assaults on college campuses-scandals that repeatedly show administrators failing to properly investigate, punish, or educate their way out of the problem" (Cohen, 2014). If college campuses are going to utilize programs, respond to scandals, and ideally prevent them, they want clear evidence of what the problem is and how various programs will solve it.

Even with increased exposure to the public, statistics from the Rape, Abuse, & Incest National Network (2016) show us that numbers are still high, especially on college campuses:

- 11.2% of all students experience rape or sexual assault through physical force, violence, or incapacitation.

- Among undergraduate students, 23.1% of females and 5.4% of males experience rape or sexual assault through physical force, violence, or incapacitation.

- 21% of TGQN (transgender, genderqueer, nonconforming) college students have been sexually assaulted, compared to 18% of non-TGQN females, and 4% of non-TGQN males. (Rape, Abuse, & Incest National Network, 2016)

National statistics often mask the increased rates of sexual violence among those who experience intersecting forms of oppression. By masking intersecting forms of oppression, varied experiences are erased; subsequently, programming designed for survivors will not effectively serve all populations of survivors. Even the White House report, "Rape and Sexual Assault: A Renewed Call to Action," fails to mention Asian Americans or Pacific Islanders when it

references the additional vulnerabilities women of color face (The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2014). For example, the Women of Color Network (2006) identifies that:

• 37.5% of Native American/Alaskan Indian women are victimized by intimate partner violence in a lifetime (defined by rape, physical assault, or stalking)

• African American women experience intimate partner violence at a rate of 35% higher than that of white females

• One survey found that 41-60% of Asian and Pacific Islander women reported experiencing Domestic Violence (physical and/or sexual) during their lifetimes

• 23.4% of Hispanic/Latino females are victimized by intimate partner violence in a lifetime (defined by rape, physical assault, or stalking) (Women of Color Network, 2006)

The intersections along gender, race and class lines have been effecting women experiencing violence for centuries, but recognition of those intersections and its effect on this work is more recent (T.J. Davis, 2006, p. 75). Masculinity studies scholar Jackson Katz (2006) reiterates the importance of considering multiple points of oppression by noting that violence in communities of color, "helps perpetuate poverty and racism in a continuous feedback loop" (p. 41). These intersections are crucial to consider when creating programming for college campuses. Both the population affected by gender-based violence and the participants of programming will fall along all intersections of identities. Programming that addresses this can help to best inform participants about the reality of the issue, including systemic oppression and power and control. Discussing the intersectionality of victims can aid in reiterating this point.

Regardless of who the victim is, 99% of reported rapists on campus are men (Greenfield, 1997), and yet somehow, preventing sexual violence has not been a priority for most men. Viewing rape as an individual man's issue ignores the culture created when other men are silent,

allowing critics to dismiss the issue at the societal and institutional level. Berkowitz (2012) points out that when discussing rape with a group of men, it is important to note that while almost all rapists are men, not all men are rapists. However, a study measuring the prevalence of sexual aggression among college-aged students found that 84% of college men who admitted to behavior that met the legal definition of sexually assault did not view their actions as illegal (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). Gender-based violence continues to be normalized, allowing men to view their actions as normal. Another assumption underlying this statistic is the misunderstanding of what "normal" sexual activity includes and the misconception that resistance is a sign of desire (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987, p. 169). Programming focused on men should address how to bridge the understanding between this gap, focusing on education about what rape is and what healthy sexuality is.

Katz (2006) points out that ending gender-based violence has been viewed as a "woman's issue" (p. 12). Women championed the field because they spoke up about the violence they were experiencing, which perhaps explains decades of society expecting them to fix the problem. Men have been able to more easily ignore the problem as a symptom of culture that they have no ability or responsibility to fix. However, Katz (2006) believes there are four major flaws with this logic; he writes:

1. It gives men an excuse not to pay attention.

2. "Women's issues" are personal for men, too.

3. Men are the primary perpetrators.

4. Until more men join the fight, there is no chance that the violence will be dramatically reduced. (pp. 13-17)

Knowing that violence against women has traditionally been viewed as a women's issue, coupled with the fact that only a small percentage of men commit rape, it becomes no surprise that one study found that,

> …over 50% of college-age men in a U.S. sample stated that they would not support or attend a voluntary education opportunity regarding sexual assault prevention because it did not apply to them specifically as men or as people who were not, themselves, engaged in violent behavior. (Casey E. , Carlson, Two Bulls, & Yager, 2016)

As Katz (2006) notes, this reinforces our need for a paradigm shift because "only with this new thinking will they be willing to invest the personal, professional, and political time and effort necessary to get the job done" (p. 17). This paradigm shift needs to counter-act the toxic masculinity in our culture. Masculinity, as society defines it, often includes a physical image and attitudes that help men to exert their power. R.W. Connell (2005) asserts that multiple masculinities exist within our culture: masculinity shaped by racial locations and masculinity based on class, to name a few (p. 76). Connell (2005) continues to identify four core masculinities that subgroups, like race and class, may fall under: hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginalized (p. 76). Hegemonic masculinity is masculinity that leads social life, by way of intersecting power and upholding of the masculine ideal (Connell, 2005, p. 77). Rape culture is, "a complex set of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women" (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005, p. xi). Examining rape culture in programming aimed at men can help dismantle the idea that, "sexual violence is so pervasive that it supports the view that the locus of violence against women rests squarely in the middle of what our cultures defines as 'normal' interaction between men and women" (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987, p. 169). Changing the normalcy of interactions between men and women can

be effective in multiple ways. It can help with not only dispelling the myth that unwanted aggression is acceptable in sexual encounters, but also in pushing men to then critically examine their interactions with women outside of sexual encounters. Seeing violence against women as a women's issue has shaped what programming has been available on college campuses. In fact, "many sexual assault prevention efforts have been directed at women and risk reduction" (Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012, p. 507). By focusing on women, the message can be perceived as teaching women how not to get raped versus teaching young men not to rape.

Katz (2006) specifically states that violence against women is a men's issue in his book, *The Macho Paradox*. He asserts that, "the long-running American tragedy of sexual and domestic violence – including rape, battering, sexual harassment, and the sexual exploitation of women and girls – is arguably more revealing about *men* than it is about women" (J. Katz, 2006, p. 5). Katz also directly speaks to the idea of men not only acknowledging the problem, but being a part of the movement; he writes, "since the very beginning of the women-led movements against domestic and sexual violence in the 1970s, there have been men who personally, professionally, and politically supported the work of those women" (p. 253). Like the research previously mentioned, Katz (2006) discusses individual ideas about how men can be more engaged with the issue by supporting survivors, reflecting inward, speaking up, financially contributing to movements, starting anti-sexist groups, helping to champion institutional reform, and more (p. 260). Committed to the idea of educating men, Katz created the Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) bystander education program to target men on college campuses as allies.

Though gender violence prevention programming aimed at men has been shown as necessary and successful, there are still relatively few programs (Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller,

2012, p. 507). Moreover, the effectiveness of such programs is increasingly unclear. A 2014 study on student prevention efforts found that "a meta-analysis of campus education programs reports success in changing rape supportive attitudes and knowledge, but little success in decreasing the incidence of sexual assault" (Amar, Strout, Simpson, Cardiello, & Beckford, p. 590). It is easier to measure a change in rape-supportive attitudes and knowledge than it is to measure a decrease in gender-based violence incidences due to factors such as rates of reporting and availability of information. Koss, Gidycz, and Wisnieski (1987) point out that due to the miniscule number of reported rapes ending in conviction, it is hard to truly estimate how many perpetrators there are on a college campus and subsequently, how many rapes were prevented by new education (p. 162). A comparison study done of a one-time bystander education program, a traditional awareness education program, and a no-education control group found that, "at the two-month follow-up, the results showed that the bystander education program was more effective at changing people's attitudes and beliefs, their sense of self-efficacy and intentions for intervening, and self-reported behaviors for bystander action compared to the two other groups" (Colino, 2016). While this study was conducted with a mixed-gender group of students there the results are important to consider. Bystander intervention is particularly effective to cultivate men's responsibility to their peers who are men to preserve "the integrity of team, the frat, or the military unit by preventing men in the group from getting into trouble" (Messner, Greenburg, & Peretz, 2015, pp. 121-122). Changes in attitudes and beliefs are the most cited results from programming aimed at men, helping to explain why they are often the main goals of a program and therefore what can be measured in follow up.

Three national programs in the United States were chosen for this study: Mentors in Violence Prevention, Coaching Boys into Men, and A Call to Men. These three programs were

chosen because they are well established programs that have been used nationally at colleges and universities. Also, because all three programs are at the national level, material regarding each program is more readily available for this research. A program from Men Can Stop Rape was originally included in the study but information about the program could not be obtained and as a result it was cut from the project. The next crucial steps in this study were acquiring details from each program, designing a comparative model, and searching for key aspects outlined in existing literature on successful programs.

Mentors in Violence Prevention was first developed in 1993 with the intention of focusing on training student athletes who are men and other student leaders to intervene and change the culture that allows gender-based violence to persist on college campuses. The program has expanded since its inception to include a component for athletes who are women and other student leaders on college campuses to use their status on campus as well. Mentors in Violence Prevention has also expanded into branches of the military. The approach to target men is "shaped by the idea that men who have status with other men are in a particularly powerful position to influence the way men and boys view and treat women and girls" (Mentors in Violence Prevention , 2016). Mentors in Violence Prevention is guided by a mission that seeks to "educate, inspire and empower men & women to prevent, interrupt and respond to sexist abuse" (2016). It seeks to do so with four key training goals (2016):

- Raise participant awareness of underlying issues and unique dynamics of all forms of men's violence against women

- Challenge participants to think critically and personally (empathize) about these issues

- Open dialogue amongst participants about the dynamics and context of all forms of men's violence against women

- Inspire participants to be proactive leaders around these issues by challenging them to develop concrete options for intervention in potentially dangerous situations involving peers

The MVP program materials were attained through Saint Cloud State University, as it is the program currently being used on campus.

The second program, Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) is a program still primary aimed at high school students but has been gaining traction in the campus sexual assault prevention conversation (Miller, et al., 2012). The program, launched in 2001, directly focuses on athletes who are men by training team coaches of men in ways to integrate CBIM values of modeling behavior that encourages healthy relationships. CBIM was created with the hopes that it can help to prevent relationship abuse, harassment, and sexual assault by connecting to themes present in athletics already: teamwork, integrity, fair play, and respect (Coaching Boys into Men, 2016). The CBIM program is broken into separate sections that together make up the whole program designed for athletic coaches and can be downloaded from their website.

The third program, A Call to Men, exists to help men in "embracing and promoting a healthy, respectful manhood" that will help to prevent "violence against women, sexual assault and harassment, bullying and many other social ills" (A Call to Men, 2016). A Call to Men is guided by a mission that seeks to "shift attitudes and behaviors that devalue women, girls and other marginalized groups." The program partners with schools to hold training institutes where campus officials can learn about movement building, masculinity studies, and community organizing in hopes that they can implement aspects of the training on their own campuses. By focusing on programming specific to men on college campuses, this research advances the paradigm shift. Examining the specific details that make programs successful will help to not

only advance the paradigm shift, but also to give a clear direction in how to do so. A Call to

Men's program was attained through their website, where the curriculum can be downloaded.

All three programs have been used in universities and community organizations around

the country. These national programs have material readily available if a university desires to

evaluate bringing the program to their school, team, or organization. Before examining program

content, it is important to review the literature that these programs are built on. The foundation of

the comparison and evaluation of the programming is supported by analyzing the history of the

research and social movements on violence against women, masculinity and identity, prevention

conversations on college campuses, specific populations to address and programming for men.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, the author synthesizes the many disciplines that have informed the current state of programming for men in the gender violence prevention field. First, historical context is used to chronicle the creation and changes within violence against women movement and the significance of the politicization of the movement itself. This chapter discusses the emergence of masculinity studies, along with major highlights from the masculinity field that are influential for the current study. University campuses are examined as a specific site of activism for gender-based violence prevention programming, particularly in terms of what political changes have allowed this conversation to grow on university campuses. Programming for men is discussed next, with an examination of key programming components outlined by previous research, including a discussion of important theoretical influences, such as social norms theory and group dynamics. Finally, an examination of any existing analyses or conversations on the programs included in the current study is also included.

Histories of Violence Against Women in the U.S.

There has been extensive research on violence against women (VAW) movements that have surrounded the issue and concerns specific to engaging men in the VAW movement. For the scope of this study, there are facets of VAW research that help to inform the conversation about engaging men in the issue of gender-based violence. The choices about programming should be built on a foundational understanding of the issue and its history. One important sector of research is the history of rape in the lives of women of color. The bodies of women of color have been and continue to be used as tools from times of colonialization to war (Smith A. , 2005). The rape of women of color in these times was not private as it was for white women of

privilege. Women of color were used as a public tool for men to exert power over. Rape has long been used as a tool to keep women of color oppressed (Smith A. , 2005).

As with any complex social concept, what constitutes violence against women in the public eye has evolved with our changing society. Much research has pointed out that not only has our definition of violence against women changed, but the presence of the issue has changed as well (Messner, 1997; Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2010). Specifically, in the United States, the presence of violence against women was minimal in our earliest communities. Sarah Deer (2015), Professor of Law and federal Indian law and victims' rights specialist, asserts that rates of violence against Native women were very minimal prior to colonialism. Through the spread of colonialism in the United States, violence against women increased. It is documented that, "by the old laws of England, the husband was called the *lord* of the wife; he was literally regarded as her sovereign" (Mill, 2010). Colonization promoted patriarchal and racialized ideals that intertwined to create more oppression. Choctaw historian, Devon Abbott Mihesuah (2003) notes that, "by the 1830s a dramatic increase in wife abuse was reported" (p. 50). Victim Advocacy Program Specialist Bonnie Clairmont (2011) reports that of American Indian women that have experienced sexual assault 87% report being assaulted by non-American Indian men. Colonialization of American Indian women has had long lasting patriarchal effects on their communities.

Rape continued to be used to control women of colors' bodies during times of slavery in the United States. Andrea Smith (2005) asserts that rape is more than a "tool of patriarchal control" as previous theorists have suggested (p. 7). Smith (2005) continues by pointing out that "male-dominated conceptions of race and white-dominated conceptions of gender stand in the way of a clear understanding of violence against women of color" (p. 7). Dorsey (2003) believes

that many societies have at some point used rape as a "justifiable expression of bellicose behavior between distinct ethnic, racial, or national groups" (p. 296). His research, focusing specifically on rapes that took place on slave ships, illustrated how rape was often used a rite of passage that marked women with the transition from new captive to creolized slave (Dorsey, 2003, p. 296). Women's bodies were and are used to showcase an exertion of power. Sharon Smith (2015) argued that rape has been tied to race in the United States since slavery and serves as a tool to maintain white supremacy.

Like in times of colonialization and slavery, today women's bodies are used during war and conflict as objects to be acted on for sexual pleasure or for the assertion of power. Christian Yazidi reports that women and girls are being held by ISIS militants to be used as a prize for negotiation, sometimes sold as wives or given as *sabaya*, a reward for their fighters (Bitzer, 2015, p. 1). In the United States, we often imagine ourselves outside of the conversation, as if we are just observing the troubles of the world, but gruesome violence in military branches and times of war is no different. Harijan (2014) asserts that existing outside of the problem is far from possible. Harijan (2014) points to the tens of thousands of sexual assaults in the U.S. military each year to show that "there is a serious strain of depravity being perpetuated." Jacqui True (2012) theorizes that because of the celebration of masculine aggression in areas of group-sanctioned violence, violence against women is then viewed just as the "spoils of war" (p. 32). Not only has sexual violence been a problem within U.S. branches of the military but also perpetration against women in countries the U.S. military is occupying. Cynthia Enloe (2005) points out that the militarized rapist, "imposes his understanding of 'enemy,' 'soldiering,' 'victory,' and 'defeat' on both the woman to be raped and on the act of sexual assault" (p. 120).

Sadly, given the long-standing history of rape as a weapon used against women of color, it becomes easier to see how they are continually disenfranchised in our current society. These race/rape relations have long reaching affects into the lives of women of color. Gender based violence is a tool used to create either a public show of power or a private matter of control. Unfortunately, gender based violence was not seen as a public issue overall, regardless of who the victims have been. Luckily, that did not stop those committed to ending gender based violence from making progress in the realm of programming.

Violence Against Women Movements

The feminist movement began to expand the thought that the "personal is political," bringing to light issues that were once confined to the home (Collective, 2010, p. 256). Per Audre Lorde, without considering the intersecting layers that affect women in these circumstances, the discussion of the personal as political is weakened (2010). These discussions helped to push discussions of violence against women into the public arena. Critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw (2010) notes that during the 1970s and 1980s, women of color began to specifically organize as a collective around the issues of violence against women (p. 482). This is not to say that women were not championing for the rights of women and violence before. However, during this time the conversation gained momentum and greater public recognition.

There have long been racial divisions in the women's movement that have hindered coalitions. Early in the women's movement, there was tension between white women that were running mainstream feminist organizations and the women of color they continued to exclude. Angela Davis (1983) highlights this with a discussion of the relationship between early twentieth century suffragists, Ida B. Wells and Susan B. Anthony. While they often worked together, Susan B. Anthony set limitations on how deep her consideration for women of color would go

within the women's movement (A. Davis, 1983). This example highlights the historical hesitancy of white woman to relinquish the power they started to receive to pull women of color up with them. The relationship between women of color and white women in the feminist movement was further hindered when white women started advancing, leaving women of color behind. Aída Hurtado (1996) notes, "the conflicts and tensions between white feminists and feminists of Color are viewed too frequently as lying solely in woman-to-woman relationships. These relationships, however, are affected in both obvious and subtle ways by how each of these two groups of women relate to white men" (p. 3). White women were seduced by the prospect of power like their white men counterparts and could use their white privilege to leave women of color behind (Hurtado, 1996). The Combahee River Collective (2010), founded in 1973, theorizes that the most radical politics come from the recognition of one's identity and all its intersecting points. When women doubt parts of themselves, they are less able to stand up for the injustice of the violence against them. It is also just as damaging, if not more so, to have others erase those pieces of your identity when trying to build coalition. By not acknowledging intersecting identities understandings of privilege and how to dismantle oppressive institutions can vary.

During the height of second wave feminism in the seventies and eighties, the conversation surrounding recognition of difference was growing (Fraser, 2000, p. 107; McCann and Kim 2010:19; Rossatto, Allen, and Pruyn 2006:129). The increase in recognition of difference was affecting not only women's roles but men's roles in society as well. Crenshaw (2010) points out that the:

> …process of recognizing as social and systematic what was formerly perceived as
> isolated and individual has also characterized the development of what has been called

the 'identity politics' of African Americans, other people of color, and gays and lesbians,

among other. (p. 482)

Making the private public and using intersectionality can affect the ways in which a subject is

studied theoretically. According to the Boston Black feminist coalition, the Combahee River

Collective (2010), identity politics "are based on the premise that those who experience specific

configurations of oppression are best suited to articulate an adequate analysis of that oppression

and an adequate strategy for change" (p. 19). This concept became particularly important for

women of color who pushed for recognition that their experience with sexual violence was

different than that of white women.

Strands of Black feminism and postmodernism do a significantly better job at

acknowledging the intersectionality of both men and women's identities. Both strands move

beyond men and women as always opposing forces (Bryson, 1999, p. 202). Feminists such as

Audre Lorde theorize that without the consideration of difference, feminist discussions are

inherently weak. Lorde (2010) argues that it is "academic arrogance to assume any discussion of

feminist theory without examining our many differences" (p. 15). Not only do theorists like

Lorde support the recognition of difference, but they also see a way to make change at personal

and institutional levels. Lorde (2010) continued to argue that women specifically learn to ignore

their differences, seeing them as a cause for doubt instead of an avenue for making change (p.

16). When internalized oppression causes women to ignore their differences, as they are

socialized to do, the dominant patriarchal culture, which includes toxic masculinity, can continue

to maintain its dominance.

Politicizing the issue has changed the understanding of violence: "battering and rape,

once seen as private (family matters) and aberrational (errant sexual aggression), are now largely

recognized as part of a broad-scale system of domination that affects women as a class"
(Crenshaw, 2010, p. 482). The push to understand violence against women as a social problem --
i.e. understood in the broader system -- has led to an understanding of this violence as a public
health concern. One important outcome from this shift was the increase in shelters and crisis
centers:

> The networks of shelters and crisis centers across the country and around the world didn't
> come into being because governments realized that women were desperate for these
> services. They started because there was a women's movement in the 1970s that knew it
> not only had to push for changes in attitudes and laws, but also to offer these desperately
> needed service. Only now that they've gotten established do many get at least some
> financial support from different levels of government. (Kaufman & Kimmel, 2011, p.
> 176)

Because of strong women's leadership and volunteers, rape crisis lines, drop-in counseling
centers, and shelters began to pop up on and around college campuses as well (Messner,
Greenburg, & Peretz, 2015, p. 11). Activism on college campuses around issues of sex
discrimination was also on the rise during this time. Frustrated with her many experiences of sex
discrimination in academia, activist Bernice Sandler organized faculty women at colleges and
universities to complain to their Senators and Congressmen (The Real Story Behind the Passage
of Title IX 35 Years Ago, 2007). Due to the volume of complaints, these women could no longer
be ignored. Title IX, a law that demanded higher education institutions not discriminate based on
sex, was passed. Sandler noted many positive outcomes from the passing of Title IX, particularly
that "women's issues have become institutionalized, including prevention of violence against

women and reporting of campus crime statistics" (The Real Story Behind the Passage of Title IX 35 Years Ago, 2007).

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) passed in 1994, under the leadership of then Senator Joe Biden, was another watershed moment in the history of the violence against women movement. VAWA helped to increase or create many funding opportunities, from community organizations to college campuses across the country (Messner, Greenburg, & Peretz, 2015, p. 14). The American Public Health Association believes the recent re-signing of the VAWA by President Barack Obama (2015) is evidence that momentum is still growing.

Valerie Bryson (1999) states that

> Feminists disagree profoundly as to how men fit into their analyses of inequality, strategies for change and visions of the future. These disagreements can at times reflect personal experience: some feminists have found in their relationships with men a source of practical and emotional support and strength, others find them a time-consuming, energy-sapping distraction, while for some they are a direct and immediate source of physical and emotional oppression" (p. 195)

Programming specific to engaging men has been viewed as a solution to these debates of where men fit in the movement. They have the potential to create spaces that are intentional and consider the hard work that women have put forth prior while also acknowledging there are many moving pieces that can reinforce and perpetuate the traditional hegemonic definition of masculinity.

Masculinity Studies

The harmful effects of gender norms, specifically on men, is no new topic. In 1870, the Social Reformer John Stuart Mill (2010) wrote about the damage that has been done by raising

young boys to think they are superior to "half of the human race" (p. 80). What has shifted is the action that has followed the theoretical debates around masculinity. As research in the gender violence prevention field advanced and the focus shifted from men as individual deviants to poorly socialized individuals, the call for research on masculinity got louder (Messner, Greenburg, & Peretz, 2015, p. 178). For the purposes of this work, Michael Kimmel's definition of masculinity is useful as it weaves together several major themes of masculinity research. He writes,

> I view masculinity as a constantly changing collection of meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with each other, and with our world. Manhood is neither static nor timeless; it is historical. Manhood is not the manifestation of an inner essence; it is socially constructed. Manhood does not bubble up to consciousness from our biological makeup; it is created in culture. Manhood means different things at different times to different people. We come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of "others" – racial minorities, sexual minorities, and above all, women. (Kimmel, 1994, p. 58)

The definition highlights the social constructionist element of masculinity. Kimmel's definition also discusses the intersecting cultural factors that affect how society views masculinity. This definition can help to build a basis of understanding for how to contextually discuss masculinity.

Gender theorist Scott Coltrane (1994) notes that while neither did direct work on masculinity, sociologists Karl Marx (1846) and Erving Goffman (1967) made contributions that provided a beginning understanding of social life and, in turn, men. Coltrane pointed out sexist language, such as referring to society, social relations, and people in general as "men" or "man." Not people, not human kind: mankind (Coltrane, 1994, p. 39). When seminal works such as these

use men's pronouns as the norm, they both reflect cultural values that privilege men and perpetuate them.

While academic discussions around men and masculinities are not new, discussing men as "gendered individuals" is a relatively newer approach (Coltrane, 1994, p. 41). Masculinity theorists Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (1994) highlight that it was amid the women's movement of the 1970s that men began to write about men's experiences. While this move is important, early manifestations of it were "often confessional, therapeutic, and ignorant of the power dimension of gender relations, this style of research of men continued through the 1980s and in the 1990s" (Coltrane, 1994, p. 43). While this research attempted to understand men, it often missed discussions about the privilege that many men were afforded and how that privilege affected the rest of society. This absence eventually produced a more progressive form of masculinity studies which aligns more with feminist scholars, examining privilege and attempting to avoid "reproducing patriarchal consciousness" (Coltrane, 1994, p. 43).

Michael Messner (1997) identifies that men are awarded institutional privilege in our current society at the expense of women (p. 4). While this premise seems basic, it is a concept that has gone unacknowledged for many in the field. Messner (1997) distinguishes that the institutional power that men have over women is not fixed, but are rather an ever-changing relationship. He continues by identifying that masculinity studies seeks to examine how these institutional differences persist throughout time and how men navigate the spaces around them (Messner, 1997). Kaufman (1999) explains that violence against women continues because,

…violence as an individual compensatory mechanism has been the widespread acceptance of violence as a means of solving differences and asserting power and control.

What makes it possible are the power and privileges men have enjoyed, things encoded in

beliefs, practices, social structures, and the law. (Kaufman, 1999, p. 3)

According to Kaufman (1999), the fear men carry of not having the power expected of them

contributes to them acting in powerful ways. This disconnect helps give context for the

connection between power, masculinity and violence.

Where do men who do not fit into the masculine ideal stereotype and where do they fit in

the movement? As highlighted earlier, not all men adhere to all aspects of the hegemonic

masculinity, a concept defined by masculinity sociology theorist R.W. Connell, (2005) as a

particular masculinity that "refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a

leading position in social life" (p. 77). Many men have worked hard to subvert the social norms

prescribed to them. However, while these men try to escape hegemonic social norms, many men

have also internalized many aspects of patriarchy that are hard to subvert. Connell identifies that

the 1990s brought backlash politics, such as the violent misogyny administered by the Men's

Rights Activism. However, there were also a lot of men rising to align with feminist activists

(Connell, 1993). The educational interventions compared here recognize that there is social space

for men to be willingly involved in eradicating gender-based violence efforts. Gender studies

scholar Michael Messner (1997), asserts that the focus surrounding masculinity should no longer

be "can or will" men change but should rather be on showing that men *are changing* (p. 2).

Subordinate masculinity are masculinities that are typically oppressed because of

intersecting identity markers, such as Black masculinity, gay masculinity, working class

masculinity, in United States culture (Connell, 2005, p. 78). The discussion of intersecting

identity markers above speaks to subordinate masculinity; just being male-bodied does not

necessarily mean they can achieve the hegemonic masculine ideal. Complicit masculinities

include masculinities that, although they may not be achieving the hegemonic ideal, still hope to perpetuate its principles (Connell, 2005, p. 79). In bystander programming, this masculinity would speak to the men who do not agree with gender-based violence but have not yet found a way to speak up against its power. Finally, marginalized masculinity, different from subordinate masculinity, can be used to explain the institutionalized oppression of certain masculinities (Connell, 2010, p. 80). These masculinities can be used as a framework for discussion of masculinities in general but also in evaluating programs. Programs should be aware of these multiple masculinities and be conscious of how they approach the men on campus based on that.

There are many common stereotypical attitudes attributed to hegemonic masculinity in our society. If a person adheres to the hegemonic ideals, their masculinity will be affirmed by society. In his article, "Masculinity as Homophobia," Kimmel (1994) discusses how the definition of manhood is often tied to the performance of hegemonic masculinity, which is inherently homophobic. Kimmel poses the idea that masculinity is culturally tied to heteronormativity, which includes the rejection of the feminine. CJ Pascoe furthers this concept in her ethnography, *Dude You're a Fag*. She states that the process of hetersexualizing is central to how masculine identities are developed during adolescence (Pascoe, 2007, p. 27). When the word "fag" is used as an insult, the person using it is conveying societal power over the other person, in turn asserting their masculine power and proving in that moment that they are dominant. In one interview, a boy expressed that, "to call someone *gay* or *fag* is like the lowest thing you can call someone. Because that's like saying that you're nothing" (Pascoe, 2007, p. 55). The homophobia is gendered in Pascoe's (2007) examples, where fag was used as "a noun that denoted only unmasculine males" (p. 56). The socialization process that Pascoe describes at the high school age helps to understand a common mindset that young men are entering college

with. If a part of hegemonic masculinity is to objectify and exert power over women, being a part of the LGBT community immediately does not fit the masculine norm and is cause for exclusion. The multiple stereotypical traits of masculinity, in this example homophobia, contribute to the overarching hegemonic masculinity ideal that allows violence against women to continue.

Another commonly studied attitude in masculinity studies is the tendency to be violent and aggressive. According to the documentary *Tough Guise*, masculinity is often connected to violence and power (Earp & Katz, 2002). The digital and media literacy site, *Media Smarts*, notes that, "the portrayal and acceptance of men by the media as socially powerful and physically violent serve to reinforce assumptions about how men and boys should act in society, how they should treat each other, as well as how they should treat women and children" (Media Smarts: Canada's Centre for Digital and Media Literacy, n.d.). Our society has created an environment that equates being aggressive with being masculine. There has long been acceptance of violence from boys and men with a "boys will be boys" mentality, excusing behavior simply because of their gender (Kimmel, 2008, p. 72). "Two prominent pillars of masculinity are demonstrating power over women and engaging in aggression" (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2016, p. 2). These two pillars combine to create the damaging rates of gender-based violence our society faces today. Social psychologist and gender studies professor Robert Brannon and sociology professor Deborah S. David (1976) identifies four general themes that encapsulate the hegemonic masculine role

1. No Sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.

2. The Big Wheel: Success, status and the need to be looked up to.

3. The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance

4. Give 'Em Hell!: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

(David & Brannon, 1976)

These four themes help to explain stereotypes about men in our society and are all connected to the continuation of gender based violence from men. It is important when discussing and creating successful men's specific gender violence prevention programming to understand the basis of masculinity norms to know how to address them in this kind of programming. This knowledge can also help to understand where pushback from college men may result.

Men's Gender Socialization

It is important to analyze the literature that has been contributing to the understanding of masculine socialization. The research surrounding masculine socialization is constantly changing and evolving. Like any subject, with this change there are numerous points of contention and pushback from scholars and activists along the way. How to understand different identity markers, specifically masculinity, has created friction in Women's and Gender Studies. According to Valerie Bryson (1999),

> The claim that masculinity is socially constructed almost inevitably leads to a recognition that it will vary both across time and within a given society. There is now a widespread recognition that although it makes sense to talk about dominant forms of masculinity, these are neither uncontested nor uniformly experienced. (p. 208)

Academic research on masculinity has steadily increased in the last three decades, as has research on violence against women and college campus sexual assaults. Since feminist sociologists pointed out the importance of gender as an "analytical category," the research done to examine masculinity has grown (Messner, 1997, p. ix). Messner (1997) cites the work of gender scholars, Beth Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, who note that the study of gender has moved

through three main stages since 1970. Per Hess and Ferree, there was first a focus on biological differences explaining sex (Messner, 1997). Second, this explanation moved toward a focus on sex roles on the individual level and how socialization plays a part in the creation of gender expression. Finally, Hess and Ferree identify the acknowledgment of "the centrality of gender as an organizing principle in all social systems, including work, politics, everyday interaction, families, economic development, law, education, and a host of other social domains" (Messner, 1997, p. ix). Messner (1997) contends that the third framework has continued to influence research conducted about masculinity, amplifying how categories like race and class influence the construction of masculinity (p. ix).

This study will adopt the third framework, centralizing gender as an organizing principle in all social systems, because it recognizes the importance of intersectionality as fundamental when discussing a change in masculine norms. It is also an important framework to work within on a college campus, recognizing that students are coming with a myriad of different background that should be considered when creating programming specifically for men. Using Connell's (2005) definition of masculinity supports the idea that masculinity is a changing intersectional concept that is "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (p. 71). Not only is intersectionality important when considering program design decisions, but it "has [also] been part of the pathway to many men's engagement and is a vital aspect of conceptualizing inclusive engagement strategies" (Casey E. et al., 2016, p. 6).

Messner also discusses an aspect that is often left out of the discussion around masculinity: intersecting factors affecting men. Messner (1997) describes a situation he found himself in at a National Conference on Men and Masculinity in the early 1980s:

> I sat with several hundred men and listened to a radical feminist male exhort all of us to "renounce masculinity" and "give up all of our male privileges" as we unite with women to work for just and egalitarian world. Shortly after this moving speech, a black man stood up and angrily shouted, "When you ask me to give up my privileges as a man, you are asking me to give up something that white America has never allowed me in the first place! I've never been allowed to be a man in this racist society." (p. 6)

While the man in this story may have been attempting to make racisim supreme over sexism it is still the reality for many men of color. Conversations surroundings rape and men of color are complicated by the intertwining history of rape and racism, and has intensely affected the lives of men of color (subsequently affecting women of color). Consequently, Sharon Marcus (2013) points out that within the *grammar of violence,* men of color are portrayed as, "ever-threatening subjects of illegitimate violence against white men and illegitimate sexual violence against white women" (p. 436). This stereotype has a heavy influence on the trials and treatment of men of color in the criminal justice system. Angela Davis argues that it is white men who are most likely to rape and figures that show disproportionate amounts of black men in jail for rape charges proves that women reporting a rape by a 'respectable' white man will often not see an outcome for the woman (Bryson, 1999, p. 60). Even in 2015, "the race of the both accuser and accused continues to strongly influence the outcomes of rape accusations" (S. Smith, 2015). There are intersecting factors that contribute to the position of men in our society and recognizing that can help to guide various approaches to having men involved in the movement.

With the growing momentum of women's organizing came an increase in men's involvement in the movement as well. Just as women were fighting for the recognition of difference, men, too, were pushing intersecting identities into the forefront when it came to violence against women. The overarching assertion within the movement up to that point was that all men are privileged because the structure of the patriarchy allows "the majority of men to gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women" (Connell, 2010, p. 238). It is important to dive deeper into the varying experiences of men and to be aware of "men's contradictory experiences of power" because it "gives us the tools to simultaneously challenge men's power and speak to men's pain" (Kaufman, 1994, p. 160). The following example shows how sexuality can contribute to men being in different positions socially. Messner (1997) writes:

> After a smattering of applause and confused chatter, another man stood and said, "Yeah-I feel the same way as a gay man. My struggle is not to learn how to cry and hug other men. That's what you straight guys are all hung up on. I am oppressed in this homophobic society and need to empower myself to fight that oppression. I can't relate to your guilt-tripping us all into giving up our power. What power?" (p. 7)

The previous example highlights the impossibility of discussing men as a unified category. It also highlights the complinated nature of privilege that men experience. Connell discusses this subject by stating that "men's dominant position in society has an economic pay-off." However, "all men do not benefit equally from this system" (Messner, 1997, pp. 7-8). Privilege is positional. The example also highlights the situational aspect of masculinity. In one situation, a man may be in the ultimate position of privilege, while in other situations, their privilege is challenged and exchanged for a position of lesser privilege. This experience is different for men

of color than it is for white men. Due to varying masculine expectations based on ethnicity, such as the hyper-masculinization of African-American men or the feminization of Asian-American men, men react to the challenge of their privilege differently. Hurtado (1996) states that, "men are attracted to the enactment of manhood – because there are enormous tangible rewards that go beyond the enhancement of oneself through the subordination of others" (p. 127). Men of color may be seduced by the privilege given to them as men but take out their frustrations for not fully achieving the hegemonic ideal, due to their race/ethnicity, on the women of color in their lives. Women of color have struggled with the decision to call attention to the men in their lives that are sexually and physically abusive to stay safe or keep quiet to not perpetuate societal stereotypes about people of color (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1256). Programs must incorporate conversations about the history of gender-based violence in the United States to begin to address this issue at all.

The push for the recognition of difference significantly shaped feminist politics and the women's movement. What is also significant about this change is how it affected the public perception of men. Previous social norms allowed violence in the home, carried out by the man of the house, to be normalized. What does it mean for men to have violence seen as socially unacceptable? Or have the privilege to act as if it does not exist? As social norms shifted and violence against women became a public health crisis, men who abused and raped women were finally seen as "deviant." That was also true for college aged perpetrators. On college campuses, according to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) (2013), the national attention has turned to the connection between acts of sexual assault and problems it poses to the classroom, the campus and the surrounding community. Incidents of sexual assault potentially have serious consequences for the colleges and universities where the incidents occur.

Prevention on College Campuses

There are numerous college campus debates happening within the field of sexual assault, especially with the recent surge in policy change. The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was passed as part of the federal Crime Bill in 1994 (Wies, 2015). There are a lot of integral pieces to VAWA that influence policies, resources, funds and more. Jennifer Wies (2015), a medical anthropologist explains VAWA by stating,

> VAWA funds services for domestic violence and rape victims and for training police and court officials about domestic violence. In addition, the act provides victims the federal right to sue a perpetrator of gender-based violence. Finally, VAWA mandates that states and American Indian nations provide full faith and credit for restraining orders.

VAWA remains an essential part of campus sexual assault prevention because it not only provides funding, but also continues to attract national attention to the issue (Wies, 2015). The funding created by VAWA was a watershed moment for college campuses and the issue of violence against women and continues to influence future policy decisions.

Despite the increase in regulation surrounding college sexual assault, many find the current climate inadequate, while others still find it too strict. Public policy scholar Sarah Brubaker (2009) reports that while drug and alcohol use policies have been implemented at three-fourths of colleges studied, more than half of school administrators openly acknowledge that the policies discourage reporting of sexual assaults (p. 66). These policies create the potential for students to feel shame reporting a gender-based violence related incident when drugs or alcohol were present in the assault because they are against the school's rules and they fear repercussions.

Another point of contention in the conversation about campus sexual assault is the idea of consent. Despite being included in college policy for decades, recent years have brought more conversation about consent and how it fits on a college campus. States like California and New York have even gone so far to pass state laws about affirmative consent. An affirmative consent policy "rests on the belief that if men and women were more explicit in their consent communication (i.e. by saying yes to sex), there would be reductions in rates of sexual assault" (Jozkowski, 2015, p. 21). Critics of this approach question if a policy concerning consent can truly change the actions of their students. Sociologist Kathleen Bogle argues that an affirmative-consent policy "will not change the 'he said/she said' difficulty in prosecuting sexual assault, since the accused will now simply report that 'she said yes' instead of 'she didn't say no'" (Jozkowski, 2015, p. 17). Others question whether a policy concerning consent infringes on the rights of their adult students (Jozkowski, 2015, p. 17). These debates support the growing push to hold colleges responsible for approaching education for men holistically, because,

> To send nearly one million college-educated men into the world with troubled masculinities, underdeveloped gender identities, and erroneous assumptions concerning women and other men with whom they co-occupy society makes contemporary institutions of higher education one of the guiltiest culprits in the perpetual maintenance of patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia in America. (Harper & Harris III, 2010, p. 13)

These conversations that are happening on college campuses, locally and nationally, are directly informing decisions made about campus programming. Research about successful programming coupled with policy decisions has the potential to contribute to more effective outcomes on college campuses.

Greek Life and Athletics

Another social regulation beginning to be discussed more is the role of fraternity and sorority culture in promoting sexual assault. With the growing number of federal guidelines for gender violence prevention programming requirements on college campuses, an increasing amount of universities are placing an emphasis on programming for men. The Center for Disease Control (2004) outlines various levels of prevention models depending on who the program aims to serve (p. 7). One category includes, "approaches that are aimed at those who are taught to have a *heightened* risk for sexual violence perpetration or victimization are referred to as selected interventions" (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004, p. 7). In a gender-based violence prevention study that focused on campus fraternities, the idea of identifying risk was also discussed; "there are a variety of risk factors specific to university life that increase the likelihood of a college woman being a victim of sexual violence. Some of these risk factors include alcohol and substance use, fraternity organizations, a campus party culture, and belief in rape myths and traditional gender roles" (Mazar & Kirkner, 2016, p. 132). Similarly, a 2014 assessment, "Current Practices and Challenges with Engaging Men on Campus," notes that risk factors for the perpetration of gender-based violence are "easily linked to masculinity, such as societal norms supportive of sexual violence, male superiority, and male sexual entitlement" (Men Can Stop Rape, 2016, p. 7). Fletcher and Oxenden (2015) note that some universities have banned fraternities and sororities altogether due to their connection with high numbers of sexual assault. However, there has been research to suggest that using target communities such as fraternity members to "'infiltrate' and engage other men" can be beneficial for enlisting more men to do prevention work (Casey E., et al., 2016, p. 5). Prior research has shown that "all-male organizations, such as fraternities, tend to establish cultures that endorse violence against

women" (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2016, p. 2). Men's relationships with each other are extremely influential and can be used to encourage change in toxic spaces (A. Berkowitz, 2012). This unsettling knowledge can be used in a positive manner when considering programming options for men.

Conversely, sorority membership is connected to sexual assault probability. According to a report provided by the U.S. Department of Justice, being a member of a sorority increases the risk for a college woman to be assaulted, which can be attributed to the likelihood of sorority women to associate with fraternities and to drink more (Krebs, Lindquist, & Warner, 2007, pp. 2-7). Sarah Brubaker (2009) highlights recent research that notes this connection: "the authority and funding structure of fraternities that allows them to control campus partying and access to alcohol contributes to the greater likelihood for sexual assault to take place in these settings" (p. 65). Critics of fraternities on college campuses have pointed to the growing number of incidences that do not end in action against the perpetrator. A lack of consequences continues to send a message to perpetrators in these hegemonic masculine spaces that their actions are acceptable. For those reasons, it is not surprising to learn that fraternities have been a site of specific action for programming for men (J. Katz, 2006). A study done by sociologists Ayres Boswell and Joan Spade found that higher prestige fraternities promoted a higher level of sexual entitlement, making it easy to distinguish between "rape free" and "rape prone" fraternities (Kimmel, 2008, p. 234). Ideologies present around rape myths guided a fraternity being given the label "rape prone," often found among more high prestige fraternities (Kimmel, 2008, p. 234).

Similarly, Kimmel (2008) talks of a culture of silence, not only within fraternities but also in athletics, that allow assaults to continue (p. 230). Many scholars, like Kimmel, argue that the culture of silence coupled with feelings of sexual entitlement mix to make fraternities and all-

men's athletic teams prime places for not only assaults but also assaults that see fewer consequences. Sports law professors Anita M. Moorman and Barbara Osborne (2016) argue that not only do athletes see fewer consequences, but they receive favorable treatment (p. 551). They cite three main ways favorable treatment is carried out for athletes: an overlooking of past accusations of sexual violence, the ability for athletic departments to take over investigations which causes the victim to lose the desire to report, and the fact that the consequences for athletes are rarely athletic-based and often minimal (Moorman & Osborne, 2016, pp. 551-552). The institution thus becomes a factor in contributing to a culture that allows sexual assault rates to be as high as they are when certain populations are not held to the same standards of punishment.

Research has pointed out that athletics often fosters a similar culture to fraternities (Kimmel, 2008). One study that found that "although male student athletes comprise only 3.3% of the collegiate population, they accounted for 19 percent of sexual assault perpetrators" (Rammell, 2014, p. 135). Athletes are immersed in a world where they are treated with privilege and prestige, leading to a sense of entitlement to special treatment, at times that entitlement includes access to women regardless of consent (Kimmel, 2008, p. 234). Some research has even shown a correlation between membership to a fraternity or all men's athletic team and a higher likelihood to assault women (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2016; Demaria, et al., 2015). Both instances point to the problem in culture that is created in certain collegiate atmospheres. In a recent study that polled college administrators asking what they believe would best improve this work, most participants noted that Greek letter organizations and athletics should be targeted as places that need specific training for issues of sexual assault on college campuses (Amar, Strout, Simpson, Cardiello, & Beckford, 2014, p. 591). This research project helps to show how

programming for men can be a useful tool when looking for remedies for the many debates on college campuses surrounding the issue of sexual assault.

Gender-Based Violence Programming for Men

Men's involvement in gender-based violence prevention work is used as an umbrella term to describe an assortment of different programs and initiatives, including, "one-time community events, standardized interventions aimed at violence-related attitude and behavior change as well as a range of community outreach, education mobilization, and social action efforts" (Casey E. et al., 2016, p. 2). The intersection of these concepts on college campuses - masculinity, men in the movement, and violence against women - is where the research is less robust. Much research discusses each of these overarching concepts but lacks in connecting them all. In his book, *Cracking the Armour*, Michael Kaufman (1993) devotes one chapter to the concept of "men relating to men" (p. 189). The chapter focuses on interpersonal relationships between men and the potential difficulty of those relationships due to social norms. There is also a focus on how to change relationships on an individual level rather than how to get men to engage in a larger movement. In his book, *Guyland*, Michael Kimmel also touches on the idea of men being involved in the movement. After discussing the complex factors that contribute to the current state of manhood, Kimmel offers a short discussion of what factors make men choose a different path than the prescribed stereotypes. Again, focusing on how the individual can rise above, Kimmel (2008) suggests that aspects like having a charismatic adult in their lives and having friends outside of school can aid a man in following a non-violent path (pp. 271-272). As we know, not all men are privileged enough to experience this. Kimmel also mentions the importance of changing the culture and not just the individual. However, the idea that men should be involved in movements to which their behavior directly contributes is often missing

from the discussion. What is also commonly missing are connections to men's involvement and addressing issues of power. The conversation often focuses on individual levels of change versus change within systems. This project seeks to explore these missing pieces.

Kaufman (2001) presents the benefits of men becoming involved in the violence against women movement, which can increase their feelings of ownership of the problem. He suggests that men and boys listen to each other and highlights the possibility that some of these men are either primary or secondary victims themselves (Kaufman, 2001, p. 11). In an article published in *Men and Masculinities*, Erin Casey et al. interviewed men who are involved in the violence against women movement to identify challenges in engaging men in the VAW movement (Casey E. A., et al., 2012, p. 234). Again, the article discovered challenges in keeping men engaged but did not discuss how to get men involved in the first place. My thesis project seeks to analyze both the effective and ineffective ways to bring effective programming specifically for men to different campus spaces.

There are numerous social theories that have helped to shape research on masculinity, specifically men's education in the gender violence prevention field. One of these commonly used theories is social norms theory. Per Alan Berkowitz, "social norms research suggests that most males are mistaken about other male's attitudes and behaviors towards sex" (2013, p. 1). In terms of gender-based violence, "men who engage in verbal and physical violence against women incorrectly interpret other men's silence as approval, thus feeling emboldened to express and act violently towards women" (Berkowitz A. , 2013, p. 1). The performance of masculinity is theorized as a homosocial enactment that is approved by other men (Flood, 2008, p. 341). To live up to the standards men believe other men are achieving they use "markers of manhood" to move up the social ladder (Kimmel, 1994, p. 129). However, Berkowitz also points out that often

men do not approve of this behavior but stay silent to stay in line with the hegemonic ideal (p. 1).

Social norms theory can be a critical framework to use in programming for men because,

> To take a public stand against violence would require men to subvert and challenge
> hegemonic notions of masculinity. For those men who do not agree with certain
> behaviors that promote violence, they may be inhibited from acting as bystanders due to
> the perceived social norms of other men. (McMahon & Dick, 2011, p. 5)

Social norms theory can be used to guide decisions about content and the discussions within prevention programming to show men what are actual norms and what are merely (mis)perceptions.

An important component to be aware of is what will or what has motivated men to become involved in combatting gender-based violence; "educational work with boys 'must start with the boys' own interest, experiences and opinions'" (Connell, 2000, p. 169). According to a study conducted by Casey, Tolman, Carlson, Allen and Storer (2016), there were four most commonly reported reasons for men to become involved in the antiviolence work: concern for related social justice issues (87 percent), exposure to the issue of violence through work (70 percent), hearing a moving story about domestic or sexual violence (59 percent), and hearing a disclosure of abuse from someone close to the participant (55 percent) (p. 9). It is important to know what are common motivators for men in this work to know how people may connect and get further involved in the movement. A study done by university professors, Jacqueline R. Piccagallo Terry G. Lilley, and Susan L. Miller (2012), found that some approaches to getting men involved that work more successfully than others. They discussed the importance of men making personal connections with the issues, the significance of not blaming the entirety of men for the issue, having men be part of the delivery of this message to other men, and being

surrounded by only peers who are men for some discussions (Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012, pp. 510-516). Beginning to discuss motivation and structure will help in assessing successfulness of programs.

Before examining the three programs it was important to create a foundation of understanding. Reviewing violence against research and movements sets up a base for knowing what these historical influences has had on modern programming. Examining research on masculinity and men's programming helps to give understanding for what crucial aspects of the work should be included in programming. Looking at specific populations on college campuses also helps to guide programming content. Using this foundation, next the process by which each program was evaluated will be explained and detailed.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The current study was guided by the research questions: What past scholarship informs current approaches to sexual violence on college campuses, specifically approaches aimed at men? What criteria should be used to evaluate these programs? What guidance can help inform campuses as well as current and future programs? Programs were analyzed based on a synthesis of criteria given from previous research and altered to fit the current needs. This project evaluates three popular campus programs: Mentors in Violence Prevention, Coaching Boys into Men, and A Call to Men. Programs were evaluated against descriptions of each criterion. Next, based on the guidelines established below, a score ranging from 0-5 was given for each criterion within each program. A table showing grades follows each program evaluation. A score of 0 indicates that the criterion was not present in the program. A score increases the more it is represented in the program and reflects the guidelines of comprehensive programs established earlier. A score of 5 indicates that the criterion is fully represented in the program. The results are then put together after all individual evaluations to allow for comparisons. While there has been research that examines specific programs, there is a lack of research that does a comparative analysis of multiple national programs. This comparison can contribute to a more efficient way for schools and student organizations to examine what program is most useful for their needs and why. The research also examines in what ways national programs can be improved or enhanced by strategies from smaller, local programs. By highlighting that area, the research can illustrate techniques to carry out programming for men on campuses that are not able to bring in national programs.

There are many themes that have been established in research for programming aimed at men that provided a foundation for the established criteria used here. According to Berkowitz

and Kilmartin (2005), "these programs for men tend to focus on one or more themes: creation of empathy for victims, guidelines for understanding and achieving consent, men's responsibility for confronting other men's inappropriate language and/or behavior, or the relationship of men's socialization to sexual assault" (p. 91). It is important to note that the themes mentioned above relate to both conversations around healthy sexuality and the inclusion of socialization and culture. Discussions of social norms and socialization have played an increasingly important role in prevention programs. Much of the previously discussed research has shown the need for it, but it has not always been an agreed upon area to discuss.

The "Engaging Bystanders to Prevent Sexual Violence" report from The National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2013) served as a guide for the criteria used in this study. The report is significant in the field as it overviews effective prevention that can easily be translated into work on college campuses. Six of the eleven criterion outlined by the National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2013) were used to analyze the programs in the current study: **theoretically based**, **multiple strategies**, **high intensity**, **culturally/contextually specific**, **replicable**, **systematically assessed** (pp. 32-33). I omitted five criteria from the original guidelines: "outside school setting," "varied methods," "feasible," "mobilizes community," and "addresses intersectionality of oppressions." The "outside school setting" guideline did not fit the college campus focus that this study takes. I omitted the criterion, "varied methods," "feasible," "mobilizes community," and "addresses intersectionality of oppressions" as they were redundant and will be folded within discussions of other criteria. I added the criterion, **coordinated efforts**, as much research has pointed to the importance of prevention programs having success when they are collaborative and coordinated among participants on and off campus (Kaufman, 2001; Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016). I also added the criterion, **emphasize men's responsibility as**

bystanders, as it is another criterion that was present in much literature about programs intended to education men in programming (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016; Kilmartin & Berkowitz, 2005; Kaufman, 2001; Macomber, 2015). These two added criteria were not represented in the criteria presented by the National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2013) and therefore were given their own area of discussion. The final eight criteria are:

- Theoretically based.

- Coordinated efforts.

- Multiple strategies.

- High intensity.

- Culturally/contextually specific.

- Emphasize men's responsibility as bystanders.

- Replicable.

- Systematically assessed.

The guidelines speak to the recognition of difference that has been outlined in the literature review. Berkowitz (2005) identifies several emphases that are common within the programs that will be considered when further defining the criterion (pp. 91-93). His focus is both on cultural norms and the creation of empathy for men. This research project will use these proposed emphases when evaluating programs. Michael Kaufman (2001), co-founder The White Ribbon Project, a pro-feminist coalition of boys and men working to end violence against women, has created a similar set of guidelines that he believes should guide the work of engaging men in an organization; those guidelines will also help to further define the main criterion being used in this work (p. 13). There are relevant overarching themes present in the criterion that relate to existing literature: examining the problematic socialization of men,

building on personal experience and emotion, addressing societal myths about sexual assault,

building partnerships while honoring the women that created the field, and the importance of

intersectionality. Each of these themes align with the existing literature on masculinity and

successful programming. The themes outlined are represented throughout the chosen criterion for

this study. The next several sections will briefly discuss each criterion to establish a clear

framework for how each program was assessed.

Theoretically Based

First, the programs need to be theoretically based. Having a program grounded in theory

and research provides a more informed approach to prevention; "using data and research findings

about sexual violence on campus, such as demographics, needs assessments, prevalence,

reporting data, or climate surveys, can be used to tailor activities to specific communities on

campus to be more impactful" (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 8). Moreover, DeKeseredy

(2016) highlights the importance of theory from a feminist lens, pointing to the advancement in

victimization survey research because of work from feminist scholars (p. 3). Furthermore,

Harper and Harris III (2010), show the need for connection to theory in their work, *College Men*

and Masculinities: Theory, Research, and Implications for Practice. The book is laid out

specifically to lead with theory and research before applying it to tangible solutions. Programs

that are theoretically based are useful because they help to explain the rationale behind certain

choices in programming. The core theories that are used to ground programming will dictate

what approach the program takes. A report from "Men Can Stop Rape" (2014) points out that

theory and research allows them to justify their approaches (p. 26). One example the report

provides is the use of dominant and counter-story theory for engaging men (Men Can Stop Rape,

2014, p. 27). Dominant and counter-story theorists assert that dominant cultures produce "stock

stories" that are shared throughout levels of society to legitimate the dominant culture's power, ultimately being viewed as "truth" (Men Can Stop Rape, 2014, p. 27). In the education of men, this theory can be used to motivate men to challenge the hegemonic ideal that is present for men in our society by showing them that there are more stories to be told about men and that they can rise above the stereotype.

High Intensity

The next criterion used to examine programs is high intensity. For the purposes of this study, high intensity is used to judge the content of the program, specifically whether the program includes content that challenges what McMahon, Postmus, and Koenick (2015) call the "sexual violence continuum" (p. 118). The sexual violence continuum helps to explain how sexual violence is present in many forms, beyond the commonly considered behaviors such as rape and sexual assault, which are situated on one end of the continuum (McMahon, Postmus, & Koenick, 2015, p. 118). The other end, however, identifies less commonly acknowledged aspects of sexual violence, such as sexist language (McMahon, Postmus, & Koenick, 2015, p. 118). There is much research to support the inclusion of this continuum and the connection of both ends in preventing gender-based violence: "there is a link among these various behaviors and therefore intervention at one end of the continuum can have an impact on other behaviors" (McMahon, Postmus, & Koenick, 2015, p. 118). A program that is high intensity addresses both ends of the continuum.

Multiple Strategies

The third criterion used to evaluate programs was whether the program uses multiple strategies, meaning whether there are varying practices and activities used within one program. For example, Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016) identify the importance of incorporating social

media to engage students. They write that programs should "include students in prevention message developments and social media" (p. 11). Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016) go on to identify a strategy, STOP SV, to showcase multiple strategies that should be included in prevention efforts:

	Strategy	Approach
S	**Promote Social Norms that Protect Against Violence**	• Bystander approaches • Mobilizing men and boys as allies
T	**Teach Skills to Prevent Sexual Violence**	• Social-emotional learning • Teaching healthy, safe dating and intimate relationship skills to adolescents • Promoting healthy sexuality • Empowerment-based training
O	**Provide Opportunities to Empower and Support Girls and Women**	• Strengthening economic supports for women and families • Strengthening leadership and opportunities for girls
P	**Create Protective Environments**	• Improving safety and monitoring in schools • Establishing and consistently applying workplace policies • Addressing community-level risks through environmental approaches
SV	**Support Victims/Survivors to Lessen Harms**	• Victim-centered services • Treatment for victims of SV • Treatment for at-risk children and families to prevent problem behavior including sex offending

(p. 14)

Figure 1: STOP SV Prevention Efforts

These multiple strategies are used in this study to help evaluate how all-encompassing the various programs were. Multiple strategies can help assure that people from varying backgrounds find something with which to connect.

Emphasis on Men's Responsibility as Bystanders

The fourth criterion that was used to evaluate programs is the emphasis on men's responsibility as bystanders. Macomber (2015) quotes a men's anti-violence educator when she notes that "accountability is recognizing that what we do as men in this work is part of something much larger than ourselves" (p. 16). Berkowitz (2005) agrees by asserting that effective programming will help men to "understand how men are hurt by sexual assault, not only indirectly, but directly" (p. 91). Kaufman (2001) explains that the use of language emphasizing responsibility allows programming to move away from language of guilt and blame that will dissuade men from desiring to become involved (p. 12). Berkowitz (2004) similarly points to the importance of accountability by discussing bystander intervention programs; he writes that "the focus of bystander intervention programs is to provide the majority of men who are uncomfortable with these men's behavior with the permission and skills to confront them" (p. 3). This criterion allows for men to see their role in gender violence prevention and shows them that there are ways for their direct intervention.

Culturally and Contextually Specific

The fifth evaluation criterion is the degree to which the programs are culturally and contextually specific. Berkowitz (2004) notes that programming must address the multiple identities that men carry to truly be effective (p. 5). Without that awareness, Berkowitz (2004) continues, "there is a danger of imposing definitions and understandings from more established violence prevention efforts (which, like the larger culture, is predominantly white and middle class) upon other cultures and communities" (p. 5). Programs that are culturally and contextually specific also allows for a space to challenge stereotypes about gender-based violence within and among varying groups of men (A.D. Berkowitz, 2004, p. 5). For example, Berkowitz (2004)

points to the fact that men from different cultural groups often have varying experiences within the educational and criminal justice systems, systems that, "may influence receptivity to violence prevention" (Berkowitz A. D., 2004, p. 5). Men Can Stop Rape (2014) argues that a crucial way to assure that programming is culturally informed and relevant is to include students who are men in the campus process of choosing programming (p. 31). Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016) believe that being conscious of groups that have been historically marginalized on campus or are not always the main target of programming (such as immigrants, people of color, LGBTQ, disabled, international, and study abroad students) are good points to consider when trying to be culturally relevant (p. 11). They argue that varying campus contexts create different considerations about cultural relevance: "historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) with residential students may have different needs than a rural campus with students who commute" (p. 11).

Systematically Assessed

The sixth criterion used to evaluate programs is the assurance that they are systematically assessed. If a program is to be chosen for use on a college campus, colleges will want to know that there is an ability to assess the effectiveness of the program and may require evidence of its assessment from other college campuses, particularly because implementing programming on a college campus requires time, money, and many other resources. Researchers Katz and Moore (2013) point out that while the research evaluating programming is growing, "researchers and educators must continue to develop empirically supported approaches to decrease, and ultimately eliminate, campus sexual assault" (Katz & Moore, p. 1065). Similarly, Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016) assert that an evaluation plan "should include evaluation, questions, indicators, data sources and data collection methods" (p. 13). They continue to state that evaluation and

assessment can come at multiple levels. For example, while the staff working initially on prevention can help to develop evaluation tools, students and staff can later become responsible of monitoring and assessing the evaluation (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 13). Finally, Dills, Fowler, and Payne's (2016) description of the focus of evaluation is useful to consider; they note that "outcomes should go beyond knowledge acquisition, skill building, and attitude change to include outcomes that focus on behavior change and a reduction in perpetration, ideally, and also victimization" (p. 13).

Coordinated Efforts

The seventh criterion that was used to evaluate programs is coordinated efforts. For the purposes of this study, coordinated efforts will be used to discuss the inclusion of partnerships from different organizations, whether on or off campus. Having vast partnerships on and off campus can better assure that there will be support for education programs aimed at men on college campuses. Coordinated efforts also reinforces how important it is to be having conversations about gender based violence in multiple arenas on campus. Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016) note the importance of partnering with rape crisis centers and LGBTQIA resource centers specifically (p. 8). By including these organizations, they argue, coordination of sexual violence prevention strategies between campus and the broader community is likely to be more effective (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 8). On campus partnerships, per Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016), should include faculty, staff, and students in leadership positions to better ensure implementation of the program (p. 12). Additional useful partnerships include student health departments, wellness centers, and local emergency departments as they are on the "frontline for sexual assault survivors" (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 12). Michael Kaufman sets forth guidelines detailing the involvement of men in gender violence prevention work, a key aspect is

that "consolation, co-operation, collaboration, and coordination should be done with women and women's groups" (Kaufman, 2001, p. 13). It is important to consider what collaborations can not only help get the program traction on a college campus, but also what partnerships can help to inform the program itself.

Replicability

Replicability is the eighth criterion that is used to evaluate programs in the current study. Replicability is defined here as the ability for the program to be easily adopted on a college campus and whether the program is then sustainable over time. A program that is more feasible will have materials for educators on campus to easily continue to do programs after the initial programs are done, such as including program outlines for facilitators (Kilmartin & Berkowitz, 2005, p. 86). Per the "Men Can Stop Rape" (2014) assessment, to sustain a program, it should saturate the campus with events (p. 33). They go on to identify the importance of allowing space for the continuation of training new allies and educators on campus to make the program sustainable (Men Can Stop Rape, 2014, p. 33). As discussed earlier in the section about the importance of coordinated efforts, the ability to institutionalize efforts across campus will also help to assure the program is sustainable (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 9).

Based on the criteria outlined above, I reviewed the contents of each program. I evaluated how well the content of their programs matched with the eight criteria, giving a score for each criterion within each program. Information about the origin of the program as well as the outlines for administering the program were evaluated. By looking at all materials available I examined the foundational information about each program.

Chapter Four: Results

This chapter shares the results of the evaluation and includes in-depth discussion about the

degree to which each program exhibited the eight criteria outlined as crucial to program success.

The following results will be discussed program-by-program with an explanatory table following

each program section to explain their grade for each criterion. After each program evaluation, the

chapter includes a larger discussion of how the programs can be compared and what the overall

comparisons were.

Mentors in Violence Prevention

The first program, Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP), is rooted in a strong

theoretical base, the first criterion by which the program was measured. In the introduction of

the MVP Trainer's Guide, the "MVP Philosophy" explains how the bystander approach is used

as a guiding principle for the creation of the overall program. The program is further informed by

an education philosophy adapted from, "Dr. Ron Slaby's Habits of Thought Model, which

reflects the thoughts of perpetrators, victims and bystanders during conflicts" (Mentors in

Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 6). The bystander approach is one rooted in significant theoretical

analysis, which is evident in one of the first activities of the program itself. In "the bystander

exercise," the trainer is supposed to ask questions about what a bystander is, if bystanders have

power, and why we should focus bystanders in the first place (Mentors in Violence Prevention,

2009, p. 18). The exercise directly conveys to participants that the focus on bystanders is

fundamental to the program; hopefully, the questions posed by trainers may push the participants

to start seeing themselves in that role. There is a diagram in the closing section of the program

that also showed the program's commitment to theory and research (Mentors in Violence

Prevention, 2009, p. 118). The "power and control wheel" is a diagram that helps "in understanding the overall pattern of abusive and violent behaviors, which are used by a batterer to establish and maintain control over his partner (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 118). The wheel diagram was created by the National Center on Domestic and Sexual Violence through research on dynamics of abusive relationships. It is also worth noting that in the introductory section of the program is a list of "working definitions" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 13). The list of definitions helps to define the problem and further supports a theoretical base.

Another way MVP is rooted in theory and research is the way it makes use of relevant statistics. Following many exercises are relevant statistics about the issue. For example, the exercise, "Slapshot" details a dating violence situation that takes place at a college party (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 41). Following the set-up for the scenario are related statistics about battering, the spectrum of potential victims of battering, and the systematic use of abuse by partners who are men. These statistics offer the trainers references to address potential participant questions. The last section of the trainer's manual (2009) contains a standalone list of "relevant statistics" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, p. 120). Within this section, the manual compiles a more comprehensive list of statistics on the topics of battery, rape/sexual assault, deaths, economic impact of violence against women, gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender assault, and other related topics. Again, having statistics at the ready is not only convenient for those who will be leading the program, but shows that there is research to support the varied scenarios within the program itself.

The second criterion evaluated within the MVP program is **high intensity**. There are numerous exercises throughout MVP that helped to create a higher intensity program, addressing

numerous points along the continuum of violence. The "Types of Abuse & Types of Respect Exercise," first reflects this criterion by widening the understanding of how abuse manifests in relationships (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 27). The exercise encourages the participants to list different types of abuse, including verbal, emotion/mental, physical, and sexual. Then, participants are prompted to brainstorm examples for all four types. For instance, verbal abuse may take the form of name-calling or spreading rumors (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 27). This exercise has the potential to push the participant's understanding of gender-based violence past merely sexual violence.

Going even further away from the sexual violence end of the continuum were two other exercises: the "Box Exercise" and the "Pyramid of Sexism." The "Box Exercise" seeks to address "some of the social factors that can play a role in instigating violence and abuse" and "the stereotypical messages we receive from our culture about what it means to be a man/woman – not what you personally believe" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 29). Asking participants to name what stereotypical traits are attributed to men and women has the potential to push participants to further understand how gender norms contribute to gender-based violence. In the same vein, the "Pyramid of Sexism" exercise presents an opportunity for participants to connect everyday microaggressions, like jokes and objectification, to sexual violence (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 33). The exercise highlights the foundational properties these microaggressions share, using the visual of a pyramid. Both exercises connect sexual violence to the other end of the sexual violence continuum outlined previously.

The third criterion evaluated in the MVP program was **multiple strategies**. The program is broken into two different curriculum sections that consist of supplemental exercises to set the foundation of the program and then the scenarios that mimic real world situations and ways to

remedy those situations. The supplemental exercises vary in implementation; some require participants to share opinions, while others are chances to learn about varying topics on the sexual violence continuum (from gender norms to rape). The scenarios included in the program are designed for participants to start seeing themselves as active bystanders in scenarios that may sound like their own experiences. For example, one scenario discusses a man who is drunk and "keeps inappropriately touching women and grabbing their asses" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 54). Participants are then given space to discuss what realistic options they could carry out, from confronting him directly to talking to his on-campus residential advisor (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 54). While much of the program is discussion-based, there are varying prompts to guide the facilitation of the discussion. Within the "STOP SV" outline provided by Dills, Fowler, and Payne (2016), the program content promotes social norms that protect against violence and teach skills for prevention (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016, p. 14). However, the program falls short in conversations around how to use this knowledge to empower girls and women and encouraging participants to utilize services.

The fourth criterion evaluated in the MVP program is whether the program **emphasizes men's responsibility**. The origins of MVP are centralized around the responsibility of men, specifically athletes who are men, to help eradicate gender-based violence. MVP saw the success of marketing campaigns used to change men's behavior and decided to also take advantage of the power men contain to change culture. The program is designed to guide men to model new social norms. As the manual describes,

> The idea that men with traditionally "masculine" credibility can help revise the very
> definition of what it means to be "manly" is directly related to the premise of the original
> sports-based, multi-racial MVP Program, which was the first large-scale attempt to enlist

male college and high school student-athletes in the fight against rape, battering, sexual

harassment, and all forms of men's violence against women. (Mentors in Violence

Prevention, 2009, p. 5)

This statement is presented early in the introductory section of the program and serves as a guide

for all subsequent content.

There are numerous points within the program which emphasized men's participation and

need for culpability. For instance, one of the introductory exercises, "Agree, Disagree, Unsure,"

makes the following statement: "boys and men don't need to be concerned with rape, battering or

sexual harassment because there are women's issues;" participants are then asked to choose

where their opinion falls. Asking this question early on can help to plant the seed of

understanding of men's responsibility. The concept is later built upon in the resources section

included in the program. There is a list, "10 Things Men Can Do," that has everyday suggestions

that men can deploy, such as "Recognize and speak out against homophobia and gay-bashing" or

"Refuse to purchase any magazine, videos, or music that portray women in a degrading or

violent manner" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 114). There is also information

included to help men understand and disrupt situations of acquaintance rape: "Remember that

date rape is a crime. It is never acceptable to use force in sexual situations, no matter what the

circumstances" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 116). The whole program is based on

the premise that men are crucial in ending gender-based violence.

The fifth criterion used to evaluate the programs is whether a program was

culturally/contextually specific. The "Mentors in Violence Prevention – Campus Leadership

Initiative" (MVP-CLI) manual that the current study used is an adapted "version of the MVP

program for use with a wide range campus groups through the US DOJ VAWA Grants to

Prevent Violence Against Women on Campus" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 7). This is present throughout the range of scenarios that are supposed to mirror a variety of scenarios, "tailored to fit the various campus sub-cultures, including group-specific scenarios and language in the MVP-CLI Playbook" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 7). It is obvious that the program was designed for different moments that many college students may face contextually, but that did not necessarily translate to differences in cultural backgrounds.

Indications of culturally/contextually specificity appeared in the introductory materials but are less present throughout the program itself. The program technically addresses two different specific populations. In a "Note About Trainers" that precedes the main program materials, a point is made about the importance of having training teams that reflect the racial diversity of the participants to "underscore the fact that sexual and domestic violence are pervasive societal problems that cut across social distinctions" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 4). The importance of race is again pointed to quickly in the list of "MVP Goals;" one goal acknowledges the existence of racism, sexism and classism in society and the need to challenge that thinking (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 7). While the importance of race is mentioned in materials about the program, it is not as present in many of program-provided exercises.

In addition to race, sexual orientation is addressed as a specific context to address within the program materials. Two exercises address issues of sexual orientation and subsequently homophobia. The first scenario, "Interference," addresses the harassment of lesbians and is designed to provide "the opportunity to address the problem of discrimination against lesbians and gays while linking it to the larger issue of gender violence" (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 61). The scenario for trainers discusses the possibility of pushback from students based

on religion or social norms and gives advice for keeping the discussion focused on the connection to violence and harassment (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 61). A similar scenario is present later to specifically address harassment of gay men. While these scenarios are important, and an attempt to address homophobia--and acknowledge sexual orientations beyond heterosexuality-- trainers may choose to incorporate these scenarios or not, making it easy to dismiss bringing in this perspective. Overall, the program has clear goals of addressing culturally and contextually specific populations but the concept is not clearly threaded throughout the whole program.

The sixth criterion is whether the program has been or could be **systematically assessed**. Online resources through the program website are helpful consultation for this criterion as this information is not included in the program materials they provide to trainers. The MVP website includes a section devoted to evaluation that explains: "MVP has been independently evaluated in High School, College, Adult Professional and Military settings and has been proven to have statistically significant positive change in participant knowledge, attitude and behavior" (Mentors in Violence Prevention , 2017). Specific to college campuses, there are numerous reports referenced, including, "Evaluating the Mentors in Violence Prevention Program: Preventing Gender Violence on a College Campus" (Cissner, 2009). The report includes details about the program's impact on participant attitudes, subsequent predicted behaviors, and impact on official reports of violence at Syracuse University, the university where the evaluation took place (Cissner, 2009). There is also a report that specifically discusses the MVP-CLI program that was used in this study. The report evaluates the results of offering campuses training to carry out the program on their own, something that would be of interest to schools looking for programs that fit their own campus (Slaby, Branner, & Martin, 2011). Overall, evaluation is

available about the existing program but little guidance is given for schools to assess their own implementation of the program.

The seventh criterion is the presence of **coordinated efforts** within a program. MVP's origin was working with athletes specifically, making the program overall very conducive to collaborating with athletic departments on campus, an idea outlined in the introductory portion of the program (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009, p. 7). Beyond suggestions of working with campus leaders, like athletes, MVP does little to suggest partnerships on campus that can be useful when working on issues of gender-based violence. The only place within the program that discusses reaching out to other areas on campus is in the actual scenario exercise. Some of the options for action given in different scenarios include talking to residence hall staff or campus police. These suggestions, however, are for participants after an event happens and do not pertain to the overall coordinated efforts of the program itself. A campus would need to coordinate efforts on their own as the program provides little to no guidance in this arena.

The final criterion, **replicability**, is not specifically discussed frequently in the program materials but the program structure can help to determine replicability. The program materials are set up to make trainers successful through information about origins of the program, tips for different discussion possibilities, how to work with disclosures and more (Mentors in Violence Prevention, 2009). The program also includes an outline of the presentation that can be easily followed. At the beginning of every exercise or scenario the program includes information for the trainer to be effective and prepared. In this aspect, the program would be easy to replicate after people are initially trained in the program. Discussion of replicability appears more in a report included on their website than in the program materials themselves. In "Evaluating the Mentors in Violence Prevention Program: Preventing Gender Violence on a College Campus,"

Cissner (2009) outlines how Syracuse University worked to make their MVP implementation sustainable and regularly offered. Although MVP offers little directly related to this issue, the program does provide reports that have talked about how other campuses or organizations have continued the program, which would be useful for new campuses.

Table 1: MVP Criteria Scores

CRITERIA	Theoretically Based	High Intensity	Multiple Strategies	Emphasize Men's Responsibility	Culturally/ Contextually Specific	Systematically Assessed	Coordinated Efforts	Replicable
SCORE	5	5	3	5	2	4	2	4

Coaching Boys into Men

It is difficult to find any references to a **theoretical base** for the Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) program material. The only research referenced throughout the program are statistics showing the frequency of gender based violence. While important to include, even these sections do not go deeper into the data to disaggregate the information into more specifics about gender based violence and the intersection of race, sexual orientation, etc. Instead the statistics given are averages that mask these nuances. In the introductory section of the program, there is a brief discussion as to why the program focuses on athletes and coaches. The section explains the unique role both groups play as leaders on their campus and the role they could play in contributing to changing culture. However, much like the program itself, this description falls short of any grounding in theory.

There are numerous references throughout the program material that showed that the program modeled aspects of the second criterion, **high intensity**. The first example of this took place in a section focused on bullying, when the material made the connection that,

Evidence shows that students who feel harassed or bullied are more likely to be absent and do poorly in school, or even to engage in risky behaviors. It's also been proven that

bullying and harassment among peers is linked to abusive behavior in dating

relationships. That's why Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) encourages you to establish

your locker room as a safe space – free from harassment or degrading remarks based on

gender, sexual orientation, race or ethnicity, or any other identity. No matter what, every

student deserves to feel safe and respected on your team and at school. (Coaching Boys

into Men, 2017)

The reference to bullying is a strong example of relating to both ends of the continuum of

violence, addressing the connection that everyday behaviors have with gender based violence.

The conversation about bullying in the program goes further to give coaches the language and

tools to discuss these issues with their team, explaining what bullying is, why it matters, and how

to lead by example in the fight to end it. Another example of how the CBIM program is high

intensity is in the CBIM playbook (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). The playbook begins with a

section for coaches further explaining the distinction between damaging behavior, language, and

gender based violence. It then presents a section called "Teachable Moments" that outlines

different possible scenarios coaches may encounter with their teams. One example reads,

During a time out at practice, Jennifer, a freshman on the tennis team, is walking alone

across the gym or toward the east entrance. She's known to the guys to be attractive.

While you're adjusting the VCR to show your players a video on teamwork, some of

your boys in the back-notice Jennifer and start howling, whistling and making

inappropriate comments. You notice that she is uncomfortable and perhaps a little scared,

but she holds her head up and continues through the gym. (Coaching Boys into Men,

2017, p. 29)

This scenario is accompanied with ways for the coach to address the situation and turn it into a

moment where the team can learn about how issues on one end of the sexual violence continuum can lead to actions on the other end. CBIM also provides an "International Playbook" that was created with UNICEF for soccer coaches. A section of advice is included for both players and coaches, outlining inappropriate behavior, such as lewd language, bullying, and sexual or physical violence (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). Throughout the program the connection is made between multiple points along the continuum of violence to make the program more intense for participants.

The program is weak in the use of **multiple strategies**, the third criterion. In the CBIM "Card Series Curriculum" section, there are numerous scenarios outlined with introductions to the topic of that lesson, thought-provoking questions, discussion points, and ways to wrap up the conversation. The only exception to this outline occurs if there is a situation a coach must immediately respond to. In this case, they can use the "Teachable Moments" section to help form responses to unwanted behavior. While the scenarios are thorough in their conception, this was the only method for teaching; the methods do not vary greatly throughout the whole program. The only other type of exercises in the book are outlined opportunities for athletes and coaches to learn to reach out to their communities for collaborative efforts, a criterion to be discussed later. Thus, though the content varies, the delivery does not. Literature suggests that an important piece of multiple strategies is connecting with other resources which the CBIM does do successfully.

The next criterion, an **emphasis on men's responsibility**, is shown at one key point in the program. First, in the CBIM "Card Series Curriculum," the second training session, "Personal Responsibility," has goals that reflect this criterion, including:

1. Recognize the consequences of their behavior and how their language and conduct reflect on themselves, the team, and others.

2. Accept responsibility and hold themselves accountable for their actions.

(Coaching Boys into Men, 2017)

The exercise continues with questions that ask the athletes about not only the ways they can hold themselves responsible, but their teammates who are men as well, diving into the idea of being an effective bystander. Personal responsibility for the athletes who are men to speak up and be bystanders was presented in other exercise throughout the program. The presence of these implies an emphasis on the importance of men taking responsibility, though the program material doesn't usually use those exact words. For example, training session eleven in the CBIM "Card Series Curriculum" is centered around modeling respect and promoting equality (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). The coach is advised to ask the athletes a series of questions about how they themselves can change their behavior to model respect and how they can help others do the same. Though this section does not use the language of "male responsibility," it seems clear that is what they are being invited to model, particularly when they are asked to call out their peers who are men on sexist language. Another example occurs in the "Coaching Boys into Men Playbook" section, which mentions talks about "staying on the sidelines" when a form of gender based violence takes place. This exercise places responsibility on the participants who are men, without specifically identifying why it should be their responsibly as men. While there are exercises that alluded to the responsibility of men to be bystanders, the program lacks a full conversation about the topic.

CBIM is already designed for a subset of college or high school men but there were brief points throughout the program that the fifth criterion, **culturally/ contextually specific,** was addressed within three specific populations. First, in the CBIM "Card Series Curriculum," there is a section devoted to talk of adapting the curriculum to fit the specific needs of a team

(Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). In this section is talk of the importance of choosing relevant examples and references that make sense to a team. Some examples include: enlisting assistant coaches for athletes to hear multiple people as models of this behavior, as well as being creative and realistic about the time needed to complete the program. A later part of the CBIM program, in the section that addressed bullying, included a statement about specific populations that may be at risk for bullying or harassment:

Some students may be at higher risk for bullying, particularly students with disabilities and those perceived to be lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender (LGBT). You can help reduce that risk by creating safe and inclusive spaces, where diversity is valued and everyone is welcome. Speak out if you hear anyone called a "retard," "spaz," "homo," or "fag." Your leadership will help make LGBT students, students with disabilities, and all students feel safer on your team. (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017)

There was no mention of making the program culturally/contextually specific beyond this statement. The CBIM curriculum briefly addresses specific populations that may be at risk for bullying in school settings, however, it falls short of examining any specific cultural populations.

Systematic assessment is well presented in the CBIM program. The program includes an easy-to-follow section on the success of CBIM and what research has been done to support this system. CBIM underwent a three-year evaluation to test effectiveness. "Sixteen high schools and over 2,000 athletes participated in the randomized-controlled trial. Athletic coaches from eight of the sixteen schools received training and implemented the program. The remaining eight schools were 'control' schools, meaning that they did not participate in CBIM until after the evaluation was complete." (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). And at the three month follow up,

…athletes who participated in CBIM were significantly more likely to report intentions to

intervene (e.g., telling an adult, talking to the people involved, etc.), and when witnessing abusive or disrespectful behaviors among their peers, they were actually more likely to intervene than those not in the program. One year later, compared to athletes who did not receive the program, athletes who participated in CBIM were more likely to report less abuse perpetration and less negative bystander behavior (e.g., not saying anything, or laughing) when witnessing abusive or disrespectful behavior among their peers.

(Coaching Boys into Men, 2017)

A separate evaluation kit can be downloaded from their website that gives more information on research done on the program. The kit includes five articles that inquire into the usefulness of the CBIM program. One article noted that "intervention coaches demonstrated significant increases in positive bystander intervention, confidence intervening with athletes, frequency of violence prevention discussions with athletes, and frequency of program discussion with other coaches compared with controls" (Jaime, et al., 2014). The articles show similar results to the one previously cited, that participation in the program is correlated with a higher likelihood to intervene in gender based violence incidents.

The evaluation kit also includes evaluation tools designed for both those leading the program and those participating. Because the program is intended for athletes, the evaluations are classified as pre-season survey, post-season survey, and end of the season survey. The guidelines for evolution explain that the pre-and post-tests are designed to be used together to gauge effectiveness of the program (Coaching Boys Into Men, 2013, p. 2). Following the guidelines are detailed outlines of how to enter the data a program leader collects. This is followed by the pre-created surveys ready to print and use. The kit contains everything a program leader would need to do assessment of their work. Overall, the CBIM does an excellent

job of providing assessment materials for those who use the program. They also provide tools for the leader of the program to assess their ability to lead and how successful the program was. The CBIM program also provides information on assessment of the program at large, showing the success the program has had in schools around the country.

The seventh criterion, the use of **coordinated efforts**, is present throughout numerous sections of the program. In the preparation component of the CBIM "Card Series Curriculum" is a section about recruiting allies to carry out the program making it even more successful (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). The program suggests collaborating with school administrators, athletic directors, violence prevention advocates, fellow coaches, parents, and local media. For what seems like mainly publicity purposes, here are ways to reach out already mocked up within the program ready for coaches and players to use. For example, the packet includes a form letter that is intended to be used to invite local sports reporters to a game and learn more about their work with the CBIM program. There is also an outline for a fan pledge day to be used at games. The pledge is designed to show the community the work the team is doing with CBIM and to also encourage community members to pledge their commitment against gender based violence. Finally, there is a school radio script that can be used to reach out to local radio to promote the work of the team with the CBIM program. While the program encourages making connections, many of the templates provided were for promotion versus actual collaboration. The CBIM program provides sufficient information on how to find allies for the program and encourages program leaders to make use of the outlines for collaboration they provide. However, program leaders should use the materials to make connections for the program itself and not just for promotional purposes. This caveat prevented the CBIM from attaining a 5 in this category.

Another example of coordinated efforts is the program's inclusion of resources for coaches and athletes. Early in the program, the section entitled, "Need Help," includes national organizations that can be contacted for issues of sexual violence, dating violence, domestic abuse, suicide prevention and specially suicide prevention for members of the LGBT population (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). There are also resources that specifically address bullying, such as PACER's National Bullying Prevention Center and Changing the Game, the GLSEN Sports Project (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). CBIM provides many outlets for program leaders to look to if problems arose that were outside of their expertise.

The ability for the program to be **replicated**, the eighth criterion, is shown numerous times throughout the program. Coaches wanting to adapt this program for their team would find detailed instructions on how to do so effectively and easily. First, the overview section provides a brief introductory description to explain the importance of programs like CBIM. The next section talks about how to get started, what the layout of weekly meeting can look like, how to use the layout of the playbook and card series for easy meeting outlines and more (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). Each exercise is laid out to include background information, set up for that day, how to address hiccups in the lesson and ways to engage the team beyond the lesson. It also includes sections for a coach to read to determine whether they are ready to do the work. In the section, "Are You a CBIM Coach?", coaches can read through statements such as: "is dedicated to developing positive character and leadership among their athletes" to decide if they are ready to commit themselves to live a lifestyle that models healthy behavior for their team (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). The next section titled, "Coach Readiness Assessment," has a list of questions coaches should ask themselves before taking on the lead role in the program. If they answer no to any questions, such as, "I know who to contact if I have any questions or need

support with difficult topics covered in CBIM," the material offers suggestion about how to remedy the situation. The program advises that "Throughout the season, you may need support to address questions or concerns. It's important to be prepared with resources and know who you can contact for help" (Coaching Boys into Men, 2017). The materials provide a great deal of informational support that allows coaches to continue doing this work and have resources available to them while doing it. Overall, because of the plethora of materials provided, CBIM scores a 5 in this category. The program could be easily replicated after an initial implementation with the resources available with the CBIM program.

Table 2: CBIM Criteria Scores

CRITERIA	Theoretically Based	High Intensity	Multiple Strategies	Emphasize Men's Responsibility	Culturally/ Contextually Specific	Systematically Assessed	Coordinated Efforts	Replicable
SCORE	1	5	2	3	2	5	4	5

A Call to Men

A Call to Men (ACTM) provides limited information on the **theoretical basis** for its program details. It is noted online that "the organization's approach is grounded in the social ecological model, advocated by the Centers for Disease Control, as a framework for primary prevention of gender-based violence;" this description alludes to following a specific theoretical framework, but the program does not provide more extensive information (A Call to Men, 2016). Despite this gap, they do provide several statistics and facts relevant to the issue of gender based violence that they use to show why the program focuses on prevention programming for men. The program materials state that "research shows that men and boys who adhere to rigid, traditional notions of gender roles and masculinity are more likely to report having used violence against a partner" (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 2). The program continues to provide statistics

concerning the frequency of gender based violence and its victims. Thus, while the program includes important facts about the issue, it lacks a sufficient explanation for its theoretical basis.

High intensity, the second criterion, is present in numerous places of the ACTM program. One of their fact sheets provides an introductory overview of the program and asks the question, "what is the root cause of violence against women?" (A Call to Men, 2015). The answer provided states that ACTM "recognizes that the underlying causes of violence and discrimination against women are rooted in the ways women and girls have been traditionally viewed and treated in our society. Men are socialized to view women as objects, the property of men, and of less value than men. These ideas are taught to men – sometimes unconsciously – and reinforced by society" (A Call to Men, 2015). This directly relates to the idea that sexual violence is a continuum and must be addressed at numerous points to create change. All nine lesson plans in the program work together to address different points along the continuum. For example, "Lesson 2: Society's Gender Rules" and "Lesson 4: The Media Connection" address social norms and socialization, while "Lesson 6: Understanding Sexual Harassment" and "Lesson 7: Understanding Sexual Assault" directly address the gender-based violence end of the spectrum.

The program includes numerous tip sheets that list ten strategies for involvement aimed at different populations or situations. One sheet, titled, "10 Things Men Can Do to Promote Gender Equality," provides numerous things listed related to multiple points on the continuum of violence. For example, the materials suggest that participants "challenge other men when they say or do disrespectful things toward women and girls, such as tell a sexist joke or only make eye contact with men when they are talking" and "support women in society – see movies produced by women, read books written by women or buy art made by women" (A Call to Men, 2015).

Another sheet, titled, "10 Things Men and Boys Can Do to Break Out of the Man Box," includes suggestions such as, "express a broad range of emotions – including fear, sadness and hurt – and support other men and boys in expressing their emotions in a safe way" and "develop an interest in the experience of women and girls, outside of sexual conquest and discuss the meaning of consent with young men in your life" (A Call to Men, 2015). Thus, this high intensity program weaves together lessons that address multiple points along the sexual violence continuum.

The third criterion, **multiple strategies**, is shown through the varying activities included in each lesson. Each lesson plan in the "Educator Guide" contains multiple activities and handouts to best deliver the lesson theme. The first activity in "Lesson 2: Society's Gender Rules" asks participants to read a provided passage and then underline the gender-specific terms (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 12). The passage reverses gender norms (such as in the example, "when both men and women speak, they often use the word 'womankind' to describe human beings") and asks participants to think critically about how the passage challenges gender norms (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 12). The second activity in Lesson 2 contains a list of questions. Examples include, "How are you supposed to behave in sports?" and "How are you expected to look and dress?" (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 13). Next to the list of questions is a column for boys and one for girls. Participants are asked to fill the chart in and give the expectations for the different genders. These represent just two examples of varied activities present throughout each of the nine lessons.

In "Lesson 4: The Media Connection," the program also connects participants to social media, an important aspect identified in the literature (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 17). The lesson aims to "identify media messages about gender roles and sexuality," "examine the concept of objectification in media – print ads and song lyrics," "define the term objectification," and "help

raise boys' awareness and sensitivity to negative portrayals of women" (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 17). The lesson activity analyzes a print ad, allowing the participants to connect gender-based violence to the images they see every day. While the program lacks in connecting participants to outside resources, its internal methods of teaching and topics are highly varied.

An **emphasis on men's involvement**, the fourth criterion, is present throughout numerous sections of the program materials. In the introductory, "At a Glance" section, the program states, "If men embrace a healthy, respectful manhood, many of our social ills – from domestic violence and sexual assault to bullying and discrimination – would drastically decrease." Thus, the program directly establishes a correlation between the involvement of men and the ending of gender based violence. As previously shown, ACTM uses tip sheets to share information about strategies for involvement. The sheets directly speak to the importance of men's involvement in gender violence prevention. Tip sheets such as "10 Things Men and Boys Can Do to Break Out of the Man Box" and "10 Things Men Can Do to Promote Gender Equality" show the program's commitment to a focus on men (A Call to Men, 2015).

Similarly, the first exercise in the "Educator Guide" titled "the man box" is based around the idea of challenging stereotypes of masculinity and the connection that can have in ending gender based violence (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 5). Along with serving as a pre-assessment of the participants' knowledge, this exercise aims to "identify rules society has taught us about the roles of men and boys and women and girls" (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 5). The figure below provides examples of stereotypes that surround masculinity and what rules they can be translated into.

BREAK OUT OF THE BOX

THE MAN BOX
No pain Powerful Women are objects
Strong No feelings Protector
No fear In charge Decision maker
Aggressive No emotions (except anger)
No weakness Tough
Athletic Courageous
Women are property Dominating

MAN BOX RULES

Don't be vulnerable. Don't be too loving.
Don't act like a woman.
Don't be too caring. Don't ask for help.
Don't be too committed.
Always be in control.
Don't be too nice or too kind.
Don't show weakness.
Don't show emotions. Act like a man.

(A Call to Men, 2015, p. 6)

Figure 2: Break Out of the Box

Included in the exercise are stereotypical beliefs like, "women are objects" or "women are property" (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 6). The conversation in this exercise addresses the belief that breaking out of the man box contributes to ending gender based violence. The ACTM program does an excellent job of reiterating the importance of emphasizing men's responsibility as bystanders throughout all the program materials.

The fifth criterion, the degree to which a program is **culturally/contextually specific**, is addressed for three specific populations. First, the LGBT community, which addressed in the program guide under a section on barriers and concerns. It reads,

Gender-based violence doesn't just impact women and girls, but also males who are perceived as not "masculine" enough or females who are considered to be "too masculine." It is important to address heterosexist and homophobic statements that boys may make and explain that these beliefs are part of the man box and may escalate to violence or abuse. (A Call to Men, 2015)

While an important point, that is the only mention of the LGBT community throughout the program materials. Another specific community addressed are men of faith or men who practice

a religious belief. There was a tip sheet that specifically catered to men of faith to address things in their community, such as "encourage your place of worship to create a policy that promotes sanctions that prevent violence against women and girls" (A Call to Men, 2015). Finally, there is a section to address men who are survivors of sexual assault. The paragraph allotted to this population discusses the importance of being aware that it is possible there will be survivors who are men among the participants and the importance of helping them find resources. These brief mentions of these three populations were the extent to which a cultural/contextual specificity was addressed. The program lacks deep exploration into specific cultural populations.

　　Systematic assessment, the sixth criterion, is addressed in two places of the program. First was the "2016 Impact Report," which details how many people have been through the training, what communities the program reached, the media coverage, and the amount of people reached in ACTM special, national, and global initiatives (A Call to Men, 2016, p. 1). The report also included a brief mention of independent research conducted on the effectiveness of the program, citing that the North Carolina State University found that the ACTM model, "increased the principles of healthy, respectful manhood in men" (A Call to Men, 2015). However, the report did not go into any detail about the specifics of the research done.

　　Embedded within Lesson 1 and Lesson 9 are pre-tests and post-tests used to gauge how the participants progress throughout the program (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 5). The pre-test, "What Do You Think?" asks questions about participants' experiences with gender norms and stereotypes. The program uses the same questionnaire for the post-test. The program leader can then directly measure the difference in attitudes related to gender norms with the provided assessment tools. At the end of the "Educator Guide" is an evaluation form designed for program leaders to take after every lesson (A Call to Men, 2015). The form is a tool to assess progress

throughout the program. If a program leader wishes to make their program certified on their campus, these forms must be completed and sent to the organization. Overall, while the program does provide research that examined the program, it lacks detail about the outcomes. The ACTM program provides sufficient materials for program leaders to assess effectiveness.

The seventh criterion, **coordinated efforts**, is addressed in two main sections of the ACTM program. First, one tip sheet specifically addresses the importance of including multiple facets of a community, beyond just program participants. Suggestions included talking to local newspapers, community theatres, youth sports organizations, local churches, local violence prevention centers, and more. As this program is still being primarily used for middle and high school boys, many of the suggestions for collaboration are relevant for that population but can translate to a college community. All the local organizations listed could also be contacted when working with college students (instead of the school board, perhaps relevant college campus offices). The outlines for making connections provided address both promotion of the program and collaboration with the program but did so in limited detail. The program provides suggestions for coordination but provides limited information on how to carry out such collaboration.

The final criterion, **replicability**, is not specifically addressed in the program but can be judged based on information given in the materials. The "Program and Certification Process Guide," under the section, "How to Use This Program," includes a layout of where to begin with the program, again catering to a younger population, discussing permission slips and parental consent being a part of the program (A Call to Men, 2015, p. 5). It then discusses the contents of the program including lessons, handouts, and how to handle potential concerns or barriers. Each lesson plan is detailed and includes objectives, materials needed, time required, tips for coaches,

and steps to completing the activities for that lesson (A Call to Men, 2015). The program lacks a robust discussion of coordinating efforts, which is an important aspect of judging the replicability of a program. With the information given, the program would be possible to carry out beyond an initial program implementation if other areas, such as coordinated efforts and systematic assessment, were improved.

Table 3: ACTM Criteria Scores

CRITERIA	Theoretically Based	High Intensity	Multiple Strategies	Emphasize Men's Responsibility	Culturally/ Contextually Specific	Systematically Assessed	Coordinated Efforts	Replicable
SCORE	2	5	4	5	2	4	3	4

Chapter Five: Discussion

The current study is framed around three main questions: What past scholarship informs current approaches to sexual violence on college campuses, specifically approaches aimed at men? What criteria should be used to evaluate these programs? What guidance can help inform campuses as well as current and future programs? Criteria developed for this study were based on criteria provided by the National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2013) and additional literature. The combined criteria were a guide for analysis of three separate gender violence prevention programs aimed at engaging men on college campuses. The results showed that there is still much work to be done for programming to utilize the traits outlined as important. These criteria could be the basis of "best practices" for programming for men to guide improvements to these programs or the development of other programs, both nationally and campus based. There were some criteria at which all programs excelled: the **high intensity** and **coordinated efforts** criteria. There were also criteria that all programs struggled with, primarily the **culturally/contextually specific** and **multiple strategies** criteria. The other four criteria saw more variation between the three programs. The table below outlines scores from all three programs as well as the total score.

Table 4: All Program Scores

CRITERIA:	Theoretically Based	High Intensity	Multiple Strategies	Emphasize Men's Responsibility	Culturally/ Contextually Specific	Systematically Assessed	Coordinated Efforts	Replicable	TOTAL
MVP SCORE	5	5	3	5	2	4	2	4	28
CBIM SCORE	1	5	2	3	2	5	4	5	27
ACTM SCORE	2	5	4	5	2	4	3	4	29

The attention to colleges and universities taking active measures to end gender based violence is gaining rapidly. Simplifying the process by which a university can choose a program

in response to this pressure would be useful. Having a guide that compares major aspects of popularly used programs can help universities ensure that they are using a program that fits the specific needs of their campus. As laws and policies change for universities around the nation, there will be an increase in schools considering this specific type of programming. If a university were to use the criteria and results of this study to help guide their decision in choosing a program, they would need to be aware of certain issues. First, the evaluation is subjective based on the author's analysis, experience, and guided by the literature discussed previously. Also, just because a program scored low in a particular criterion does not mean the program should not be considered. However, it does mean that this should be a consideration and could potentially require additional resources to meet student and campus needs. Based on the analysis in this study, the following recommendations are offered to strengthen the effectiveness of each program reviewed in addressing sexual violence with college men.

Recommendations for Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP)

Based on the findings there are numerous areas the MVP program could improve upon. First, the **multiple strategies** criterion. Overall, while there were a few slightly different types of exercises, there was little variation in how content was presented. There was no discussion of how to use the information from the program to empower the women and girls in the participant's lives, an important strategy outlined in the literature (Dills, Fowler, & Payne, 2016). The program is designed to show victim's support, but does not thoroughly encourage participants to reach out for services within each scenario or address violence at a community/campus wide level. The responsibility of eradicating gender based violence is clearly shown as a responsibility for men to take on but the program's connection to gender based violence to society at large is limited, save one exercise. MVP does excel in creating situational

exercises that are relevant to college students but there are more situations than parties and locker rooms that students will experience. Exercises that provided examples of how to combat gender based violence outside of those arenas could be another useful strategy. This weakness is also connected to the **coordinated efforts** criterion that MVP scored low in. The program was originally designed for athletes and that focus is apparent. The program would benefit from discussions of more collaboration on campus and off. A campus would need to coordinate efforts on their own as the program provides little to no guidance in this arena. The times MVP does mention calling on outside resources is within scenarios after an incident has taken place. This does little to teach participants about the importance of calling on allies in the work of prevention.

MVP scored low in the **culturally/contextually specific** criterion in the current analysis. Again, MVP's original focus for athletes is apparent but would benefit from updates to be more inclusive of varying identities, athlete or not. Race is mentioned as an important thing to consider twice in the materials about the program, but is not actually considered throughout the program content. Similarly, there were brief mentions of the LGBTQIA+ community but only one scenario specifically includes anyone from that community. While these scenarios are important, and an attempt to address homophobia--and acknowledge sexual orientations beyond heterosexuality-- trainers may choose to incorporate these scenarios or not, making it easy to dismiss bringing in this perspective. There should be more scenarios and discussions that focus on what the intersection of race, sexual orientation and more have on gender based violence. For example, scenarios could include issues of why a person of color may have apprehension to calling the police after witnessing an incident.

Issues of **systematic assessment** and **replicability** could be improved upon to assure that program can continue after its initial implementation. MVP provided much information about the success of their program overall but stopped short at guiding schools in how to access the program within their own schools. An assessment tool from the program itself could help to assure programs leaders are doing assessment at all. In terms of **replicability**, the outline of the program itself is laid out in a way that can be followed easily. Solving the minor flaws in assessment can help to assure the program is truly easily replicable.

Recommendations for Coaching Boys Into Men (CBIM)

CBIM lacked a **theoretical base** within their program material. A strong theoretical base can help to establish a foundation for which the program is built on. It may also aid in campuses finding out more information about the program and what it contains. There is also a level of credibility that comes with a program being backed in research and theory. CBIM should make more of an effort to share the resources they used to create the program. Sharing more of their theoretical basis could also help CBIM identify more strategies for conveying the messages of their program as the criterion **multiple strategies** also received a low score. While the content of the program covered a variety of issues the delivery message did not vary. CBIM devotes much of their program to assisting campuses in reaching out to community members for collaboration. While this is important there should be more time devoted to assuring that participants are learning in a variety of ways. For example, since a strength of the program is their collaborative efforts they could help participants to give community presentations about the issue of gender based violence. This interaction could also help strengthen the **coordinated efforts** criterion in the CBIM program.

One important theme in the literature concerning programming for men is the need for men to view gender based violence as a problem they have a role in changing. Overcoming the long-held stereotype that it is a women's problem has been discussed for decades in the field. This theme was represented by the criterion "**emphasize men's responsibility**" in the current study. Katz (2006) emphasizes how important this aspect is in encouraging men to invest and be a part of changing the culture (p. 17). Programming must address this issue to shift the responsibility from women protecting themselves to men not raping. The shift in focus to men should also situate the problem as a community issue; a problem to address on a societal level. CBIM scored a 3 as it scratched the surface but did not fully address this criterion and its inclusion is at the discretion of the program leaders who have chosen to use the CBIM curriculum. CBIM also scored low in the **culturally/contextually specific** criterion. Similar to MVP, the program talks of speaking specifically with athletes. Besides one mention of the LGBTQIA+ population being at higher risk for bullying there is no mention of populations outside of the hegemonic. The program could utilize their athletic focus and talk about issues of gender based violence, sexism, racism, and homophobia in the world of sports. There is a plethora of examples in professional sports that the program could draw upon to discuss these issues.

Recommendations for A Call to Men (ACTM)

Similar to CBIM, the ACTM program lacks in a **theoretical base**. The program mentions the social ecological model that is used as guidance for the program but does not include any details. The CBIM program should include more information about the social ecological model and any other theory used to help create the program. Including this can help participants understand the larger picture and situate the problem of gender based violence at a societal level.

Having a theoretical base can also serve as a reference for campuses continuing or growing upon the program. Similarly, enhancing the **systematic assessment** and **replicability** criteria could assure that campuses can continue to carry out the program after it is initially instituted. The CBIM program lacked in sharing information about success in other organizations and campuses, a tool that can affirm campus' decision in choosing a program. Part of replicability is assuring there is a robust discussion of **coordinated efforts**, a criterion that also received a low score in the CBIM program. The program encouraged collaboration but fell short in sharing any models to help campuses carry that out. It would be useful to have more specific guidelines on how to successfully collaborate with other groups, on or off campus, similar to the MVP program.

The **multiple strategies** criterion received a higher score in the CBIM program. The missing piece for this criterion was also the connection to outside sources. The **culturally/contextually specific** criteria were greatly lacking in the CBIM program. Similar to the first two programs, there was a mention of the LGBTQIA+ community but this point did not get addressed in any of the exercises in the program. There were also mentions of two other specific groups, men of faith and survivors who are men, but again they are not mentioned throughout the program. CBIM would be improved by weaving these groups throughout their materials instead of adding it solely in the preliminary materials.

Recommendations for University Campuses

Universities looking to bring a program to their campuses should be aware of the strengths and weakness of the programs they are considering. Campuses should try to look up existing research on how programs are being received across the country. Campuses should first have a clear understanding of what it is they are looking for. If their mission is solely to speak to

athletes there are programs that excel in that. Campuses looking to bring a program to their

campus should also take note of the population they serve. Smaller community colleges might be

more concerned with collaborating with off campus organizations because they lack on campus

resources. Programs that detail how to collaborate effectively would be helpful for them.

Campuses seeking a one-time program implementation would not be concerned with

replicability or assessment. However, campuses looking to use a program multiple times will be

concerned with these criteria. For example, MVP included a report that detailed the results of

campuses receiving training in the program, something that would be of interest to schools

looking for programs that fit their own campus (Slaby, Branner, & Martin, 2011). It is important

to note that no program discussed here is seen as a one-time solution to this very complicated

problem. The work of engaging men in gender violence prevention is ongoing and cannot be

fixed with one program. Programs should be one part of a larger ongoing conversation on each

university. No matter the campus, there should be an emphasis on assuring that improvements to

the culturally/contextually specific criteria are made.

Recommendations for Starting Programs

The eight criteria used to evaluate the programs would also be useful in the creation of a

new program. The criteria can assist in all stages of creating a program. For example, using the

theoretically based criterion would help to create a solid foundation ideology for the program.

Creating a new program would allow the producers of the program to assure the involvement of

people who are social justice orientated. The content of the program should be informed by

criteria such as **culturally/contextually specific**. Research should be done about the school

population to assure that numerous voices are being heard. Creating a new program could also

assure that references and examples are relevant. Critieria such as **systematic assessment**,

multiple strategies, **coordinated efforts**, and **replicability** would help in learning how to create a program that is sustainable. The criteria **multiple strategies** and **coordinated efforts** could be easier to achieve when creating a program rather than implementing a program that does not fit the needs of a particular campus or mission.

Need for Cultural Competence in Sexual Violence Programing for Men

The criterion, **culturally/contextually specific**, only scratched the surface in most of the programs. This criterion deserves special attention as it was poorly represented in all three programs and highly discussed in the literature. The criterion helped to assess whether programs were reaching populations outside of the hegemonic white, cisgender, heterosexual norm. MVP scored 3, while CBIM and ACTM scored a 2 in this criterion. Results show that this complicated issue is not being well addressed in the programs included in the current study. There is rich literature that explores the complicated intersection of race and rape. Smith (2005) discusses how the rape of women of color has been used as a way to maintain white supremacy. Further, Marcus (2013) discusses the effect racism and rape have had on men of color who are often viewed as a constant threat of sexual violence against white women (p. 436). Orientalism suggests that the, "Western view of the 'Orient' is primarily a discourse that inscribes and bolsters the West's view of itself" (Dubrofsky, 2006, p. 46). In terms of violence against women, this view allows the justification of white men *saving* women of color from men of color. This complex subject is hard to cover in a gender violence prevention program aimed at college men; however, it is critical that these programs address complex positionalities for men and women of color in issues of gender-based violence if the programs are to be both effective and inclusive. As established, women of color experience higher levels of gender based violence. Programs must address this issue and call attention to it in order to paint a full picture for participants.

The **culturally/contextually specific** criterion also reflected the need to address sexual identity and homophobia in programming. As established by numerous theorists, the hegemonic masculine ideal is heteronormative (Kimmel, 1994; Pascoe, 2007). That norm often means a rejection of people who identify as a part of the LGBTQIA+ community or using homophobic language such as insults and put downs. MVP does contain two exercises that address homophobia, but its inclusion is at the discretion of the program leader. While all three programs prefaced their programming with a blurb about the importance of considering the LGBTQIA+ population, there was little done overall to address the specific connection between masculinity and homophobia and how those concepts are tied to gender based violence.

All three programs did a poor job of disaggregating the statistics about who is a victim of gender based violence. The commonly shared statistics about gender based violence were present in every program; however, as discussed earlier, this can erase much of the problem as it does not address populations of color or people of the LGTBQIA+ community who often experience higher rates of gender based violence. By not sharing these differences, participants are not pushed to critically examine the issue in an intersectional way. Program participants would undoubtedly learn about gender based violence in any of these three programs but letting them walk away without an understanding of how different populations are effected has dangerous implications. This is reminiscent of the false sense of equality that privileged people argued LGBTQIA folks had after they won the right for marriage equality or people of color had after having a Black president. When someone from a marginalized community is shown in a success story, the assumption in dominant culture is that everyone from that community can achieve the same success. But the narrative must be complicated. Failing to address the unique ways women of color or trans folks experience gender based violence, for example, allows participants to

ignore issues of homophobia and racism on an institutional level. Programs committed to raising

awareness for gender based violence and change behavior have a responsibility to show the

connection between different forms of oppression. Without that connection, the gender violence

prevention field will promote hegemonic ideals comparable with the exclusionary practices of

the second wave feminism by focusing the problems of the dominant culture without including

identities that complicate the picture.

Despite the vast literature that discussed the importance of addressing people of color as

victims, perpetrators and program participants, all three programs fell incredibly short in this

category. During a bystander intervention training that I was helping to facilitate in a classroom,

I experienced a moment that perfectly illustrates the disconnect in addressing people of color in

these programs. The exercise I was leading included a party scenario where a man physically

assaulted his girlfriend, and I asked the class what options did they have to be an active

bystander? Many students suggested talking to the victim, trying to pull the perpetrator out of the

situation, or a few suggested just call the police. An African American man raised his hand and

shared that he would never call the police in this situation. When I asked why he would not take

this route, he discussed his fear of being the one to end up in handcuffs because he was a black

man and might be stereotyped as an aggressor. His response was outside of any given options in

the program or possible discussion points. Without addressing these stereotypes, programs

continue to perpetuate the hegemonic ideal, giving suggestions that in many situations may be

unsafe for people of color participating in the program or help privileged people in the program

learn the differences that their more marginalized peers may experience in these situations.

Situations such as the one I described shed light on the lack of relevance these programs can have for men outside of the hegemonic ideal. Sociologist Eric Anthony Goleman (2012) uses the U.S. Congress as an example of why representation is so important,

> …it is important to note that the House and Senate, with their underrepresentation of women and people of color, is making important decisions that impact the lives of every person in the US. So, two groups that consists primarily of white middle-class heterosexual men — many whom are only interested in the needs and desires of other white wealthy heterosexual men — are making decisions right at this moment on behalf of people of color, working-class and poor people, LGBT people, women, and other disadvantaged groups. In fact, the leadership of every organization and institution in the US — most which are also dominated by white heterosexual middle-class men — is making decisions as I write this post that impacts the lives of every person of every race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and class-standing. Indeed, the decisions these individuals are making has great influence in guaranteeing that the next generation of leaders will also be white middle-class heterosexual men.

While Grollman's example is the U.S. Congress, there are parallels to draw when considering gender violence prevention programs and intersectionality. Without identifying masculinities outside of the hegemonic norm, programs often perpetuate white supremacy and heteronormativity. While all three programs are designed to help educate men on gender based violence, they also send unintended messages about men of color. By not addressing issues of race in the conversation about gender based violence, long held stereotypes about men of color stay in place.

Programs must engage in the intersections of race, sexuality and gender to show the varied experiences of different identities. Grollman's (2014) research describes the varying levels of fear different groups feel about walking alone at night based on differences in race, gender, and sexuality (Fear of Violence at the Intersections of Sexuality, Gender, and Race and Ethnicity).
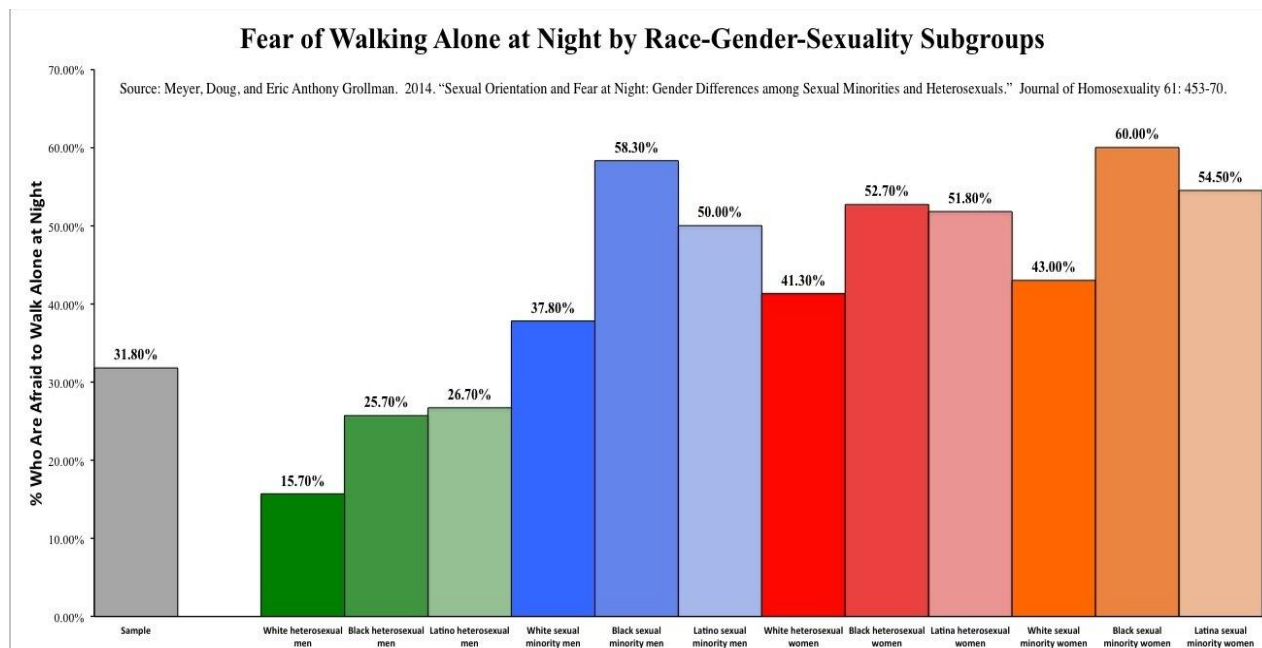

Figure 3: Fear of Walking Alone at Night by Race-Gender-Sexuality Subgroup

The report shows that in every category, people of color feel more unsafe than their white counterparts in each subgroup. Women reported much higher rates of fear than men overall, as did people of a sexual minority in comparison to their heterosexual counterparts. Programs should include research like Grollman's to supplement the strong bystander intervention training that they are built on. By not addressing any identity outside of the hegemonic norm, stereotypes stay in place and space is not created for a wider understanding of masculinities. A program that focuses on men in gender violence prevention should be a place to explore masculinity outside of the hegemonic norm allowing more masculinities to be celebrated.

While catering to specific population is important, so too is all populations learning about experiences that are outside of their own. Regardless of the demographics of a school-- predominantly white, inner-city, public university--all programs should address issues of power dynamics. Being cognizant of your audience and catering to it does not mean ignoring people of color's experiences if you are presenting to a room of white folks, for example. The approach or scenarios used may vary, but the lessons and content should not. Everyone should be made aware of the heightened risk for sexual violence that people of color and trans folks face, regardless of the audience. This awareness helps connect issues of sexual violence in specific populations to overall societal issues of gender based violence.

Because this can place a lot of responsibility on the program facilitators, there should be extensive training that recognizes this importance. Few programs discussed diversity in facilitators, none of them talked extensively about the training facilitators that should have. Facilitators should be well-trained not only in the content of the program itself, but also in in anti-oppression analysis. There is a recurring theme of intersectionality and cultural awareness withint the research built upon for this study, and facilitator training should reflect that. This would assure that trainers are properly equipped to bring in more of this analysis. There is also an importance in assuring longevity in trainers on campus. In my experience, programs can suffer from quick turnover if people like graduate assistants or student leaders are the primarily spearheading the program on campus. This reiterates the importance of having support across campus and the need to reach out to many different collaborators. Having support across an institution can eliminate the potential turnover problems.

Limitations

Time was a constraint that limited the scope of the current study. Future studies could benefit from using the criteria outlined here to not only examine the content of each program, but also to combine that analysis with a more in-depth look at the reported effectiveness of each program, since effectiveness is debated among gender violence prevention programs (Amar, Strout, Simpson, Cardiello, & Beckford, 2014). Effectiveness is defined differently depending on the type of program and desired outcome: such as reduced perpetration, changed attitudes, or more engagement. As my research continued, I discovered more work that had been done to evaluate various gender violence prevention programs. Coupling this work with the evaluation of desired criteria would make a more comprehensive picture of where each program stands. In addition, there are criteria included that could be discretionary based on the program leaders and their interpretation. For example, the CBIM program scored a 4 for use of **coordinated efforts** as it prepared the program leaders for collaboration on multiple layers. However, if the program leader chose to not use the outlined collaboration suggestions, the program would be less effective. It is important to have these criteria included in each program, but it is also important to know how well these criteria get met when in the field.

Due to time and availability, three programs were evaluated instead of the intended four that were considered in the beginning of the project. The program, Men Can Stop Rape, was originally supposed to be included in this analysis. While this did allow for more in-depth research of the three programs, future research would benefit from evaluating more programs. To include more programs in one study would only increase the usefulness for educators and would allow campuses to be more educated as they made their choices about which programs would best fit their campuses. It would also allow universities to see the range of programs that may

potentially be available to them. Another limitation is the subjective nature of the project. While the scores are informed by the literature, they may have been different had a different researcher evaluated them.

In hindsight, the criterion, **culturally/contextually specific**, should have been split into two separate criteria: **culturally specific** and **contextually specific**. Putting them together in one criterion did not allow for enough in depth discussion of each separate piece. If separated, the **contextually specific** criterion could directly address demographic issues that are particular for each college. For example, community colleges, private universities, and public universities may all have varying needs. These needs could vary for all institutions based on size and location. The **culturally specific** criterion could then address the varying approaches that are necessary based on differing student populations. Facilitators for a program may need to use different approaches and scenarios depending on who the audience is. For example, an audience that is primarily LGBTQIA+ will have different concerns and/or need different scenarios that better fit their experiences with the issues of gender-based violence. Within the conversation surrounding cultural specificity should be talk of facilitator identity. Future research should include more discussion of the importance of different facilitator identities, whether it be gender, sexual orientation, race, etc. This may help schools better understand how to facilitate conversations that people feel comfortable engaging in.

Conclusion

This study compared three gender based violence prevention programs aimed at engaging men on college campuses by using criteria outlined as important by the literature. Universities can use this outline to help guide their decision in choosing a program to bring to their campus. The study synthesized the literature that provides information on important aspects of including

men and the actual programs that may be used to do so. The study showed that overall, there are many crucial criteria being addressed in programming, but also that there are criteria that need to be greatly enhanced. Universities should be conscious of what programming aspects are most important to the populations they wish to address on their campus. If a university chooses a program that has a low score in one area, this study can help them to understand how to add supplemental information to be more comprehensive. As with any project, there is still much to do in the gender violence prevention field, but this study shows that there are numerous programs available to aid universities in starting the conversation.

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