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NOT JUST A WOMEN'S ISSUE: HOW MALE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS
UNDERSTAND THEIR DEVELOPMENT AS SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES FOR
PREVENTING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By
Alexandra M. Minieri

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Pam Remer, Associate Professor of Counseling Psychology

Lexington, Kentucky

2014

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

NOT JUST A WOMEN'S ISSUE: HOW MALE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS UNDERSTAND THEIR DEVELOPMENT AS SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES FOR PREVENTING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Men's violence against women includes acquaintance rape, intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and partner stalking and occurs at particularly high rates on college campuses (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). Although men are increasingly becoming involved in efforts to prevent these forms of violence, little is known about their motivation and the processes that lead to their involvement. The purpose of this project was to examine how undergraduate male students become social justice allies involved in preventing men's violence against women. The theoretical frameworks of this study included transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003). Data were generated from six male social justice ally exemplars nominated for their sustained involvement in prevention work. Eligible and interested participants completed two individual interviews, demographic forms, Social Locations Worksheets (Worell & Remer, 2003), and male social justice ally development timelines. The qualitative data were analyzed using constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) by the author and three peer debriefers. Findings provide an initial framework for conceptualizing male social justice ally development, including predisposing factors and shifts in perspective that were critical to their antiviolence work and factors that sustained their involvement. Participants also described integrating their social justice ally work into their identity and connecting with other forms of social activism. These themes provide a framework for understanding how men become invested in preventing men's violence against women as undergraduate students and implications for ways to engage more men in these efforts.

KEYWORDS: ally development, men's violence against women, male undergraduate students, social justice, prevention

Alexandra M. Minieri, M.S.

Student's Signature

July 7, 2014

Date

NOT JUST A WOMEN'S ISSUE: HOW MALE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS
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Chapter One: Introduction

Despite efforts to address forms of discrimination in America, oppression continues to exist in which certain groups do not have equal access to resources or the ability to live physically and psychologically safe lives (Goodman, 2001; Johnson, 2006; Worell & Remer, 2003). Of particular interest to this project is the systematic oppression of women through patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Patriarchy manifests in society through inequality in multiple spheres, including fewer education opportunities, underrepresentation in leadership roles, and decreased compensation in careers. An especially problematic manifestation of patriarchy is the existence of men's violence against women, the focus of this study.

Men's Violence Against Women

Men's violence against women can be defined as a form of violence in which the perpetrator is motivated by a desire to assert power and control as well as intimidate in order to inflict harm (Edwards, 2008). In the case of this study, such violence is conceptualized as perpetrated by men against women. It encompasses multiple forms of violence, including acquaintance rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and partner stalking. Men most frequently perpetrate violence against women on college campuses (Browne, 1993; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). These socio-cultural contexts include heightened performances of hegemonic masculinity (Kimmel, 2008; Roark, 1987, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997), frequent use of alcohol, and engagement in sexual activity, often for the first time (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). These factors contribute to an environment in which men victimize women at a disproportionately higher rate than other environments, highlighting the importance of targeting prevention efforts to college campuses.

Prevention efforts on college campuses have historically communicated to men as potential perpetrators and to women as potential victims, educating them about ways to avoid perpetrating or becoming a victim of men's violence against women (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). More recently, prevention efforts have focused on changing the norms of college campuses that support men's violence against women (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2004). These newer programs treat all college students as potential active bystanders who could become involved in preventing acts of violence. Research supports using a five-step approach of noticing the event, identifying it as requiring intervention, taking responsibility, deciding to help, and intervening to minimize factors associated with being a passive bystander (Burn, 2009) and educating college students both about ways to intervene as well as times to intervene (McMahon & Banyard, 2012). This new model engages men and women in the prevention process by assigning them an active role in preventing violence. Although research indicates that men become involved in these prevention efforts (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007), little is known about *how* these men become invested in the cause of preventing men's violence against women.

Male Social Justice Ally Development

Individuals who work for the cause of countering the existence of oppression, such as men's violence against women, are referred to as "social justice allies." Broido (2000) defined social justice allies as "members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership" (p. 3). These individuals seek to challenge the power structures that systematically oppress members of disadvantaged groups in society.

This project is focused specifically on undergraduate men involved in preventing men's violence against women. Engaging men in this prevention process is particularly important because men have a specific set of privileges afforded to them that allow them to prevent violence through shifting norms that condone men's violence against women (Flood, 2005). The rationale for recruiting and involving men in prevention work also highlights the notion that men are the primary perpetrators of these forms of violence. Thus, engaging men in the prevention effort would have a direct effect on decreasing the rates of perpetration. Further, socialization processes that construct proscriptions and prescriptions for masculinity also have a direct effect on the prevalence of men's violence against women (Flood, 2005). Therefore, prevention efforts necessarily require that men are involved to help shift expectations of masculinity that contribute to men's violence against women. Men can engage in these behavior and attitude changes within themselves and help facilitate these shifts among the other men in their lives.

Limited research exists that illuminates the experiences of male social justice allies who work professionally to prevent men's violence against women, and even less research exists on the unique experiences of male college student social justice allies. The minimal research suggests that self-efficacy (Casey & Ohler, 2012; McMahon & Dick, 2011; Rich, Utley, Janke, & Moldoveanu, 2010), a connection to the issue of men's violence against women (Casey & Smith, 2010; Ravarino, 2008; Rich et al., 2010), critical reflection about their connection (Casey & Smith, 2010), and an opportunity to engage in ally behaviors (Casey & Smith, 2010) all contribute to the ally development of these men. Further, male social justice allies report a performance of masculinity that differs from the hegemonic norm (Casey & Smith, 2010; Vicario, 2003). Since college campuses tend to report high rates of men's violence against women as well as a uniquely hegemonic performance of

masculinity and consumption of alcohol, understanding the particular social justice ally development of male college students who work to decrease this form of violence is especially important.

Current Study

The purpose of this project was to examine how male-identified individuals involved with antiviolence work as undergraduate college students understand their ally development. Within the overall goal of this project, three subsections of interest were identified based on previous research, including masculinity, intersectionality, and facilitating and inhibiting factors of social justice ally development. The theoretical frameworks of the study included transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003). Transformative learning theory suggests the possible role of disorienting events, discourse related to the events, support from others, and opportunities to engage in ally behaviors as crucial components of their social justice ally development, while feminist theory provides a framework both for understanding the socio-political context of men's violence against women and the identity development of participants. These research questions were addressed through semi-structured interviews with male social justice ally exemplars, undergraduate college students or students who graduated within the past two years who work for the cause of preventing men's violence against women.

The following chapter provides a more detailed overview of the relevant literature related to men's violence against women, social justice ally development in general, and the limited research on male social justice ally development. Transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2006) are presented as the frameworks that guided the study, and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz,

2006) is identified as the chosen methodology to frame the data analysis necessary to understand the process of male social justice ally development.

Chapter Two: Review of Selected Literature

This chapter will provide an overview of the relevant literature related to the topic of male social justice ally development for the cause of preventing men's violence against women. It will begin with a definition of key terms and theoretical frameworks used for this project. The next section will address the issue of men's violence against women, including forms of violence that it encompasses, manifestations of men's violence against women on college campuses, and previously implemented programs intended to prevent this form of violence. Following this description of the statement of the problem, the subsequent sections will provide an overview of research findings related to social justice ally development broadly and male social justice ally development specifically. The concluding sections will outline the need for this project and the intended methodology.

In order to discuss factors that influence the development of male social justice allies, it is important to understand broader societal issues. Certain groups within contemporary American society receive benefits simply because of their social location, or group membership based on their identity (Goodman, 2001; Johnson, 2006; Worell & Remer, 2003). These privileged identities are based on social locations such as gender, race/ethnicity, sexual identity, class, age, and ability; the privileged individuals in these groups include men, White people, heterosexual people, middle and upper class people, people in early and middle adulthood, and able-bodied people, respectively (McIntosh, 2001). This privilege is comprised of both conferred dominance and unearned advantages. Conferred dominance is the power and control that individuals receive because of their identity, and unearned advantages are entitlements that should belong to all individuals in society but are awarded only to certain individuals because of their privileged group status. Overall, these benefits allow privileged individuals to have social power, which can include

control over social institutions and their various resources (Sherif, 1982). This control allows members of privileged groups to determine rules, make decisions, and initiate action unilaterally at the societal level. These individuals define the mainstream culture of society and establish societal norms (Goodman, 2001; Miller, 1976).

Oppression provides a counter lived experience to privilege, illustrating the dominant-subordinate relational nature of this power dynamic (Goodman, 2001). Frye (2003) conceptualized the term oppression based on the root term “press,” meaning to mold or flatten something or prevent something from moving. This metaphor is relevant to the definition of oppression as the denial of ownership or access to resources for subordinated groups by privileged groups (Johnson, 2006; Worell & Remer, 2003). Goodman (2001) extended this conceptualization to define oppression as the combined effect of prejudice and social power, highlighting the systemic and institutionalized aspects of oppression. More specifically, Vera and Speight (2003) suggest “the existence of institutional racism, sexism, and homophobia is what accounts for the inequitable experiences of people of color, women, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people in the United States” (p. 254) as well as other subordinated groups in society, discriminated against based on additional social locations including class, age, and nationality, among others. Further, Young (2000) described five “faces of oppression” as exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. These circumstances combine to create an environment in which oppressed individuals are treated as an inferior group in society (Freire, 1970). The existence of privilege and oppression in a society results in a “toxic environment” for subordinated groups, illustrating the importance of challenging the existing societal structure (Worell & Remer, 2003, p. 24).

One form of discrimination resulting from oppression, sexism, exists in patriarchal societies that value genders differently. This societal structure is particularly important to explore because it is related to men's violence against women, the topic of this project. Patriarchy can be conceptualized as having two separate components, its structure and its ideology (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Foundational to patriarchy is the hierarchical organization of societal institutions and relationships, in which men hold powerful positions at the apex of the hierarchy while women have roles that represent powerless positions at the bottom. The ideology, on the other hand, maintains patriarchy by establishing male domination as the norm, thus creating a state of "acceptance" among members of the patriarchal society. Patriarchy influences many of the systems in society today, such as legal, healthcare, and education, so the male voice is heard and privileged, while the female voice is ignored (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). This dynamic hinders women from being able to challenge the system that subordinates them effectively (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

The eradication of the power structures that lead to and perpetuate oppression is the purpose of social justice, an effort to establish a society in which all individuals have the opportunity to achieve dignity, self-determination, and their full potential (Goodman, 2001). The goals of social justice efforts are both distributive, meaning resources will be divided equally among all members of society, and procedural, suggesting all members will feel physically and psychologically safe after achieving the goals of social justice (Bell, 1997; Reason & Davis, 2005). Social justice goes beyond educating about diversity and multiculturalism; it includes education and awareness about institutionalized forms of oppression and power structures that perpetuate oppression with the ultimate goal of encouraging people from privileged groups to advocate for change (Goodman, 2001).

Individuals who work toward these efforts are social justice allies, defined as “members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership” (Broido, 2000, p. 3). Goodman (2001) provides an additional conceptualization, defining allies as “people who make intentional choices to support or work for the rights of those from disadvantaged groups of which they are not part” (p. 164). Through these efforts, social justice allies are challenging the power structures that establish and perpetuate the harmful aspects of society. This study focused specifically on male social justice allies who work to prevent men’s violence against women. The theoretical frameworks used to understand these social justice allies are transformative learning theory and feminist theory. After defining these theories, additional relevant aspects of men’s violence against women will be discussed.

Theoretical Frameworks of the Proposed Study

Research addressing male social justice allies and social justice allies more generally is predominantly exploratory and qualitative in nature. Although grounded in previous literature, most research in this field is atheoretical and addresses developmental models rather than theoretical underpinnings (Broido & Reason, 2005). One study applied transtheoretical theory and cognitive behavioral theory (Casey & Smith, 2010) and a few studies applied social norms theory (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; McMahon & Dick, 2011) to ally development. However, these theories are limited in their inclusion of a broad range of factors that contribute to male social justice ally development; therefore, alternative theories were sought to provide an underpinning to the current project.

Transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003, 1986) seem useful for understanding the relevant factors for male social justice ally development. Both theories are included because of their complementary nature; transformative learning theory addresses the process of becoming a social justice ally and feminist theory acknowledges the socio-political environment as well as the contribution of experiences with power and oppression.

Transformative learning theory. Transformative learning theory describes a process of adult education originally developed by Mezirow in 1978 and subsequently revised by the original author and his colleagues (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 1997, 2000; Taylor, 1997, 2008). Mezirow (2000) defined transformative learning as “the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action” (p. 7-8). The theory begins with the assumption that people have meaning perspectives, which are frames of reference for how we understand the world based on our beliefs and assumptions. These beliefs and assumptions inform our habits of mind, or the way we think, and manifest as our point of view, or the content of what we believe.

Transformative learning theory posits that individuals may experience a “disorienting event” that causes them to question their current meaning perspectives as too limited in scope (Mezirow, 2000). Taylor (1997) added a contextual component to this disorienting event by acknowledging that the conditions of an event that would be disorienting are based on previous experience and current worldview. The learning process occurs through critical reflection, which includes both self-reflection and discourse with

others, leading to a critical assessment of personal assumptions (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 2000). Mezirow (2000) described four possible outcomes of reflection, including finding evidence to support a current meaning perspective, establishing new meaning perspectives, transforming points of view, and transforming an entire meaning perspective. Overall, if people become aware of their limited worldview, critically examine this view, become open to alternative views, and change their meaning perspective, transformative learning has occurred (Cranton, 1994).

Taylor (1997, 2008) challenged the original conception of discourse in transformative learning theory as too rational. He builds on the work of feminist theorists Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) to consider different ways of knowing as part of this process. These additional ways include acknowledging the contribution of “received knowledge,” “subjective knowledge,” “procedural knowledge,” and “constructed knowledge” to a person’s reflective process. This more holistic approach extends the previous conceptions of discourse and reflections in transformative learning theory by privileging individual lived experience and acknowledging the role of emotional reactions and relationships with others.

Feminist theory. Empowerment feminist therapy (Worell & Remer, 2003), which will be referred to as feminist theory, provided the second theoretical underpinning for this project. Although the theory was originally developed as a counseling framework, the underlying principles are applicable for this research project. The authors propose four principles that form the foundation of the theory. First, personal and social identities are interdependent, suggesting it is important to identify people’s experiences of their social identities and consider the unique role of their intersecting identities. This principle also suggests the importance of focusing specifically on gender-role development as well as

experiences of privilege and oppression associated with people's unique intersecting social identities. Second, the personal is political suggests the importance of considering the role of the socio-cultural environment in contributing to experiences of oppression and privilege as well as socialization processes. Acknowledging the external environment, especially aspects of institutionalized sexism and patriarchal systems, allows for a more holistic perspective on the sources of privilege and oppression. The final two principles, relationships are egalitarian and all perspectives are valued, provide a framework for interacting with others and define the importance of valuing the stories shared by all people. Combined, all principles in this theory provide a framework for identifying the role of the socio-cultural context and the experiences of privilege and oppression of participants involved in this project.

Men's Violence against Women: A Manifestation of Oppression

Defining the manifestation of oppression has been a contested topic in the literature (Harway & O'Neil, 1999); therefore, intentional decisions were made to identify a term that is sufficiently inclusive of its multiple forms while also valuing the pain of the victims/survivors and naming the perpetrator. After deciding against commonly used terms such as interpersonal violence and violence against women for their lack of intentional emphasis on the perpetrator, men's violence against women was chosen as the label for this project.

Definition and prevalence. Men's violence against women is defined as "a form of violence that has as a primary motivator the assertion of power, control, and/or intimidation in order to harm another" committed by a man against a women (Edwards, 2008). Experts on the topic of men's violence against women highlight that maintaining power and asserting dominance is the intention of this violence, not engaging in sex acts despite the

frequent use of these behaviors to achieve the goals (Koss et al., 1994; Rozée, 1993). The power asserted by perpetrators allows them to violate victims without consent. This term adequately emphasizes the role of power evident in this form of oppression through the inclusion of the perpetrator and the active language; therefore, it fully represents the form of violence that is the focus of this project.

Research indicates most violence is perpetrated by a man known to a female victim (Browne, 1993; Fisher et al., 2000; Koss et al., 1987; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Power is particularly problematic and manifests between men and women in a patriarchal society in relational encounters, which may include friendships, working relationships, and intimate relationships, among others (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). Therefore, it seems important to choose a term that represents the personal nature of the violence as it occurs in a patriarchal society by including both the perpetrator and victim/survivor in the language used. Including the perpetrator as the active subject also functions to avoid subtly blaming the victim.

Finally, men's violence against women as a term is sufficiently broad to include multiple manifestations of this form of violence. As applied in this project, men's violence against women refers to acquaintance rape, intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and partner stalking. Definitions of these terms and their prevalence are provided in subsequent sections.

The focus of this project was on male social justice allies who work to prevent male violence against adult women. Limiting the scope of this project to address prevention efforts focusing on men as perpetrators and women as victim/survivors permitted specific language. As emphasized by Kilmartin and Allison (2007), language is a powerful way to hold perpetrators accountable for their actions and avoid subtle forms of victim blaming

using active voice in describing instances of violence. Therefore, the pronoun “he” is used to label the perpetrator and “she” is used to label the victim/survivor. However, it is also crucial to acknowledge this decision as being limited because it does not acknowledge the ways men can be victims of men’s violence (Davies, 2002; Hartwick, Desmarais, & Hennig, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) and the presence of this form of violence in same-sex relationships (Burke & Follingstad, 1999). The efforts of male social justice allies who work to prevent these additional forms of violence are noteworthy and should be addressed in the future as well.

The following sections include the identified language to define the forms of men’s violence against women included in this project. Prevalence rates of men’s violence against women are included with the definition and provided based on data collected at colleges and universities, since these locations were the focus of this study. Readers should be aware that victims rarely report the violence, fearing retaliation by the perpetrator and questioning how the criminal justice system will handle their case, so these estimates likely represent fewer instances than actually occur (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; Koss et al., 1987), especially with rates of men’s violence against women on college campuses (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Acquaintance rape. Acquaintance rape is one form of men’s violence against women, defined as “a nonconsensual, coerced, or forced act of genital penetration or envelopment” that is perpetrated by a man known to the woman (Rozée, 1993, p. 502). A crucial component of acquaintance rape is the absence of consent for the sexual activity to occur, meaning the woman does not say “yes” to engage in the sexual act. The woman may not give consent because she does not want to engage in the sexual act or she may not have the ability to give consent because of her age, mental capability, or level of

impairment. Some instances of acquaintance rape may seem consensual, but the “consent” may represent a lack of choice, which occurs when “there is use of force, threat of force, or coercion; presence of multiple males; physical pain, loss of consciousness, or death; or when the woman is punished or suffers some other negative outcome if she refuses” (Rozée, 1993, p. 502). Therefore, the consent must be given freely and not under any type of duress to constitute as consent. The National Crime Victimization Survey also includes attempted rape and the use of objects during the victimization as a possible manifestation of acquaintance rape (Fisher et al., 2000). The prevalence of acquaintance rape is studied most frequently on college campuses. Research indicates that men victimize between 20 and 25% of women on college campuses (Fisher et al., 2000), a statistic that has remained stubbornly high since it was first studied (Koss et al., 1987). The majority of these women (84%) knew the person who attacked them (Koss et al., 1987). Many of these women are victimized multiple times throughout the course of their college education (Fisher et al., 2000). These high rates of acquaintance rape reinforce the importance of targeting prevention efforts to college campus communities.

Sexual assault. Sexual assault is defined as “any form of nonconsensual, coerced, or forced touching of areas of the body that are typically associated with sexuality...sexual assault does not involve sexual penetration or envelopment” (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, p. 9). Therefore, it is differentiated from acquaintance rape because it lacks penetration. This form of violence also includes the lack of consent or lack of ability to give consent. Prevalence rates on college campuses suggest that around 5.9% of women report a history of sexual assault (Fisher et al., 2000), indicating the problematic rate of sexual assault.

Intimate partner violence. Intimate partner violence “refers to physical, sexual, and/or psychological/emotional harm committed by a current or former partner or spouse”

(Kilmartin & Allison, 2007, p. 11). This form of men's violence against women includes both acts of violence as well as threats of violence. Threats and acts of men's violence against women in intimate relationships often occur for multiple years, and women whose partners victimize them multiple times have compounded emotional and physical repercussions (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Prevalence rates for intimate partner violence are obtained most commonly in the community, and estimates reveal that male partners victimize around one million women each year, or around 20% of women, including incidents of multiple victimizations (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). These women sustained an average of seven instances of violence over an average of four years, highlighting the pervasive and problematic nature of intimate partner violence.

Partner stalking. Stalking can be broadly defined as unwanted intentional following and harassing of another individual, causing a fear of harm and even death (Edwards, 2008; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). This project focused exclusively on heterosexual partner stalking to remain consistent with the previously outlined conceptualization of men's violence against women. Use of the word "partner" contextualizes the stalking definition to a current or former intimate relationship. It often happens after a relationship ends and may manifest as following, texting, calling, and/or giving unwanted gifts (Edwards, 2008; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). Kilmartin and Allison (2007) also note the possibility of cyberstalking, in which a stalker follows the victim/survivor via the internet and forms of social media. Prevalence rates indicate that men stalk 13.1% of female students in a given school year, and four out of five of these women know their stalker (Fisher et al., 2000). Additional studies suggest men comprise 87% of all stalkers, and the majority of men who stalk (77%) victimize someone they know (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998). The prevalence of partner stalking on college campuses

further illustrates the need to address the issue of men's violence against women in this environment.

Socio-cultural context. Men's violence against women occurs in a social context, so it is important to explore the nature of the socio-cultural context in addition to understanding the specific forms of men's violence against women (Koss et al., 1994). The context includes societal norms based on hegemonic masculinity, male privilege, and patriarchy (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). Patriarchy privileges the role of men in society, contributing to both hegemonic performances of masculinity and male privilege as the norm. Hegemonic masculinity is a gender-role performance that emphasizes violence and control (Brannon, 2008), and male privilege allows men to receive benefits in society simply because they are men.

This environment allows men to engage in violence against women, often without suffering any negative consequences and frequently even receiving support for their behavior. In concert, these three factors contribute to a socio-cultural context that promotes male entitlement, female inequality, and norms that perpetuate men's violence against women (Koss et al., 1994). Kilmartin and Allison (2007) explain, "All individuals raised in a patriarchal society are vulnerable to its influences, including an ideology that at worst reinforces the perpetration of gender-based violence, and at best justifies the majority of its incidents through lack of offender accountability, victim-blaming, or simply silence" (p. 41). Notably, research indicates that most men are not violent (Lisak & Miller, 2002); therefore, a small proportion of men are responsible for all acts of men's violence against women. The context that allows these men to perpetrate violence is notable, however, and is considered throughout this project.

A specific context that perpetuates men's violence against women is the college campus climate. Specifically, a socio-cultural approach to understanding men's violence against women necessitates understanding the messages college students receive about men's violence against women on college campuses and identifying the norms of the campus culture that convey men's violence against women as a permissible act. Norms of college campuses are especially conducive to victimization because they include "strong peer pressure for sexual activity, the ritualistic abuse of alcohol, a culture that objectifies women, and a culture that frequently views sexual intercourse as an act of masculine conquest" (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004, p. 91). Coercive behaviors that may legally constitute men's violence against women are part of a process of heterosexual "sexual negotiations." These norms about sex dictate that men determine if and when heterosexual sex will occur, and relationships must be based solely on sex rather than emotional intimacy. These norms minimize women's voice in the decision process.

College students simultaneously become more sexually active and often increase their use of alcohol, which contributes to ambiguity in sexual situations (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004; Roark, 1987, 1993). Further, gender-role socialization processes of men encouraging aggression and violence may be heightened on college campuses through all-male groups, such as fraternities and sports teams (Kimmel, 2008; Roark, 1987, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). These factors create an environment in which men's violence against women is tolerated and even expected. The focus of this project was about male social justice allies who work for the cause of preventing men's violence against women on college campuses to understand how they become allies in spite of the norms on college campuses supporting men's violence against women.

Prevention efforts. Men's violence against women prevention programming has evolved since its inception. The programs historically addressed women as potential victims and men as potential perpetrators (Anderson & Whiston, 2005), while current programs have shifted to addressing participants as potential active bystanders who have a role in preventing violence (Banyard et al., 2004). This new model encourages men to be involved as allies in the cause of preventing men's violence against women (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). Efforts seeking to engage men in the process of preventing men's violence against women are particularly important since men perpetrate most acts of men's violence against women, so their involvement in prevention would likely decrease the prevalence (Berkowitz, 1994; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). Although not the focus of this project, it is worth noting that engaging men in prevention efforts is controversial. Specifically, since men perpetrate the majority of violence, some individuals argue that their inclusion may silence the women leaders in the movement (Flood, 2011). Men may also be reluctant to explore the privilege inherent in their power position through patriarchy (Casey et al., 2013, Flood, 2011). Notably, the majority of these programs have been implemented on college campuses. Overall, evaluations of men's violence against women prevention programs suggest that programs with exclusively male audiences led by the participants' peers have the most promise for decreasing the prevalence of men's violence against women (Berkowitz, 1994; Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Davis, 2000; Earle, 2009; Lonsway, 1996). The Men's Program and Mentors in Violence Prevention represent two of the most commonly used prevention programs implemented with male college students and will be discussed in detail, including a description of the program and data about its effectiveness.

The Men's Program. John Foubert developed The Men's Program in association with his not-for-profit "One in Four," which provides consultation and training on men's

violence against women prevention with male audiences (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). It has been implemented with male groups in a variety of settings, including fraternities, college sports teams, college classes, college student organizations, residence halls, high schools, military bases, halfway houses, rape crisis centers, community organizations, and police training centers throughout the nation. The college setting is most common; in fact, Foubert and colleagues traveled across the United States in an RV to conduct the program with colleges in numerous states (Foubert, 2005).

The program was developed based on literature indicating that peer-led, all-male workshops that help men develop empathy for victims of men's violence against women are most effective in decreasing the likelihood of raping (Brecklin & Forde, 2001). Therefore, the Men's Program is an educational workshop based on the development of victim empathy created for all-male audiences that incorporates multiple forms of media (Foubert & Marriott, 1996). The goals of the program include (a) helping men understand how to support victimized women, (b) teaching men how to prevent men's violence against women to increase the likelihood they will act as active bystanders, and (c) challenging men to change their own violence-supportive behaviors while also influencing the behaviors of others in their peer groups.

Peer educators who have previously participated in the single session, one-hour program lead each interactive workshop (Foubert & Marriott, 1996). The program begins with an introduction by the peer educators; they explain that the purpose of the program is to help the men develop as allies to prevent men's violence against women, not to blame them for the prevalence of violence. The peer educators then define key terms associated with men's violence against women prevention and share statistics about its prevalence. Program participants watch a *Police Rape Training Video*, a graphic illustration of two men

who rape a male police officer and the subsequent experience of that officer, including the rape exam at the hospital and the reactions from other officers and his wife. The video is narrated in the second person so participants hear the information as if it were happening to them. The purpose of this activity is to help program participants begin to identify with female victims of men's violence against women. After watching the video, the peer educators lead a discussion about similarities and differences between the rape in the video and the experience of women being raped and sexually assaulted. This discussion transitions to a focus on ways the male participants can help end men's violence against women and support victimized women. The program concludes with an open discussion of the content and any aspects the participants want to explore in more detail.

The Men's Program has been evaluated for its utility with a variety of male groups and assessed using different timeframes, multiple outcome measures, and both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Evaluation projects that utilized qualitative methods included focus groups or written responses to open-ended questions and assessed participants' change in attitude after observing the program, specific change in attitude regarding sexual activity under the influence of alcohol, change in behavior after observing the program, and specific change in behavior regarding sexual activity under the influence of alcohol. Findings from studies with first year students, fraternity members, college athlete groups, and men of color indicated support for increased awareness about the severity of rape, positive changes in their attitudes toward survivors, awareness of the complexity of consent while under the influence of alcohol, and intention to change future behaviors to support female friends and use caution in intimate situations immediately after participating in the program (Foubert & Cowell, 2004; Foubert & Cremedy, 2007; Foubert, Tatum, & Donahue, 2006). Follow-up studies indicated these changes persisted at seven

months (Foubert, Tatum, & Godin, 2010) and two years (Foubert, Godin, & Tatum, 2010) after program participation for first year students and for both fraternity members and male student athletes as well (Foubert & La Voy, 2000; Foubert & Perry, 2007). The majority of participants reported these attitude and behavior changes, though some participants did not indicate any changes following the program.

Quantitative evaluation programs utilized validated outcome measures to assess attitudinal and behavioral constructs, such as rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980), likelihood of raping (Malamuth, 1981), empathy, and bystander self-efficacy. Similar to the qualitative findings, these studies evidenced decreased rape myth acceptance, decreased likelihood of raping, increased empathy, and increased bystander self-efficacy immediately after program participation for fraternity men (Foubert & Marriott, 1997; Foubert & McEwan, 1998; Foubert & Newberry, 2006) and first year students (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Foubert, Brasfield, Hill, & Shelley-Tremblay, 2011). Fraternity members sustained these positive changes seven months after program participation (Foubert, 2000). Overall, these findings provide support for the utility of the program with a variety of all-male groups.

Mentors in Violence Prevention. Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) is a men's violence against women prevention program founded in 1993 at the Northeastern University Center for the Study of Sports in Society by Jackson Katz, a male activist who facilitates antiviolence programming, and Donald McPherson, a former professional football player (Katz, 2006; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). The program was initially developed for audiences of male college student athletes with the goal of training them to use their leadership positions to publicly disapprove of all forms of abuse and violence, and thereby, shift the norms on college campuses. Subsequent workshops have been conducted

with a broader range of audiences, including high school students, fraternity men, men in the Marine Corps, and mixed-sex audiences. Although women are occasionally included as participants in programs, the intended emphasis on men's violence against women as a "men's problem" persists. The duration of the program ranges from a 90-minute single-session presentation to a 22-hour training over the course of three days. The goals of the program include raising awareness about the prevalence of men's violence against women; challenging culturally dominant messages about gender, sex, and violence; dialoguing to create a safe environment for participants to share their opinions and experiences; and inspiring leadership by empowering the participants to make changes in their social spheres. Overall, the purpose of MVP is to help participants begin to challenge the socio-cultural construction of masculinity that associates male strength with dominance over women and other less privileged men.

The workshop is comprised of a combination of psychoeducation and discussion to help achieve the intended goals of the program. Programming begins with an introduction and preliminary exercise to orient participants to the topic and create a safe environment (Katz, 1995, 2006). Program leaders then conduct a guided imagery describing a sexual assault and then discuss the MVP Playbook, a teaching tool that details a variety of potentially violent situations to which the participants may be exposed. The MVP playbook is similar in nature to an athletic team playbook, making the process relevant for the student athlete participants. When the program is conducted with audience members in different groups, the language in the playbook is altered to fit the language of the group. The facilitators use the scenarios in the playbook to help participants identify ways they would be willing and able to intervene if faced with the situation and encourage conversations about male peer culture, masculinity, sex, violence, and homophobia.

Leaders emphasize that a broad range of active bystander responses are possible; the only unacceptable response is to do nothing. These discussions treat men as leaders in the effort to reduce men's violence against women and provide them with concrete ways they can achieve this leadership position.

The few evaluation studies of the MVP program suggest it is effective in improving attitudes about intervening in potentially violent situations and challenging cultural norms about masculinity (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011; Northeastern University Center for the Study of Sport in Society, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). Evaluations suggested that participants experienced an increased awareness of the prevalence of men's verbal, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse of women; revised understandings of gender, sex, and violence; and increased self-efficacy related to their ability to intervene to prevent a potentially violent situation (Northeastern University Center for the Study of Sport in Society, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). An additional evaluation of the MVP program indicated that a high school population of student leaders who received the intervention perceived both low and high aggressive forms of violence as more wrong and reported higher likelihood of intervening in response to high aggressive forms of violence as compared with participants who did not receive the intervention, though the groups did not differ on their likelihood of taking action in response to a low aggressive behavior (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011). Combined, these findings suggest that the MVP program has promise for increasing awareness of men's violence against women and shifting cultural norms related to it, especially among athletes and students in high school.

Connection to male social justice ally development. Reviewing the structure and topics discussed during programs with undergraduate men used to help prevent men's violence against women on college campuses indicate important aspects of the male social

justice ally development process, discussed later in this chapter. Specifically, the programs emphasize the importance of developing a connection to the issue, the role of peers, deconstructing gender-role expectations, and developing self-efficacy, all of which can be theorized as part of the social justice ally development process. The importance of developing a connection to the issue is reflected in the underlying theory and effectiveness of The Men's Program through the emphasis on developing empathy for victims of violence (Foubert & Marriot, 1996) and the MVP program by communicating with men as potential active bystanders who prevent rape because they will accept the challenge (Katz, 1995, 2006). The role of peers is also emphasized in both programs, since they are based on the peer education model premise. Both programs also seek to deconstruct gender-role expectations by engaging the male participants in conversations about gender-role socialization and challenging hegemonic masculine norms. Finally, programs help participants develop self-efficacy regarding their ability to help prevent men's violence against women by practicing ways they act as an active bystander. These four components of prevention programs will later emerge as important aspects of social justice ally development.

Men who become involved in working to prevent men's violence against women through these programs are acting as social justice allies. The next section will address the process of social justice ally development. It begins with a discussion of research on social justice ally development more broadly, since minimal research has been conducted about male social justice ally development. Then, it transitions to the minimal research that has been conducted with male social justice allies as both similar and unique from social justice allies who work to prevent other forms of oppression. The section concludes with specific foci of the current project related to male social justice ally development.

Social Justice Ally Development: What We Know

Allyhood has been theorized as a developmental process, acknowledging the role of cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal development (Edwards, 2006; Waters, 2010). One overarching model suggests allies initially engage in social justice efforts for self-interest, focusing their efforts on individuals with whom they have relationships (Edwards, 2006). The next stage includes allies for altruism, or individuals who engage in ally behaviors for others because they believe it is the right thing to do but do not recognize the role of power dynamics in society. The final stage includes allies for social justice; these individuals recognize systems of oppression and dominance and focus their efforts on creating a more equitable world for everyone. The goal of this project was to understand further the experience of male allies in the final stage of this model, focusing on social justice.

The remainder of this section overviews research addressing the process of social justice ally development. The terms *social justice* is included in the conceptualization of ally development to highlight the advocate role of these allies, emphasizing the importance of social action in addressing the existence of oppression as part of their identity as an ally (Broido, 2000). The following sections will discuss relevant research related to the role of identity development and specific factors associated with social justice ally development.

Social identity development: The overarching process. Social identity development includes the process of becoming aware of personal social identities and understanding these identities as seats of privilege or oppression (Worell & Remer, 2003). This process has been outlined in the form of models, which “describe the process by which individuals’ social identities are impacted by the advantaged or disadvantaged social positions of their social locations” (Remer, 2007, p. 412). Initially, social identity

development models sought to illustrate possible developmental challenges associated with disadvantaged social identities, such as individuals who identify as sexual minorities (Cass, 1979, 1984; Fassinger & Miller, 1996; McCarm & Fassinger, 1996), People of Color (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1995; Sue & Sue, 2008), and women (Downing & Roush, 1985). Authors of other models intended to provide a framework for how individuals with certain privileged social identities come to understand their identity, some of which include White individuals (Helms, 1995) and heterosexual individuals (Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002).

Of particular interest to this project is the Key Model because it theorizes identity development of multiple, intersecting privileged identities. It is a social identity development model for White men initially developed to address the lack of identity development models that acknowledge “the *convergence of gender and race* [emphasis in original text]” (Scott & Robinson, 2001, p. 416). The model suggests White males may inhabit one of five “types,” the terms used by the authors to replace the idea of stages in identity development models. The first type, *the noncontact type*, includes a belief in the superiority of White men over women and People of Color. White men may also inhabit *the claustrophobic type*, during which they acknowledge the American dream is a myth, blame women and People of Color for the struggles of White men, and believe women and People of Color receive unmerited advantages at the expense of White men. The third type, *conscious identity type*, is characterized by “a precipitating event, positive or negative, that creates dissonance between a person’s existing belief system and real-life experiences with women and people of color that contradict this system” (p. 419). Other White men may acknowledge the existence of racism and sexism while also recognizing how they previously blamed women and People of Color unfairly for their own struggles,

illustrative of the fourth type, *empirical type*. Finally, the fifth type, *optimal type*, describes White men who become aware of the common struggle experienced by all individuals in society and the importance of valuing all individuals to develop a meaningful existence. White men may transition between the stages, though this movement is not assumed to be linear. These models provide an overview of how social identity development models for both privileged and oppressed identities are conceptualized in the literature.

Social identity development has also been theorized as a specific factor associated with social justice ally development (Reason & Davis, 2005). This form of development illustrates the function of knowledge about the existence of privilege and oppression and self-awareness about its function in personal life. Bishop (2002) proposed a general framework for identity development specific to allies, which she conceptualizes as people who both recognize their unearned advantages and take responsibility for societal change related to injustices, a concept that provides an important conceptual overview for this project. She created a six-step process that begins with the first stage of *understanding oppression* and the second stage of *recognizing interactions among different oppressions*. She acknowledged the emotional consequences for privileged individuals associated with this awareness, so she included *healing from pain associated with role as oppressor* as the third step. Her fourth step is *recognize areas of oppression in own life and take action toward change*. After these four stages, an individual *becomes an ally* in step five and *maintains hope and idealism while working for social change* in step six. The remainder of this section will focus on broad models of social identity development used by researchers in the ally development field, since no models specific to male social justice ally development have been theorized. The following two social identity development models can be applied specifically to social justice ally development and include the *becomes an*

ally stage outlined by Bishop (2002) as crucial to the model. The models include stages with unique behaviors and emotions for privileged and oppressed social identities. Both aspects will be discussed because allies may have both privileged and oppressed social identities, so understanding the range of identity development is important.

For agents. Hardiman and Jackson (1997) developed a social identity development theory that includes a specific progression for privileged individuals, or agents, and oppressed individuals that has been applied to social justice ally development. The authors described the theory as a linear progression but recognized that individuals may not develop in this order. The first stage, *naïve*, is defined by a lack of social consciousness. Individuals often transition to the next stage after they become aware of societal laws and institutions that perpetuate the existence of privilege and oppression, permitting certain behaviors and prohibiting others based on group membership. Stage two, *acceptance*, is based on the internalization of the dominant culture's logic system. This stage has distinct descriptions for privileged and oppressed individuals. Privileged individuals who actively accept the system believe messages about oppressed groups are accurate, while passive acceptance is defined as blaming the victim for current circumstances. Oppressed individuals, on the other hand, actively accept the system by consciously identifying with the dominant group and its ideology and passively accept the system by developing feelings, behaviors, and thoughts that reflect the dominant ideology without awareness. The third stage is *resistance* and includes an increased awareness of the existence and effect of oppression on certain groups in society. Individuals from privileged groups use this awareness to develop a new worldview, and individuals from oppressed groups react to this awareness with hostility and develop belief systems against the dominant ideology. Stage four, *redefinition*, is defined by the development of an identity that is unique from

the dominant ideology for both privileged and oppressed individuals. The fifth and final stage is *internalization*; individuals in this stage of identity development incorporate their newly developed identity into their lives as both awareness of their past and efforts to create a more equal future through social justice action. Another outcome associated with this stage is the development of group pride and awareness of all forms of oppression.

For personal/social identities. An additional identity development model that relates to social justice ally development is the Personal/Social Identity Development model created by Worell and Remer (2003). This model is particularly useful because it can be applied to all social identities. According to this model, individuals move through four levels of identity development, though the movement is not necessarily linear. Level one, *preawareness*, is manifested in privileged individuals as conformity to majority norms in society, acceptance of stereotypes associated with oppressed individuals, lack of awareness of privilege, and belief in a just world. Oppressed individuals at this level also conform to the majority norms, believe in a just world, and accept negative stereotypes about their own group. At level two, *encounter*, privileged individuals become aware of their privilege in society and are able to connect the privilege to their social identity, often resulting in conflict and guilt. Oppressed individuals become aware of the oppression and discrimination they have experienced and feel both relief that they are not to blame for their struggles and anger about the injustice they now recognize. Privileged individuals in level three, *immersion*, continue to learn more about discrimination and oppression and increase contact with individuals from oppressed groups. Oppressed individuals in this level also learn more about discrimination and their group but decrease contact with individuals in the other, privileged group. Finally, level four, *integration and activism*, is the same for both oppressed and privileged individuals. Individuals at this level are willing

to share societal resources, value all individuals in society, and actively work to end oppression, discrimination, and privilege. Understanding how the individuals begin to focus on initiating societal change in this final level is particularly helpful for this project.

Researchers have also collected empirical evidence associating social justice ally development with social identity development. Studies have connected a sense of personal Whiteness (Reason, Roosa, & Scales, 2005), awareness of homophobic behaviors (Dillon et al., 2004), and higher levels of heterosexual identity development (Evans & Broido, 2005) with social justice ally development. Overall, these findings indicate the importance of advanced social identity development as a factor contributing to social justice ally development.

Factors associated with social justice ally development: Other pieces of the puzzle. Research has identified other factors associated with social justice ally development, including individual factors, a connection to the issue, critical reflection, and opportunity to engage in social activism. Each of these factors will be discussed in more detail in this section.

Individual factors. Individual factors associated with social justice ally development include values, personality, cognitive development, and self-efficacy.

Values. Literature exploring social justice ally development suggests values, which include egalitarian values, family values, faith, and self-interest, are all contributing factors. Goodman (2000, 2001) first associated personal values and ally development in her model of social justice ally development that included moral/spiritual values and self-interest as main sources of motivation for these allies. She defined moral/spiritual values as an internal standard of behavior and suggested individuals become motivated to become social justice allies when their standards are incongruent with their behaviors or with the

circumstances in their environment. She also described the importance of self-interest in the development of ally behaviors as individuals consider personal advantages of engaging in these behaviors.

Broido (2000) conducted one of the first comprehensive studies to examine factors that contribute to social justice ally development. This phenomenological investigation employed qualitative methodology to assess the process of ally development among six students at a large college in the Northeast who were identified as social justice allies through a nomination process by staff members at the college. All participants identified as White and heterosexual and half identified as women. These students had not participated in social justice efforts until college. Findings of this study suggested precollege egalitarian values were a common factor contributing to their development as social justice allies; each participant reported having attitudes prior to college that were consistent with the goals of social justice work (Broido, 2000; Broido & Reason, 2005).

Additional studies with college students found similar outcomes. Specifically, Munin and Speight (2010) conducted qualitative interviews with 13 undergraduate students at a Midwestern university who self-identified as an ally and participated in large-scale ally efforts for at least one year. The participants were predominantly Caucasian, Catholic, female, and their average age was 20 years old. They reported the importance of values for their development as social justice allies, specifically the role of faith. These values were developed largely from their family members' values and influenced their decisions and behaviors. Similarly, Reason, Roosa, and Scales (2005) conducted a qualitative study of White antiracist college students. Participants were recruited using a purposive, snowballing sampling technique, resulting in a sample comprised of 12 women and three men. These individuals reported the importance of values to their involvement with social

justice activities, especially the influence of their parents from whom they learned about social justice starting at a young age. This early learning experience created a valuing of equality among these participants that motivated them to engage in ally behaviors during college. A study of 10 predominantly Caucasian graduate students in counseling psychology at a major university in the Northeast also supported the influence of family values on future social justice ally development for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals (Dillon et al., 2004). These participants described the role of family socialization about LGB attitudes as a substantial factor to their current ally behaviors. A final study of students evaluated the experience of social justice activists in Canada (Kennelly, 2009). Qualitative interviews were conducted with 38 young activists who ranged in age from 13 to 29; around 75% of participants identified as middle-class, around 33% identified as students of color, and 22 of the participants were women. Findings indicated that the participants valued equality and fairness, both of which are consistent with social justice. The participants' values motivated them to become social justice allies because they felt emotional discomfort when their behaviors conflicted with their values. These studies illustrate the role of values as a factor influencing social justice ally development.

Similar studies with professionals who engaged in ally work also provide support for values as a factor contributing to social justice ally development. DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, and Bullard (2000) conducted a study of heterosexual professionals who were part of the Network for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns of the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. Although no demographic information was provided for the sample, the larger organization was described as predominantly Caucasian and comprised equally of men and women. The participants

completed open-ended surveys about their ally behaviors, including times they behaved as an ally, times they failed to behave as an ally, and life events that may have affected the development of their ally identity. Findings suggested the importance of personal values on their development as social justice allies, including being open-minded, valuing equality, and internalizing family values that support acceptance and respect for all individuals. Similarly, Smith and Redington (2010) conducted qualitative interviews with 18 participants who engaged in antiracist activities in urban and suburban areas of the Northeastern United States. The average age of participants was 41 years, and the sample included 11 women, two participants who self-identified as gay, and participants with various religious affiliations. The participants reported the influence of liberal family values on their decision to engage in these efforts. A final study of individuals who participated in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) ally behaviors professionally was conducted with 127 allies throughout the United States, the majority of whom identified as nonreligious White women with an average age of 42 years (Russell, 2011). Findings from this qualitative study indicated the importance of values related to justice and civil rights as a factor contributing to the ally development of these individuals. Therefore, the results of these empirical studies overwhelmingly suggest the importance of values as a factor contributing to social justice ally development.

Personality. Personality is an additional individual factor that seems to contribute to social justice ally development. Goodman (2000, 2001) indicated the importance of empathy as a factor contributing to ally development, which she defined as a sense of connection or “we-ness” that individuals from privileged groups develop with individuals from oppressed groups. This empathy can function as a motivational factor in the development of a social justice ally. College students described additional personality

factors that influenced their social justice ally development (Munin & Speight, 2010). These attributes included extroversion, leadership, empathy, impatience, and competitiveness. The participants described their outgoing nature, need to lead, ability to sense and experience the emotions of others, and frustration with the continued existence of oppression despite efforts to achieve equality. Although competitiveness was an additional personality factor described, only male participants reported it. These findings indicated a variety of personality factors that could contribute to social justice ally development.

Cognitive development. Reason and Davis (2005) theorized about the role of cognitive development as a factor influencing college students' social justice ally development. The authors described social justice ally development as associated with an increasingly complex ability to reason, since being an ally requires adaptability with multiple perspectives and the subjectivity of knowledge. This flexible way of thinking allows students to grapple with the concepts of privilege and oppression and consider their role in changing societal structures that perpetuate domination. Educational and professional development also seems related to cognitive development, with the added knowledge being a factor in students' social justice ally development (DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000). Despite the minimal empirical evidence illustrating the role of cognitive development as a factor influencing social justice ally development, the theoretical association suggests the importance of considering it.

Self-confidence. An additional individual factor influencing social justice ally development is self-confidence. Broido (2000) first identified the importance of self-confidence from findings reported by participants in her study, which she defined as "comfort with one's identity and internal loci of worth and approval" (p. 12). Participants described self-confidence in their ally identities as a buffer to help handle negative

feedback from unsupportive individuals that threatened their self-esteem, self-worth, physical safety, and identity. Similarly, Ji (2007) reported the importance of self-confidence in his developmental journey as an LGBT ally. His self-confidence was associated with his skills; Ji explained that he initially feared unintentionally behaving in a way that was harmful or oppressive rather than as an ally because he lacked the specific skills for being an ally. Once he developed the skills and received positive feedback, he developed self-confidence as an ally. Therefore, self-confidence seems to be another important individual factor to consider when evaluating factors associated with social justice ally development.

Connection to the cause. Developing a connection to the cause is another factor associated with social justice ally development. Research indicates this connection to the cause for which individuals become an ally may be educational or experiential in nature.

One commonly described way of developing a connection to the cause is educational in nature, including knowledge about the concepts of privilege and oppression as well as knowledge about the existence of different forms of oppression. In their conceptual piece about the development of white allies, Reason, Scales, and Roosa (2005) discussed the importance of understanding racism and privilege as an initial aspect of social justice ally development. In his description of his own development as an LGBT ally, Ji (2007) described recognition of oppression as his connection to the cause, providing support to the conceptual framework. Similarly, Goldstein and Davis (2010) surveyed 46 heterosexual college students involved with the gay/straight alliance at a small liberal arts college in the western United States. The participants included 38 women and eight men who ranged in age from 19 to 24 years old and were predominantly White. Findings indicated that individuals in this study connected to the cause of LGBT-based

discrimination through education, including awareness of the discrimination and knowledge about LGBT identity. Broido (2000) reported similar results, with participants in her study indicating that educational information served as a means of connecting individuals to social justice causes, including impacts of oppression, experiences of oppressed individuals, benefits of diversity, and awareness of their privilege.

Other ways social justice allies may become connected to a cause is through experiential events, helping individuals connect with issues on an affective level and contributing to their ally development. These experiences can include relationships with individuals in oppressed groups (DiStefano et al., 2000; Evans, Assadi, & Herriot, 2005; Reason, Scales, & Roosa, 2005, Stotzer, 2009), witnessing discrimination (DiStefano et al., 2000; Smith & Redington, 2010), achieving closure and resolving guilt associated with previously oppressive behaviors (Russell, 2010), and attending a training experience (Smith & Redington, 2010). Another experiential means of connecting to a cause is the “realization of otherness” described by Munin and Speight (2010). The authors suggested this realization can occur through experiences “being the other” as an individual in an oppressed group or “seeing the other” as an individual who recognizes his or her own privilege and the oppression of others. These experiential ways of connecting to causes provide further evidence for the importance of assessing events as factors in the development of social justice allies.

Critical reflection. Beyond developing a connection to the cause, theoretical frameworks indicate individuals must engage in critical reflection of an event that connects them to an issue to ensure their development as a social justice ally (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 2000). This notion of critical reflection is echoed in the responses of social justice allies as an important factor contributing to their social justice ally development.

College students indicated the importance of “meaning making” attached to their connection to the cause that facilitated their development as a social justice ally (Broido, 2000). Further, findings from a qualitative study with counseling psychology graduate students expanded on the critical reflection piece to include the necessity of a trusting environment to feel sufficiently safe to engage in the critical reflection (Dillon et al., 2004). The additional component of reflecting on the initial connection to the cause in the process of social justice ally development suggests this factor is important to consider as well.

Opportunity. A final factor that seems to influence social justice ally development is the opportunity to engage in ally behaviors. Participants described either being invited to participate in a social justice-focused group or seeking the presence of groups with which to participate as crucial in their transition from willingness to be an ally to active engagement in ally behaviors (Broido, 2000; Dillon et al., 2004; Goldstein & Davis, 2010; Kennelly, 2009; Reason, Scales, et al., 2005). This finding suggests that social justice allies seem to benefit from the additional support of an opportunity to behave as a social justice ally to facilitate their development.

Male Social Justice Ally Development: Similar and Unique Factors

Using the Spectrum of Prevention framework, Flood (2011) proposes the following critical aspects of engaging men in preventing violence against women: strengthening individual knowledge and skills; promoting community education; educating providers; engaging, strengthening, and mobilizing communities; changing; and influencing policies and education. This framework provides a relevant overview for the following description of factors associated with current research about male social justice ally development. Although Flood (2011) proposes change at both individual and systemic levels, this project focused on efforts to engage men on an individual level. The following section will focus

on the limited literature about male social justice ally development, providing an overview of emerging factors that are similar to broader social justice ally development literature and unique factors associated with men who become social justice allies.

Similar factors. The following factors previously discussed as relevant to broader social justice ally development were also reported by male social justice allies as associated with their ally development, including self-efficacy, connection to the cause, critical reflection, and opportunity.

Self-efficacy. One common factor between male social justice allies and social justice allies in general is the importance of self-efficacy in the development of the ally identity. Specifically, Casey and Ohler (2012) conducted a study with 27 male social justice allies who were new to the field of antiviolence work. Participants were predominantly White, ranged in age from 20 to 72 years old, and reported a variety of involvements in antiviolence efforts. Through semi-structured interviews, the authors found that the majority of participants (78%) considered their perceived sense of self-efficacy as a positive, active bystander before intervening. Further, Rich, Utley, Janke, and Moldoveanu (2010) conducted a study of male college students' perceptions of sexual assault prevention programs for all-male audiences with 157 participants at a large, urban university. The participants represented a range of ethnicities, with 46 identifying as White, 43 as Asian American, 41 as Latino, 10 as African American, 9 as bi/multiracial, and 8 as "other." They denied knowledge about ways to intervene as an active bystander, which they explained prevented them from engaging in these behaviors. The lack of self-efficacy associated with the absence of skills prevented these participants from engaging in ally behaviors. McMahon and Dick (2011) found a similar outcome after implementing a workshop about engaging men as positive, active bystanders in preventing intimate partner

violence with 41 men. The participants represented men from both a community sample ($n = 30$) and a university sample ($n = 11$). After completing the workshop, participants reported feeling “bystander anxiety” associated with their confidence and their skills to prevent men’s violence against women. This finding suggests the important role of self-efficacy as a factor contributing to male social justice ally development.

Connection to the cause. As previously established, individuals who feel connected to the cause for which they are advocating are more likely to develop a social justice ally identity; this connection is also crucial for male social justice ally development.

Specifically, in one of the few articles describing male social justice ally development, Casey and Smith (2010) conducted qualitative interviews with 27 predominantly Caucasian participants between the ages of 20 and 72 who were professionally involved in antiviolence efforts. The authors were interested in understanding “the routes through which men initiate involvement in antiviolence efforts or come to define themselves as antiviolence ‘allies’” (p. 954). Findings from this study suggested the importance of activating events, or “sensitizing” experiences, underlying involvement in these efforts. Some experiences included having a close female friend, family member, or girlfriend disclose an experience of men’s violence against women; witnessing violence during childhood; or hearing women’s stories of violence at events such as Take Back the Night. Ravarino (2008) conducted a similar qualitative study with 17 self-identified male antiviolence allies whose profession includes work to prevent men’s violence against women, the majority of whom identified as White and heterosexual, ranged in age from 25 to 58, and had all obtained a bachelor’s degree or higher. He found that involvement in a consciousness-raising event functioned as a connection to the cause of preventing men’s violence against women. Rich et al. (2010), on the other hand, reported findings that

illustrated how a lack of connection to men's violence against women prevented male college students from developing an identity as a social justice ally. Establishing a connection to the cause of men's violence against women is therefore crucial for men to become social justice allies in this prevention effort.

Critical reflection. Male social justice allies also benefit from engaging in critical reflection regarding their connection to men's violence against women to facilitate their social justice ally development. Specifically, male antiviolence allies described the importance of attaching meaning to their initial activating event as a critical component to their motivation to become involved in social justice efforts (Casey & Smith, 2010). This critical reflection included both self-reflection and dialogue with others. Pairing critical reflection with the connection to the cause of men's violence against women may help the development of male social justice allies.

Opportunity. The opportunity to engage in social justice ally behaviors also emerged as a factor associated with the development of male social justice allies. Participants reported this opportunity presented itself through a formal invitation to an antiviolence group, being friends with individuals involved in antiviolence, seeking involvement opportunities and locating an antiviolence group, or searching for a job or volunteer position (Casey & Smith, 2010). These men became invested in preventing men's violence against women after this initial introduction and ultimately pursued careers in this field, suggesting the importance of having opportunities for men to become involved as social justice allies to engage them in the effort.

The limited research on male social justice ally development suggests that men become allies when they have self-efficacy related to behaving as a social justice ally, develop a connection to the cause of men's violence against women, reflect critically on

their connection to men's violence against women, and are presented with the opportunity to be a social justice ally. Although this research provides a framework for factors associated with male social justice ally development, additional focused studies about this process would provide an even more nuanced understanding about the facilitating factors for male social justice ally development. These studies also have not sufficiently explored possible inhibiting factors to male social justice ally development. Finally, none of the studies includes male undergraduate students who are social justice allies, highlighting the need to understand the unique process of these men.

Unique factors. Two factors unique to the male social justice allies of interest for this project include college student development and hegemonic masculinity.

College student development. The participants of interest for this project represent a particular cohort, college students; therefore, it is important to understand their cognitive, social, and emotional development to contextualize how it may influence their social justice ally development. An extensive overview of college student development theories is beyond the scope of this project, so one applicable and commonly used theory will be applied. Chickering (1972) proposed a seven-vector framework to understand the developmental issues facing college students and contributing to their development. These vectors are different from a stage model because they are not unilateral or mutually exclusive (Torres, Jones, & Renn, 2009). Further, Chickering revised the initial framework to address dimensions of college student identity, such as race, gender, social class, and sexual orientation, and explore ways these identities influence their unique development to address the increasingly diverse student studies. His framework includes attention to developing competence, managing emotions, developing autonomy, establishing identity, freeing interpersonal relationships, developing purpose, and developing integrity.

Chickering (1972) described the first vector, developing competence, as being comprised of intellectual competence, or knowledge, physical and manual skills, and social and interpersonal competence, or the ability to communicate with others and develop relationships. Managing emotions is understood as increased awareness of emotions and learning to integrate emotions in decision-making processes and behaviors with the ultimate goal of learning “what can be done with whom, when, and under what circumstances” (p. 11). Chickering proposes that the process through which college students seek to manage two major impulses, aggression and sex, though the notion of managing emotions seems applicable for additional emotions experienced by college students. The third vector, developing autonomy, is defined as a sense of security and stability based on a type of maturity that requires both emotional and instrumental independence as well as awareness of interdependencies. Emotional independence includes the lack of a need for approval or reassurance, and instrumental independence requires the ability to handle activities and problems without accessing help from others. Chickering describes establishing identity, the fourth vector, as “the process of discovering with what kinds of experience, at what levels of intensity and frequency, we resonate in satisfying, in safe, or in self-destructive fashion” (p. 13). He explains that freeing interpersonal relationships can be achieved after establishing identity, which are defined by increased tolerance for others and a supportive relationship based on trust and personal independence that survives times of noncommunication. The sixth vector, developing purpose, “requires formulating plans and priorities that integrate avocational and recreational interests, vocational plans, and life-style considerations” to establish a life that “flows with direction and meaning” (p. 16). The final vector, developing integrity, includes “the clarification of a personally valid set of beliefs that have some internal

consistency and that provide at least a tentative guide for behavior” (p. 17). It requires humanizing of values, in which college students understand that rules are not absolute and acknowledge their relative nature, personalizing of values, allowing college students to identify the values that are most important to them, and developing congruence, in which their behavior is consistent with the personalized values they identified. This theory of college student development is also important to consider as part of the overall conceptualization of undergraduate male students’ social justice ally development.

Hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, the dominant form of masculinity in contemporary American society, provides guidelines for how men should behave (Connell, 1996). It represents the normative performance of masculinity for which all men are taught to strive (Connell, 2005). It perpetuates some men’s dominance over both women and less advantaged men (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Hegemonic masculinity is comprised of four mandates of male gender-role expectations (Brannon, 2008). The first mandate, “no sissy stuff,” establishes a stigma associated with any feminine characteristics, such as expressing feelings and participating in traditionally feminine professions, and punishes men for weaknesses. Research indicates that the resulting avoidance of femininity is an integral component for adherence to male gender-role expectations (O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). This antifemininity mandate is also associated with compulsory heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). The second aspect is “be a big wheel” and indicates the importance of power and success in the performance of masculinity (Brannon, 2008). The importance of being tough, confident, and reliable is conveyed in the third mandate, “be a sturdy oak,” which requires men to maintain emotional composure, solve problems without assistance, and avoid the display of weakness in their performance of masculinity. Finally, the fourth

mandate of “give ‘em hell” suggests the importance of daring and aggressive behavior among men though violence and physical risks. Kivel (2007) describes this socialization process for boys and men as learning expectations of the “Act-Like-a-Man” box, which embodies the previously defined aspects of hegemonic masculinity, and teaches men to fear not being sufficiently manly and being gay. Boys and men receive feedback from peers, women, and family about the importance of adhering to these norms and suffer consequences for deviating from this “box.” These aspects of hegemonic masculinity provide a framework for men to follow to ensure compliance with a socially acceptable performance of their gender.

The performance of masculinity is especially unique on the college campus, the socio-cultural context of interest for this project. Researchers have conducted qualitative studies to determine how men understand their male identity in the context of the college campus (Edwards & Jones, 2009; Harris, 2010; Harris & Edwards, 2010; Harris & Struve, 2009). Edwards and Jones (2009) conducted a qualitative study of 10 predominantly White, heterosexual, male college students to determine “(a) how do college men come to understand themselves as men; (b) how does this understanding of what it means to be a man change over time, if at all; and (c) what are the critical influences on this process?” (p. 212). The authors generated data from three individual interviews with each participant and used constructivist grounded theory to formulate a model for how these men understood and performed their gender. Findings indicated the male college students understood masculinity as “putting on a mask” to ensure their performance was consistent with the dominant group’s notion of masculinity and to hide any parts of themselves that were inconsistent with the dominant form of masculinity, particularly behaviors that may be perceived as feminine. This performance resulted in limited relationships with women,

other male peers, fathers, and themselves. The participants reported beginning to acknowledge the ways the “mask” does not fit their sense of self and transcend the hegemonic norms of masculinity in certain environments. Harris and Edwards (2010) synthesized findings across two studies similar to the previous one and reported consistent results, indicating that male college students experience external pressure to conform to hegemonic masculine norms and acknowledge the consequences of performing this form of masculinity, especially inauthentic relationships. These participants identified the socialization process as occurring from a young age and becoming more stringent with age. Harris (2010) conducted a qualitative study of 68 male undergraduates ranging in age, ethnicity, and sexual orientation to explicate further the meaning of masculinity on college campuses. The participants understood masculinity as being respected, being confident and self-assured, assuming responsibility, and embodying physical prowess, all parts of a performance they learned prior to entering college that were reinforced during the college years. Further, they discussed how the campus culture reinforces hegemonic masculinity through competition and patriarchy enacted on the campus (Harris, 2010; Harris & Struve, 2009).

For the purposes of this project, it is important to consider the connection between hegemonic masculinity and men’s violence against women. Research indicates that adherence to hegemonic masculinity is a barrier to male social justice ally development. Specifically, Carlson (2008) conducted a qualitative study with predominantly Caucasian male college freshman and sophomores to determine barriers to active bystander behaviors. She found adherence to hegemonic masculine norms, especially the expectation that men must not be weak, functioned as a barrier in preventing these participants from becoming social justice allies. Davis and Wagner (2005) described adherence to hegemonic

masculinity as a barrier to social justice ally development as well. These findings suggest navigating hegemonic masculinity is likely part of the developmental process of male social justice allies.

Research conducted with male social justice allies suggests they consider their profeminism to be incompatible with hegemonic masculinity and therefore reformulate their conception and performance of masculinity (Casey & Smith, 2010; Vicario, 2003). In their study of men who work to prevent men's violence against women, Casey and Smith (2010) named this dynamic "doing masculinity differently" after hearing stories from participants about being able to develop meaningful relationships with men and living outside of the "masculinity box" established by society. Similarly, Vicario (2003) conducted a qualitative study of six profeminist men. Participants in this study included three college students, one man who worked in the community related to violence prevention, and two men working on advanced degrees. The majority of participants identified as White, while one man identified as Mexican American, and most participants self-identified as heterosexual, though one participant identified as bisexual and one participant explained that he was still questioning his sexual identity. Therefore, at least half of the participants had at least one subordinate social identity. All participants were raised in "in-tact" families with their mother, father, and siblings. Findings suggest these profeminist men redefined masculinity as part of their development as a feminist, indicating the importance of generating more information related to the association between hegemonic masculinity and male social justice ally development to understand the developmental process of these allies. Of particular interest to this study are the notions of antifemininity and peer influence as integral components of hegemonic masculinity.

Antifemininity. Antifemininity is considered the central aspect of male gender-role expectations (Connell, 2005; Kilmartin, 2010; McCreary, 1994; O’Neil et al., 1986) and the main way in which men who engage in men’s violence against women prevention violate their male gender-role expectations. Kimmel (2008) identified the *culture of silence* associated with the dominant male culture in which men live during emerging adulthood, defined as the inability of anyone who observes negative behaviors such as violence to speak out against it. This silence functions to perpetuate the violence, so male allies who actively work to prevent men’s violence against women violate the culture of silence, a significant risk related to deviating from their gender “box.”

The violation occurs in two different ways, the first of which is associated with the historical conceptualization of men’s violence against women as a “women’s issue” (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007). This association was confirmed in a study of college students’ perceptions of rape prevention programs (Rich et al., 2010). Participants explained that men who engage in efforts to prevent men’s violence against women are seen as advocating for a “women’s issue,” which is associated with femininity and in direct violation of the proscriptions for hegemonic masculinity.

The second violation of antifemininity is the perception that men who work to prevent violence are considered weak because of their efforts (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; McMahon & Dick, 2011). In a study of college men who participated in a men’s violence against women prevention program, participants reported that male gender-role expectations were prohibitive of bystander behaviors largely because men do not want to be seen as weak in front of their friends (McMahon & Dick, 2011). The act of speaking out against men’s violence against women is viewed as weakness, and the men who engage in this behavior are seen as “wimps” or “sissies” and not sufficiently masculine. A

qualitative study of male college students' perceptions of the association between bystander behaviors and masculinity yielded similar results (Carlson, 2008). Respondents indicated that male gender-role expectations prohibit the display of weakness. Since engaging in antiviolence efforts is associated with weakness and femininity, they did not participate in the prevention efforts. These participants reported that the consequences of engaging in these efforts were not worth any benefits of participating in men's violence against women prevention work. Casey and Ohler (2012) conducted a qualitative study of men who recently initiated their involvement in antiviolence work to understand how they "experience and decode bystander opportunities as well as the factors they consider as they weigh the choice to intervene" (p. 66). The authors found similar results relating hegemonic masculine norms about antifemininity and social justice ally development, suggesting participants identified men who intervene to prevent men's violence against women as "uncool," "goody two-shoes," "less than a man," and even a "cock block." The participants described aspects of the "guy code" that discourage men from preventing other men from engaging in sexual activity with a woman to avoid being labeled a "wimp." This association between antifemininity and social justice ally development indicates the importance of understanding how male social justice allies construct their own sense of masculinity and manage their violation of hegemonic masculine norms.

Peer influence. One way to ensure compliance with male gender-role expectations is through peer evaluation (Kimmel, 2008). Men perform hegemonic masculinity for other men, illustrating the homosocial nature of this performance. Part of this performance for other men is a constant assertion of heterosexuality, which maintains the visibility and dominance of hegemonic masculinity in contemporary American society.

The role of peer influence may explicate another way that the performance of hegemonic masculinity is associated with male social justice ally development. Studies with male college students indicate the importance of participants' perception of their peers' support of ally behaviors of their social justice ally development. Specifically, Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, and Stark (2003) evaluated willingness to engage in ally behavior among 618 predominantly male undergraduate students who represented all years in college and found that "the only significant predictor of males' willingness to intervene in a situation that might lead to sexual assault was their perception of other males' willingness to intervene" (p. 109). Stein (2007) conducted a similar study with a more racially diverse sample of first-year college students at a large northeastern university. Findings indicated that perceptions of close friends' attitudes about willingness to prevent men's violence against women significantly predicted participants' self-reported willingness to prevent men's violence against women. Notably, the participants perceived their peers had attitudes that were more supportive of rape than their own attitudes, an important finding to consider in conjunction with the first result. Last, Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) conducted a survey study of 395 male students at a mid-sized public university in the Midwest with a predominantly White, heterosexual sample of male college students who represented all four years of school. Findings indicated that perceived peer attitudes supporting sexual aggression significantly predicted self-reported willingness to intervene. Further, personal attitudes about men's violence against women did not predict self-reported willingness to intervene when social desirability and perceived peer attitudes were considered, suggesting that the influence of others accounts for personal attitudes about intervening to prevent men's violence against women.

On the other hand, relationships with peers who are intolerant of men's violence against women (Casey & Smith, 2010; Ravarino, 2008) and who identify as feminist (Vicario, 2003) seem to support the process of male social justice ally development. Further, some research has shown modeling of ally behaviors by peers and mentors positively influences men to engage in ally behaviors (Reason, Roosa, et al., 2005). Therefore, the influence of others is an especially important factor to consider as contributing to male social justice ally development, especially among college students.

The connection between the hegemonic performance of masculinity and men's violence against women is important to consider because it suggests factors that may be involved in male undergraduate college student social justice ally development, especially important since no research has yet studied this process. Specifically, these social justice allies likely established a performance of masculinity that differs from the hegemonic norms to be able to integrate their social justice ally development into their identity. Their performance will likely not include antifemininity, since this aspect of hegemonic masculinity is in direct contrast to preventing men's violence against women (Casey & Ohler, 2012; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; McMahon & Dick, 2011). Further, the participants will likely describe the role of peer influences on their social justice ally development (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Casey & Smith, 2010; Fabiano et al., 2003; Ravarino, 2008; Stein, 2007; Vicario, 2003). These descriptions will likely include instances of support, such as reinforcement and modeling of ally behaviors, and instances of punishment from male peers about the violations of male gender-role socialization. The male undergraduate college student social justice allies likely developed a way to handle this negative feedback from peers.

Application of Theoretical Frameworks

Extending the overview of the theoretical frameworks described previously, this section will include a specific application of the theories to the current project.

Specifically, they will be discussed with a specific application to male college student social justice ally development.

Transformative learning theory. Researchers have applied transformative learning theory to the process of social justice ally development (Brown, 2004; Daloz, 2000), which is how it was applied in this project. They suggest that educators who have the goal of motivating students to become social justice allies can conceptualize this process as developmental and apply the process of transformational learning. Daloz (2000) expanded on transformative learning theory to include specific concepts related to social justice activism, including interactions with individuals of different social locations, reflective discourse, a mentoring community, and opportunities for committed action. She explained that interacting with individuals of different social locations provides a specific disorienting event that could lead people to engage in critical reflection of their meaning perspectives if the perspectives do not acknowledge the presence of diversity. She expanded on the original conception of discourse by specifying the importance of dialogue with others who have different meaning perspectives. Her last two concepts, a mentoring community and opportunities for committed action, are also additions to the initially defined transformative learning process. Applying transformative learning theory to this project encouraged attention to stories of disorienting events, discourse related to the event, support from others, and opportunities to engage in social justice ally behaviors from the male participants. These notions also provided groundwork for the questions utilized for the interviews.

Feminist theory. As applied to this project, feminist theory highlights the participants' contexts, including internal and external factors that influenced their social justice ally development. Specifically, this framework encouraged consideration of power structures in society and their individual lives as well as the influence of these power structures on participants' lived experiences. Further, it highlights participants' gender-role socialization and intersecting identities, especially personal experience of privilege and oppression, and ways these socialization processes influenced their social justice ally development. The attention to the socio-political context also acknowledges etiology and maintenance of men's violence against women and ways the participants are able to prevent it, a form of social change. This additional theory, therefore, facilitates consideration of the full lived experiences of the participants.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the relevant literature for the current study, including definitions and prevalence of men's violence against women within the socio-cultural context of the college campus, the importance of male involvement in preventing men's violence against women, broader social justice ally development literature, and the limited information known about male social justice ally development. The reader is also provided with an overview of the theoretical frameworks for the current study, transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003), as well as their application to the topic of interest for this study. Based on this information, it becomes evident that little research exists on social justice ally development and even less on male social justice ally development, especially of men on college campuses. Understanding the process of male social justice ally development is particularly important on college campuses because these environments are especially

supportive of violence and are associated with high rates of men's violence against women. These gaps in the literature will be used to inform the foci of the current study.

Current Study

The overall purpose of this study was to examine how male college students identified as social justice allies understand their ally development. Considering the socio-cultural context of college campuses, it is important to understand how some men become allies in the cause of preventing men's violence against women despite the barriers. Within this goal, three subsections of interest emerge based on the literature, including masculinity, intersectionality, and facilitating and inhibiting factors of social justice ally development. Although the literature was used to consider important topics to explore with participants, their personal experiences were privileged during the individual interviews regardless of its consistency with the findings from previous studies.

Masculinity. Based on the previously discussed literature, masculinity was one focus of the present study. Previous research highlights the influence of hegemonic masculinity on perceptions of men's violence against women, especially its role as a potential barrier to engagement in antiviolence work. Two of the main barriers include antifemininity norms associated with hegemonic masculinity (Carlson, 2008; Casey & Ohler, 2012; Casey & Smith, 2010; Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; McMahon & Dick, 2011; Rich et al., 2010; Vicario, 2003) and peer influences, including the importance of reinforcement and modeling to their social justice ally development as well as their management of negative feedback for violating the hegemonic masculine norms (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Casey & Smith, 2010; Fabiano et al., 2003; Kimmel, 2008; Ravarino, 2008; Reason, Roosa, et al., 2005; Vicario, 2003). However, research about the specific influences of hegemonic masculinity on male social justice ally development

among college students is limited. Therefore, participants' understanding of their own masculinity and the way it related to their involvement in preventing men's violence against women was included as a focus for the current study to address the gap in the literature and was understood using feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003).

Intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to an analytic approach that considers the meaning and consequence of multiple categories of social group membership (Cole, 2009) and was originally derived from the Combahee River Collective Black Feminist Statement (1997). The theory of hegemonic masculinity is limited in that only White men who are young, successful, athletic, confident, and heterosexual fit the ideal, so it does not capture the complexity of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Previous research indicates that having an oppressed identity can be a motivating factor for individuals to become allies with respect to one of their privileged identities (Bishop, 2002). However, the existing literature on male social justice ally development does not fully address the role of intersecting identities on social justice ally development. The limited literature suggests a proportion of male participants indicated their own identities affected their decision to engage in ally behaviors (Casey & Ohler, 2012). Therefore, the influences of participants' intersecting identities were considered as part of their self-reported social justice ally development process to begin to address this gap in the literature. The role of intersecting identities was understood using feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003) and transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000).

Facilitating and inhibiting factors. The previously described research lacks a systematic review of both facilitating and inhibiting factors to male social justice ally development. Therefore, this study explored both aspects of male social justice ally development with participants to begin to understand the full extent of the developmental

process through which college men become social justice allies. Participants were asked to articulate both internal and external factors that helped facilitate their social justice ally development process and other factors that inhibited it. These factors were considered in the context of the participants' developmental status as college students. Although facilitating and inhibiting factors were identified as relevant for the ally development process of other social justice allies, male social justice allies may report additional factors that have not yet been identified, so it was important to consider both similar and unique factors shared by the participants. The role of both facilitating and inhibiting factors in this developmental process was conceptualized using transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000).

Overview and methodology of the study. The purpose of this project, to understand the social justice ally development of male social justice ally exemplars involved in antiviolence work as undergraduate students, was examined using qualitative methodology. This methodology is most appropriate for addressing process-oriented questions (Glesne, 2011), such as the process through which male undergraduate students become social justice allies for the cause of preventing men's violence against women. Qualitative research was also appropriate for this project because there is a limited research foundation for undergraduate male social justice ally development, as evidenced by the lack of theory and previous research. This qualitative study, therefore, provided further information about this social justice ally development process to influence future research, including quantitative studies.

The goals of this project were addressed by conducting individual interviews. Each participant was interviewed twice to provide participants time to reflect on the topic and have the opportunity to possibly generate more nuanced responses during the second

interview. Participants also completed a male social justice ally development timeline during the interview to identify aspects of their involvement over time. Generated data were analyzed using constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). This qualitative methodology extends traditional grounded theory, which seeks to develop a data-based theory about a phenomenon of interest (Schram, 2006). Broadly, grounded theory provides both a systematic and flexible set of guidelines that inform data collection and analysis by offering a “method for learning about the worlds that we study and a method for developing theories to understand them” that are grounded in the data generated (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2).

The underlying assumptions of grounded theory methodology suggest that people actively process and interact with their environments and circumstances, behave based on this understanding, and modify this understanding based on their changing environment, all of which suggests that their reality is socially constructed based on their view of the world. Another assumption is that any theory developed from data generated with participants is necessarily incomplete because it is based on the experiences of the people in the study. Grounded theory includes simultaneous collection and analysis of data to identify emerging themes that will subsequently inform future interactions with participants. This constant comparative process allows the researcher to refine interpretations based on new data generated and synthesize the multitude of interpretations into a theory.

Constructivist grounded theory represents a departure from the more traditional systematic or emerging grounded theory designs initially developed in that it “places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources of data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). It does not assume that “an external reality is waiting to be discovered by an

unbiased observer who records facts about that reality” (Schram, 2006, p. 102). Therefore, the approach focuses on how the participants understand the phenomenon of interest. This specific approach privileges the mutual generation of data between the researcher and participants and identifies the data and theory generated as “views” rather than facts. Further, data and interpretation are contextualized as part of a larger social system, which allows the researcher to identify the role of oppression and privilege on participants’ experiences. This framework necessarily requires researchers to identify their reflexivity as related to interactions with the participants and with the data.

Constructivist grounded theory is best suited for projects with the goal of understanding a process or change over time (Schram, 2006). It provides a context for understanding the ways in which reality and lived experiences are socially constructed and understood by individuals, all of which are used to develop theories “grounded” in the data. As previously noted, qualitative methodology is appropriate for this project considering the dearth of knowledge related to male social justice ally development in general and the specific ally development of male college students. In particular, qualitative methodology provides the flexibility to focus on the participants’ experiences and meaning making processes rather than a priori assumptions, which can help provide foundational information to begin to fill the gap in the literature. Constructivist grounded theory is an especially appropriate methodology to analyze data for this project because it provides a framework for understanding the process of change over time, directly relevant in conceptualizing male undergraduate students’ social justice ally development, a process that occurred over time. Further, it identifies the goal of data analysis as developing a theory “grounded” in the data, which is relevant for the goal of this project to formulate a framework of male social justice ally development. Distinct from other types of grounded

theory, constructivist grounded theory highlights the relevance and importance of participants' lived experience, which was identified as central to the participants' social justice ally development and applied throughout the data generation and analysis phases. Therefore, constructivist grounded theory was chosen to help guide the research design and data analysis phases of this project.

This chapter provided an overview of the relevant literature related to the topic of male social justice ally development for the cause of preventing men's violence against women. It included key definitions, research regarding social justice ally development broadly, and discussion of scant research about male social justice ally development specifically. It also outlined the theoretical frameworks used for the current study and the methodology used. The subsequent chapter will provide a more nuanced description of the methods used for the current study, study participants, data generation methods, and overall approach to the project.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

The purpose of the current study was to begin to understand the social justice ally development process of male undergraduate students who work to prevent men's violence against women. The following chapter provides an overview of the research design and methodology of the study, previously identified as constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). It also provides a more detailed overview of participants, data generation methods, materials, data analysis, trustworthiness of the data, and researcher subjectivity.

Participants

The current study included six men either currently enrolled as college students or within two years post-graduation from three different universities. This number of participants was chosen for its sufficiency for the project, as the focus of the research question is understanding the depth of each participant's social justice ally development experience rather than understanding a range of experiences from many participants (Morrow, 2005). Inclusion criteria for participation in the study included being a man, enrollment as an undergraduate student or within two years post-graduation, and sustained involvement in men's violence against women prevention for over one academic semester as an undergraduate student such as through a student organization or other community group. Sustained involvement was defined as consistent engagement in the prevention effort that is not solely to fulfill the expectations of a class. For inclusion, this involvement manifested in two ways, either as two distinct forms of involvement or as multiple instances of the same form of involvement, to indicate that it was sustained. This involvement included, but was not limited to, challenging others who make victim-blaming statements, challenging others who endorse rape myths, supporting someone who has been victimized, volunteering at an agency related to men's violence against women,

volunteering with awareness raising activities and events related to this issue, and enrolling in courses that address this topic.

Recruitment Procedures

The described procedures were approved by the University of Kentucky Institutional Review Board (IRB). Following procedures of other studies evaluating social justice ally development (e.g., Broido, 2000), participant recruitment occurred using reputational selection and nomination by staff who worked at centers associated with preventing men's violence against women on their respective university or college campuses. Nominators were first informally approached about the project and asked if they would be willing to nominate undergraduate men or men within two years post-graduation who most exemplified a social justice ally for preventing men's violence against women. They were then provided with more detailed information about the study and inclusion criteria for participants (Appendix A). Although campus community partners identified the potential participants as social justice allies, they did not have to self-identify as social justice allies to participate in the study.

The nomination process occurred one of two ways, a process that was revised throughout project implementation to recruit participants on multiple campuses to ensure a sufficient sample was included in the project to reach data saturation. At the first and original institution, the nominator identified potential nominees and contacted them, informing them about the project and asking if they would be interested in participating. Nominees who confirmed their interest and provided verbal permission to disclose their names and contact information to the researcher were officially nominated when the nominator provided the information to the researcher. A sufficient number of participants were not able to be recruited via this method at one institution, so the nominator then

nominated participants from a second institution where he had previously worked in the area of preventing men's violence against women. Since this expansion did not provide the sample needed, an additional recruitment procedure was implemented with approval from the IRB. Specifically, a campus community partner at a third institution was consulted and agreed to serve as a nominator. This nominator identified nominees who fit the inclusion criteria based on her experience with them, provided them with a fact sheet about the project (Appendix B), and suggested they contact the principal investigator if interested in participating in the project. This procedure is different from the originally approved research design since the additional nominator was not listed as key personnel as part of the IRB proposal and could not actively recruit potential participants and provide their information to the researcher. Rather than nominating individuals and informing the researcher, this nominator communicated solely with the nominees who then had a responsibility of expressing their interest.

Individuals nominated via the first procedure were contacted in the order in which their names were received after they gave permission to be contacted and communicated with nominees using the second procedure once they expressed interest. Nominees were screened for eligibility using a screening protocol (Appendix C) and evaluated their level of sustained involvement using a structured chart questionnaire (Appendix D). The sustained involvement charts were destroyed following determination of eligibility since the data were collected prior to official enrollment in the project. Notably, all nominees who were screened were deemed eligible to participate in the project. These eligible nominees were invited to participate in the project, and nominees who were interested and willing were enrolled.

Settings

Data were collected from participants associated with three different institutions of higher learning. One of the institutions, a public university in the Southeast, enrolls close to 30,000 students annually pursuing undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees. Of those students, approximately 21,000 are enrolled as undergraduate students. This institution is located in a mid-sized city. Enrolled students are predominantly White, men and women are equally represented, and the majority of students remain on campus over the weekend. The second university, another publicly funded institution in the Southeast, enrolls close to 21,000 undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. Students enrolled as undergraduates comprise 16,000 of the total. This institution is located in an urban area and enrolls a predominantly White student body with slightly more women than men. The third institution, a private college located in the suburb of a large city in the Midwest, enrolls approximately 2,200 undergraduate students. The majority remains on campus over the weekend, and the student body is predominantly White and female.

Data Generation Methods

Data were co-generated with participants through two semi-structured individual interviews using an emergent design in which aspects of the interview were modified for future interviews based on experiences during previous interviews (Glesne, 2011; Patton, 2001). Process-oriented questions are best addressed through research designs that include fewer participants who completed multiple interviews, so this framework was applied for the current study. Interview protocols consisted of descriptive questions, example questions, and experience questions (described in a subsequent section) to generate the depth of information required for this project (Spradley, 1979). Chase (2003) reminds readers that interviews should privilege the means by which participants narrate their

stories rather than the perspective of the researcher; therefore, interviews were sufficiently flexible to shift based on the topics of interest to the participant. Additional data were generated through researcher reflections and field notes throughout the course of the study as well as a social justice ally development timeline completed by participants. When combined, all of these data sources provided sufficient information to be able to achieve thick description in analysis and full interpretation of the data (Geertz, 1973).

Prior to implementation, the interview protocols drafted as part of the project proposal were reviewed by two experts in the field of men's violence against women prevention. The expert reviewers provided feedback about the importance of asking participants about individuals who provide support to their antiviolence work and ensuring that participants understand the language used, since the initial set of questions included phrases such as "social location," "privilege," "oppression," and "masculinity." Questions were revised to focus on participants' experiences rather than their reflections on their own social identity development and conception of their masculinity, leaving those interpretive reflections to the analysis phase, if relevant. After finalizing the updated interview protocols, the questions were piloted with two individuals involved in antiviolence work for feedback about the flow, length, structure of the questions, and inclusion of the demographic forms and worksheets. The pilot participants provided feedback, and the protocols were further refined and organized to optimize the flow of the topics discussed, improve the explanation of the forms and worksheets, and ensure the interviews were no longer than 90 minutes long.

A strategy of theoretical sampling was employed to help inform the data generation process for this project. As described by Charmaz (2006), "The main purpose of theoretical sampling is to elaborate and refine the categories constituting your [emerging]

theory” (p. 96). The goal of theoretical sampling is to contribute to the emerging theory developing from findings generated with participants rather than recruit a sufficiently representative sample to generalize findings. It dictates that new data are generated until no new codes emerge in the data, meaning saturation has been achieved. Saturation indicates that “gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories” (p. 113). As part of this project, data generation was informed by the theoretical sampling strategy, and emerging findings from initial participants informed nomination and recruitment procedures for subsequent participants. Further, participants were recruited until saturation of the data was achieved. The following sections describe the specific data generation methods utilized to fulfill this process.

First individual interview. First interviews with participants generally lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. They were completed during a day and time of convenience for the participant and were conducted either in person or via phone or Skype, depending on the participants’ location and preference. The first individual interview began by reviewing the informed consent form (Appendix E) with participants and answering the participants’ questions regarding the study. During the process, informed consent was received to audio record the interviews. Participants were informed that their data would be stored in a locked filing cabinet to maintain their confidentiality and analyzed using a team approach so they understood that three other members of a research team would hear their stories. They were also informed that their confidentiality would be ensured by assigning them with a pseudonym to be used in the dissertation project and their experiences would be described in minimal detail so readers of the project could not identify them. Participants then completed a demographic form (Appendix F) before

beginning the interview protocol. The interview began with participants completing the personal/social locations worksheet (Appendix G) and focusing on rapport building. Questions during the first interview emphasized the nature of participants' involvement as social justice allies in the cause of preventing men's violence against women. Specific questions that formed the interview are described in a subsequent section. The interview was guided by a set of questions that formed the interview protocol, though the semi-structured nature of the interview allowed for deviation and privileging the participants' experience.

Second individual interview. Second interviews with participants generally lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. They were also completed during a day and time of convenience for the participant and were conducted either in person or via phone or Skype, depending on the participants' location and preference. It occurred between two weeks and two months after the first interview. The goal of the second interview was to further understand participants' male social justice ally development by focusing on how their involvement and identity as a social justice ally evolved over time and exploring the way their involvement shifted their conceptualization of their own masculinity and their understanding of men's violence against women. The second interview began with the principal investigator providing an initial set of themes from the first interview with the participant to receive feedback regarding the accuracy. The remainder of the time was focused on the principal investigator collaborating with participants to complete a male social justice ally development timeline (Appendix J), described in more detail in a subsequent section. This interview was also guided by a set of questions that formed the interview protocol (described in a subsequent section), though the semi-structured nature of the interview allowed for deviation and privileging the participants' experience.

Researcher reflections. A researcher journal of reflections about the participants and their lived experiences was maintained throughout the project and used as supplemental data to contextualize the finding (Glesne, 2011). These reflections included initial thoughts about emerging themes throughout the data collection phase. They also provided a space to process reactions to the participants, including interpersonal reactions and reactions to their experiences. This reflective process prevented researcher reactions from unintentionally influencing work with the participants. Field notes were also recorded after each interview describing observations from the interview to contextualize the participants' responses in the data analysis stage.

Materials

The materials needed to complete the study included a demographic questionnaire, personal/social identities worksheet, interview protocol for the first interview, interview protocol for the second interview, male social justice ally development timeline, and an audio recorder.

Demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire completed by each participant is included in Appendix F. The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect specific demographic information about the participants, including their race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, social class, religious affiliation, and academic information, such as their year in school and major.

Personal/social identities worksheet. Participants completed a personal/social identities worksheet (Appendix G) adapted from Worell and Remer (2003) to supplement data collected from the demographic forms. The worksheet encouraged participants to consider their self-identification based on common social categories in society, such as their gender, race/ethnicity, class identity, and sexual identity. The worksheet was also

used as an introductory questionnaire during the first interview as a means of developing rapport with the participants.

Interview one protocol. The protocol for the first interview is included in Appendix H. The questions that guided this interaction focused on the nature of the participants' involvement in men's violence against women prevention efforts, including their particular involvement on their respective college campuses. Questions were derived using transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) as a framework.

Interview two protocol. The protocol for the second interview is included in Appendix I. The questions that guided this interaction focused on the participants' understanding of their social justice ally development process over time. The questions also inquired about how participants became connected to men's violence against women and how this connection has changed over time. The questions were developed using both transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003) as a framework. These first set of questions were directly related to their male social justice ally development timeline, described in the next section.

Male social justice ally development timeline. Participants completed a timeline indicating critical life events related to their development as a male social justice ally (Appendix J) during the second interview. The timeline was completed collaboratively, with the researcher providing directions and guiding the activity. This timeline began at birth and continued to the present day. Participants marked the critical events on the timeline by naming the event and indicating their age when it occurred, and then they described the way the event influenced their social justice ally development.

Audio recorder. All interviews were audio recorded with the participants' consent. Recordings were reviewed and transcribed for the analysis phase of the project.

Data Analysis

The data analysis process began after the first interview was transcribed and continued until saturation was achieved and all interviews were included in the interpretation. The data analysis plan was based on the constructivist grounded theory chosen as the methodology for this project (Charmaz, 2006). As previously noted, constructivist grounded theory is particularly appropriate for this project because it provides a set of guidelines to generate and analyze data that identify a process over time, highlight the central role of participants' contexts, develop a theory based on the data generated, all of which is consistent with the goals of this project.

The analysis process focused on the participants, the unit of analysis in this project. The process included working with all of the data simultaneously and implementing an open coding process, reviewing the data to determine the key concepts and relationships among these concepts that emerged as important by both the participants and researcher. Coding consists of "naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43) and was applied in different ways depending on the stage of data analysis. During the open coding process, attention was given to the notion of transformation, listening for turning points and critical moments that contributed to the participants' social justice ally development to understand how they construct meaning about this personal transformation.

The first stage functioned to fragment the data by identifying terms that represent the patterns developing in the data and was achieved through line-by-line coding and focused coding (Charmaz, 2006). Line-by-line coding consists of reviewing each interview transcript line by line and identifying key constructs and notions based on participants' responses, staying "close" to the data and using participants' language when possible.

Focused coding, on the other hand, initiates the process of synthesis and explanation by beginning to identify consistent codes within interviews, across interviews, and across participants that emerged during the line-by-line coding phase. Overall, this first stage of analysis helps the researcher name the experiences reported by participants that help answer the research question.

Codes were also identified that represented patterns within the data through both thematic and structural analysis. The structural analysis focused on the individual participants by employing a Labovian analysis to explore how they understand their own social justice ally development (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). The analysis included a six part model in which experiences discussed by participants were analyzed by identifying the abstract, or the topic of the experience, the orientation, or the logistics of the experience, the complicating action, or how the experience was different from previous experiences, the *evaluation*, or how the person made sense of the experience, the result, or how the situation concluded, and the *coda*, or the lesson learned from the experience. This framework allowed for the development of codes within each person that could be considered as data were analyzed across the participants as well. The thematic component of the analysis, on the other hand, focused on common experiences across participants, identifying patterns using this lens and creating codes that represent these shared experiences (Patton, 2001). Therefore, the emerging codes reflect the experiences of individual participants and themes reflect experiences reported across participants.

Combining both tools provided multiple lenses to inform representation of the participants.

Once the first level of codes were determined, the technique of “axial coding” was employed in which data were recombined by considering the relationship among the coding terms previously determined. “Axial coding” consists of “bringing the data back

together again in a coherent whole” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 60) by helping researchers identify relationships among codes. The goal of this stage is to begin to give name to categories of codes that emerged, which become the themes, as well as subcategories, which become the components of the themes. The process of “constant comparison” was also utilized throughout this coding and axial coding process in which all categories identified within participants and across participants were compare and contrasted to identify similarities and differences. Schram (2006) explains, “The researcher is constantly asking not only ‘What is going on here?’ but also ‘How is it different?’” as part of the constant comparison component of data analysis (p. 103), which enhanced an understanding of each participant’s experience as compared to the other participants’ experiences.

Grounded theory analysis encourages researchers to maintain memos of their reactions and thoughts throughout the data analysis process and diagram the data through charts and other visual representations to explore multiple ways the data may fit together, allowing for the researcher to be active in the process of identifying an emergent theory from the data. Therefore, these techniques were used throughout the project. Further, data were checked and rechecked for similarities and differences across and within participants. Each stage of this process complicated the data to understand the complex process of male social justice ally development. Data were also contextualized, with emerging themes situated in the data and in the context of the participants’ lives. Once the researcher developed codes, peer debriefers were consulted to provide an additional perspective of the data and develop the final themes for the project. Three peer debriefers were involved, and each debriefer analyzed data from two participants. Two peer debriefers were doctoral students in Counseling Psychology and one was a doctoral student in Education Sciences. Each had training related to qualitative research and ally development, and they

approached the research with a strong investment in social justice work. The process concluded with the development of an initial framework for the process of male social justice ally development on college campuses.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness, or “standards of goodness,” of qualitative research can be achieved through multiple mechanisms (Morrow, 2005). Trustworthiness was ensured during this project through reflexivity, triangulation, member checks, and peer debriefers. Reflexivity, or acknowledging the central role of the researcher in this process, is one way to address trustworthiness of data. Rennie (1998) defined this process as “self-awareness and agency within that self-awareness” (p. 183). Reflexivity was addressed during this project through a researcher journal of reactions and reflections throughout the research project. Reflections facilitated a specific focus on potential researcher bias in interpretation of the data, which challenges researchers to truly hear the participants’ perspective rather than expected findings. These reactions were shared with an advisor who provided feedback about the data and ways personal reactions may be affecting both the data generated by participants and interpretation of the data.

Triangulation also helped strengthen trustworthiness of the data. Triangulation is the use of multiple data sources with the goal of having adequate variety of perspective when analyzing data to consider consistency across the unique forms of data (Morrow, 2005; Patton, 1999). Specifically, the sources of data used for this project included two interviews with each participant, a male social justice ally development timeline, a researcher journal, and field notes. These forms of data provided an adequate richness of information to begin to approach trustworthiness. This process facilitated a specific exploration of discrepant cases, participants whose journey differed from other participants

in some significant way, increasing the credibility of the analysis (Patton, 1999).

After initial coding and analysis, three peer debriefers who have experience with qualitative methods in the coding and interpretation stages were consulted to provide additional perspectives about the data (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). The peer debriefers were provided with a document outlining the analysis procedures for this project. Each reader independently read interview transcripts from two participants, and each transcript was analyzed by both the researcher and a peer debriefer. The peer debriefers coded the transcripts independently and utilized the data analysis process previously described, including open coding, axial coding, and constant comparison. They provided their codes to the researcher; common codes were retained and additional perspectives were discussed and negotiated until a mutually agreed upon code was finalized.

Finally, member checks were conducted with participants after themes were finalized, which consisted of providing participants with a document outlining a working version of the emerging themes along with a description of the theme (Glesne, 2011). Participants were invited to provide written or verbal feedback sharing their perspective about whether the themes fit their experience and whether they noticed any important experiences missing from the themes they disclosed during the interview. This phase of data analysis provided an additional layer of accountability toward the goal of trustworthiness of the findings. Overall, two participants elected to respond to the member check, and they confirmed the drafted themes reflected their experience and did not note any missing information about their experience. The remainder did not share any feedback. In conjunction, these four methods strengthened the level of trustworthiness sought regarding the data generated during this project.

Researcher Subjectivity

This section considers important information about the researcher that may influence interpretation of the results. Patton (1999) suggests, “Because the researcher is the instrument in qualitative inquiry, a qualitative report must include information about the researcher. What experience, training, and perspective does the researcher bring to the field? What personal connections does the researcher have to the people, program, or topic studied?” (p. 1198). Therefore, understanding researcher subjectivity as the researcher requires the reader to understand previous experience with qualitative research, social identities, and philosophical lens underpinning this project.

Prior to this project, I had two experiences with qualitative methods. The first involved a project to evaluate the effectiveness of services at a long-term residential substance abuse facility for pregnant and postpartum women. I conducted structured interviews and focus groups with staff members and female clients to generate data for the project and was responsible for transcribing the interviews and analyzing the data using a line-by-line coding technique. Second, I completed a project with the goal of understanding how individuals reach the decision to become a yoga instructor. Data for this project were generated through unstructured interviews with female yoga instructors and analyzed the data using coding methods. Although the participant focus of the project was different, the research question seeking to understand the process of becoming is reminiscent of the current project. Therefore, lessons learned during these studies were applied to the current project.

To help contextualize the findings, it is important for the reader to understand the lens I used as part of this project and my connection to the topic. I am a doctoral student in social-justice oriented Counseling Psychology program. I pursued this degree in part

because of my lived experience as a woman and desire to challenge the rape culture in which we all live. My passion increased during my time as an undergraduate student, and I became particularly invested in decreasing the prevalence of men's violence against women and shifting the rape culture that exists on college campuses. I pursued this interest during my undergraduate and doctoral programs through volunteer work as part of a campus organization whose mission is to prevent all forms of interpersonal violence, volunteer work as a crisis counselor for a local rape crisis center, and research in this area, specifically research to understand individuals' perceptions of rape justifiability. As part of my graduate program, I was also challenged to reflect on my areas of privilege, and I became equally invested in the process of ally development. This dissertation is the culmination of these processes; it combines my passion for preventing men's violence against women with my passion for understanding the process of social justice ally development. I intend to work for social justice for the remainder of my career, balancing clinical work as a staff psychologist at a university counseling center with social justice advocacy on college campuses to create more affirming, inclusive environments for all students. Therefore, I analyzed the data with a value of social justice and goal of understanding how to challenge the rape culture that exists on college campuses.

Since I co-generated data with the participants, it is also important to consider how my social locations may influence interactions with participants (Glesne, 2011). As a White, heterosexual woman, I represented at least one different social location from each participant in this study. These differences may have influenced the extent to which the participants felt comfortable being honest with the researcher about their experiences, especially regarding messages about hegemonic masculinity and objectification of women. I implemented techniques to develop rapport and minimize any negative influences of any

shared or unshared social identities, including the use of humor, an informal approach to the interview, completion of forms prior to the start of the interview protocol in the first interview, and active listening throughout both interviews.

Researcher ontology, epistemology, and axiology are also important to identify for the reader. Ontology constitutes a perspective about the form and nature of reality (Schram, 2006; Ponterotto, 2005). I approached this research using both a constructivist and a critical/social justice ontology. The constructivist ontology suggests that multiple, equally valid realities exist, all of which are constructed by the participant and cannot be understood outside of the participant's context, while the critical/social justice ontology adds that the nature of these realities are influenced by power relations in society. These perspectives honor the multiple realities of all individuals rather than seeking for a single, "true" reality to represent all experiences. Epistemology, or how relationships between participants and researchers are understood, was based on a constructivist framework (Ponterotto, 2005; Schram, 2006). This lens suggests that the interaction is "transactional and subjective" (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 131), and through dialogue, the participants and researcher co-construct findings and interpretations based on the participants' lived experiences. Similar to the ontological perspective, the axiology, or perspective on how the researcher's values should inform the study, was both constructivist and critical/social justice (Ponterotto, 2005; Schram, 2006). A foundational perspective is that it is impossible to completely separate researchers' values from the research process; therefore, I believe researchers have an obligation to acknowledge their lenses for the reader and attempt to "bracket" them during the data generation and analysis stages. It is also critical that research challenge the *status quo* and provide information to address social injustice.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research design of the project. Data were collected using two semi-structured interviews with six nominated male social justice who worked for the cause of preventing men's violence against women on their respective college campus. Data were generated through questions inquiring about their involvement with prevention efforts and their social identities through both open-ended interview questions and worksheets encouraging them to reflect on their development as a social justice ally. This chapter concluded with an overview of the ways trustworthiness of the data was sought and the subjectivity of the researcher for the project. The following chapter will address the findings of the study utilizing the data generated through these methods.

Chapter Four: Results

This chapter will provide an overview of the findings from the data collected as part of this project. It will begin with a discussion of the participants, both an overview of their demographics as well as a paragraph about each participant's unique social identities and experiences. It will then transition to emerging themes from the data and conclude with a model for male social justice ally development based on the experiences of participants in this sample. The discussion of themes will include a description of the theme and representative participant quotes to support the contention. All data included in this chapter are de-identified, and participant names have been replaced by pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

Results described in this section reflect data generated through the Social Locations worksheet (Worell & Remer, 2003), a demographic questionnaire, a male social justice ally development timeline, and open-ended questions in the protocols for interviews one and two. The participant descriptions included in the following section are based on participants' responses to the demographic questionnaire and the Social Locations worksheet. Emerging themes and the overall framework for social justice ally development were developed based on data generated through the open-ended questions and male social justice ally development timeline. The timeline in particular allowed for specific themes attending to the temporal flow of participants' experiences throughout their lives related to their connection to men's violence against women and social justice ally development.

Participants

As part of this project, data were collected from participants who identified as male and demonstrated sustained involvement in efforts to prevent men's violence against

women. The following data were collected from participants' completed demographic forms. Consistent with inclusion criteria, the majority of participants were enrolled as undergraduate students, half of whom identified as a junior in college and the other half of whom identified as a senior. The remaining participants graduated from college within the past two years. The majority of participants self-identified as White, with one participant identifying as African American, and as straight, with one participant identifying as "bisexual with a preference toward women." Participants who reported being involved in a romantic relationship described their partner as female-identified, and each of these participants was either married or engaged to their partner. The majority of participants also self-identified as either religious or spiritual, with the majority of those participants identifying with a Christian-based religion and one participant identifying as believing in a "Higher Calling." One participant reported having received free/reduced lunch during high school and also indicated that his parents graduated from high school while the remainder of participants reported each of their caregivers had at least some college education. One person indicated that both parents completed advanced degrees. Finally, many of the participants received either an identity-based or merit-based scholarship to attend college.

Participants reported pursuing a range of degrees, including Social Work, Business Management, Communication Media and Music, Sociology, and a dual major in International Studies and Political Science and in Social Work and Psychology. Participants also described a range of activities in which they were involved as undergraduate students, such as intramural soccer, varsity football, and a fraternity. The remainder of this section will provide a more nuanced description of each participant based on social identities reported on the Personal/Social Identities Worksheet (Worell & Remer, 2003) and highlight the critical aspects of each person's process of becoming involved in

preventing men's violence against women that informed the subsequently described emerging themes from the data. As a reminder, all data included are de-identified, and participant names have been replaced by pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

Allen. Allen graduated from one of the universities in the Southeast and studied Social Work and Psychology as an undergraduate student. He is now teaching eighth grade Social Studies in a large city in the Midwest. He strongly self-identified as “self-aware” and described himself as a “man who is self-aware,” “African American who is conscious of society,” and “heterosexual male who is self-aware about the struggles of people in the LGBTQ community.” He reported noticing that he acts older than his age and makes wise decisions, which he noted as contrasted to his male friends who often do not make similarly wise decisions. Despite his college education, Allen emphasized that he does not perceive himself as superior to others who do not have as much formal education. He highlighted the importance of his Christian upbringing and faith, describing how his relationship with Christ informs the ways he relates to others. Allen disclosed that he was raised in poverty and is struggling with a recent transition to a middle class financial status since he continues to behave as though he is still in poverty. Allen also identified strongly with his athletic build and status as an athlete during his childhood. He initiated involvement in preventing men's violence against women largely because he learned about the prevalence of violence on college campuses. He knew his sister would soon enroll in the same university and wanted to help create a safe campus climate to prevent her from being victimized. His involvement, therefore, consisted of developing and implementing programs with the antiviolence organization on his campus targeted for his residence hall and organizations in the Greek system. He also disclosed informal involvement in antiviolence work through conversations with friends and family during which he educates

them about men's violence against women as an issue and challenges their sexist and victim-blaming language. Allen also highlighted the influence of his parents on his value of supporting others, stating, "It is in my DNA to be a selfless person." His involvement grew from that value system, and his experiences and shifted perspectives are consistent with the themes described in the subsequent sections.

Gavin. Gavin graduated from an institution in the Midwest with a dual degree in Communication Media Studies and Music. He identified strongly as a person who is people-oriented, highlighting the importance of his relationships and the extent to which he values them. He self-identified as a White, straight, male who is not hypermasculine and described the extent to which he consciously gave thought to his sexual identity since he was targeted as gay during middle and high school. He reported that he is heterosexual and married. Gavin explained that he is more mature than other "kids" his age, especially with respect to committing to relationships. He described being raised Lutheran and continues to attend a Lutheran church with his wife. He was involved in a fraternity and played intramural soccer during college. Gavin is currently employed as a customer service representative in a small city in the Midwest. His connection to men's violence against women is based on a combination of his personal ethics that values pacifism and relationships as well as the opportunity to become involved in this work through employment as an undergraduate student. Gavin's involvement in antiviolence work during his time as a college student consisted of being employed as the director of the antiviolence organization at his undergraduate institution. He was responsible for developing, marketing, and implementing the programs for men on campus, especially male students involved in the Greek organizations. He also described informal involvement that consisted of challenging and educating his friends and family, especially

his brothers, about ways their language perpetuates rape culture. His experiences largely fit with the described themes, with the exception of his not conforming to hegemonic performances of masculinity during middle and high school, which will be described later in more detail.

Kyle. Kyle is enrolled as an undergraduate student at the college in the Midwest, completing his senior year of school. He is studying both International Studies and Political Science, and although he is finishing his undergraduate degree, he highlighted his value in continued learning. He identified as a White, straight, “strong understanding twin male.” He reported a middle class upbringing that included a connection to diverse Judeo-Christian religions. Specifically, he reported being raised Christian but also identifying strongly with his Jewish heritage since his grandfather was a survivor of the Holocaust. He also highlighted the importance of his identity as a brother to a sister, which influenced his connection to men’s violence against women. His involvement is further informed by his identities as a fraternity brother and varsity football player during both high school and college. Combined, these aspects of his identity influenced both his formal and informal involvement in antiviolence work. His formal involvement consisted of volunteering for the antiviolence organization on his campus and supporting programming targeted to members in the Greek community and on the football team. Kyle’s informal involvement, on the other hand, included challenging and educating individuals both in his fraternity and on the football team about men’s violence against women and ways their language perpetuates victim-blaming and other aspects of rape culture. He emphasized the importance of a comment by his mother that helped raise his consciousness about masculinity and violence during high school. Kyle’s experiences closely align with the themes described in the results section, which will be highlighted.

Nathan. Nathan is a senior undergraduate student enrolled in one of the universities located in the Southeast. He is completing a degree in Social Work and intends to continue his humanitarian work through efforts in countries abroad. He identified as White, “bisexual with a preference toward women,” and lower middle class. He reported being married to a female-identified partner. Nathan has been involved with the National Guard for the past five years. He identified as spiritual, with a strong belief in a “Higher Power” or “Higher Calling.” He strongly values balance and described the importance of associating with both liberal environments such as his Social Work department and conservative environments such as the military to help him digest multiple viewpoints and critically think about his perspectives. Nathan’s prevention efforts consisted of volunteering for the antiviolence organization on his campus and supporting their programs with Greek life and residence halls. He described helping to implement the programs and engaging in photography and videography as needed. He also challenged friends who made sexist statements and focused his research on men’s violence against women during his time as an undergraduate student. His involvement in this work is largely informed by knowing women who are survivors of multiple forms of violence, his personal ethic that values interconnectedness and a responsibility toward others, and the influence of being raised by a single mother, most notably the way it helped him learn to humanize women. His experiences are reflected in the majority of the themes presented, which will be highlighted in subsequent sections.

Nick. Nick is an undergraduate student enrolled in one of the universities located in the Southeast. He is a junior studying Business Management. Nick self-identified as a White, middle class, straight man who is currently engaged. He reported being Catholic, which contributed to him developing a value system that strongly influenced his

involvement in preventing men's violence against women as well as challenging other forms of social injustice. Nick also identified as outgoing, which he noted affected his ability to speak up against forms of violence. Key events that contributed to Nick's involvement in this work included learning to humanize women, having bullied others and having been bullied, learning to humanize women from both his partner and his mother, and both valuing and respecting others, personal ethics that he developed from his religion and his parents' values. Combined, these events led to his antiviolence involvement, which consisted of partnering with the antiviolence organization at his undergraduate institution to implement prevention programming in his residence hall and challenging male friends who use language that perpetuates rape culture. His experiences are also consistent in the majority of the themes presented, and the consistencies will be highlighted in subsequent sections.

Seth. Seth is enrolled as a junior undergraduate student at one of the universities in the Southeast. He reported studying Sociology, though he explained that he received most of his education from his parents who taught him "how to think." Seth identified as male, though he described himself as "not particularly masculine" but rather a "normal human" who does not exaggerate his gendered behavior as either masculine or feminine. He also self-identified as White, straight, upper middle class, not religious or spiritual, and single. He highlighted his multiple, privileged identities as well as his lack of education about oppression in part because of his privilege. He attributed his predisposition to being involved in preventing men's violence against women as his identity as a sensitive and empathic person. Seth indicated that his involvement in antiviolence work consisted of first volunteering and then being employed at the prevention organization on his campus. He described his efforts at the organization as consisting of marketing, developing and

implementing programs, and serving as the organization's media coordinator. Seth also shared ways he engaged in antiviolence efforts with friends by challenging their sexist language and educating them about the reasons their language is inappropriate and perpetuates rape culture. He noted the opportunity to become involved through a formalized program at his undergraduate institution was also crucial as part of his evolution as an ally. Separate from the other participants, Seth did not report a significant life event or personal ethic that connected him to the issue of men's violence against women. Rather, he attributed it to his personality, namely his sensitivity, and this distinction will be highlighted as a key difference when emerging themes are described.

The remainder of this chapter will address emergent themes based on the data collected that begin to answer the overall research question of this project, how participants understand their male social justice ally development. It is important to keep in mind the socio-demographic variables of the participants when reflecting on the results and considering their generalizability. In particular, it is noteworthy that participants in this project are predominantly White, heterosexual, religious or spiritual, partnered, and all are either enrolled in college or graduated with a college degree. Their lived experiences and processes of social justice ally development may not reflect the experiences of other individuals, such as men of color, gay men, or men who do not pursue college educations.

The "process with layers," as described by Nathan, will be outlined in terms of common experiences reported by the majority of participants as well as unique experiences reported by fewer participants. When describing each theme, quotes will be used to illustrate the participants' specific language. The language used by participants is retained in each quote, though punctuation has been added and nonverbal vocal utterances (e.g., "um") have been removed for ease of reading. Any information included in brackets in the

quote was added to contextualize the quote and provide information for the reader.

Themes will be described first and then organized as part of a framework for the process of male social justice ally development based on data generated with this sample. Since masculinity, intersectionality, and facilitating and inhibiting factors were of particular interest for this project, their role in these themes will also be discussed when applicable. An outline of the specific participants who endorsed each theme is included in Table 4.1. As a reminder, all data included are de-identified, and participant names have been replaced by pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

Internalized Messages about Masculinity

The majority of participants, with the exception of Seth, described receiving and internalizing hegemonic messages of masculinity during middle and high school. Allen, Nick, and Kyle described these messages most pervasively, noting ways they both internalized and acted on the messages, while Gavin and Nathan internalized them but did not act on them the same extent as the other participants. Seth, on the other hand, described receiving the messages but reported that he did not internalize or act on them. The participants described the content of the messages, sources of the messages, and policing of the messages.

Participants described receiving messages about a definition of masculinity that included such norms as do not have emotions, do not be sensitive, drink and “party hard,” be physically strong and a “tough guy,” and if you are victimized in any way, then victimize the perpetrator “four times worse.” Additional messages addressed heterosexual sexual relations with women, including objectify women, women and girls are sex objects, have a lot of sex, and brag about your sexual conquests with your male friends. Allen and Kyle described these messages as well as the influence on their lived experiences:

-To some extent, you want to be able to feel that you have the self-confidence in yourself that you could go to a bar and convince a girl that you're good enough to go home with. And I mean it's not, it's juvenile, but it's just inherent within the conception of what it means to be young and 20. (Kyle)

-I would say I was a typical, I mean what it means to be a male, not to show emotion. I think that being ... I mean testosterone controls how you are being. What I became from both the media and also being athletic. So I played a lot of sports, so being a caring person wasn't necessarily, being a caring person wasn't the, I would say the most admirable characteristic playing sports. (Allen)

Allen also described the pervasive nature of these messages about masculinity.

Since these messages were prevalent and consistently conveyed, they became normative, especially the messages about how to treat women. He explained:

It just made it something that was just, I wouldn't say ... I was just numb to the violence, just seeing women degraded. So it made me numb to the fact that okay well this is normal, this is typical.

Participants reported receiving these messages mostly from male peers, though Allen and Kyle also described receiving these messages in the context of their athletic teams, from both teammates and coaches. They described policing from friends to conform to these prescriptions of masculinity and noted the main sanction included being referred to as feminine. They reported commonly used mocking terms included "wuss," "tattle tale," "weak," and "gay." Nick succinctly described the connection between gender policing and calling a man gay:

All right, so when you call somebody gay, it's demoralizing them as a man. It's making them seem feminine in a way. And so I guess with this whole, how society

wants every guy to be a guy, and you know do tough crap, and don't have a feminine side to him. You know you see like James Bond, who is just this super badass, and then it's like all he does is have sex and kill people. And so I guess when you see somebody seeming feminine you know ... It seems especially in grade school, I think because everybody wants to be that strong guy or whatever and the athlete and the one that everybody loves and stuff like that, and so I think that's why.

Although Nathan and Gavin reported receiving similar messages about the desired performance of masculinity in middle and high school, they did not conform to it. They described being socially isolated and mocked as a result, especially during high school. As Nathan explained:

And then I was also kind of effeminate as far as like stereotypes go. I wasn't ... I didn't, I didn't come across as like, no I actually did. People thought I was gay for a long time.

Gavin described a similar experience, reporting that others thought he was gay during middle and high school, and he was often ridiculed as a result. Thus, although these two participants internalized the same hegemonic messages, they did not perform masculinity in the same way as the other participants.

Seth, on the other hand, reported that he has always found traditional masculinity to be "unpleasant and alienating," and he denied any strong performance of this form of masculinity during his life. He attributed this disconnection from masculinity in part to his parents not pressuring him to perform masculinity in any way and to his experience as a "loner outcast kid" who was not pressured in the same way by peers. He explained:

I've really been a very sensitive kid all my life, and I've never really ever wanted to express traditional roles of masculinity. So I've never wanted to be aggressive ever in my life, I've never wanted to be dominating, or be a leader, or be strong, or like not emotional. I've never identified with those traits at all, so that's sort of ... I've always done my best to shy away from all of those as a kid.

All participants, despite the extent to which they conformed to traditional performances of masculinity, identified the discomfort of sharing perspectives that are separate from the majority or "tattletaling." They noted the strength of messages related to fitting in with the crowd and described the consequences of deviating as being mocked and isolated, having their gender and sexual identity questioned, and even being physically assaulted. Kyle explained, "I guess that part plays off of masculinity as well because well you want to feel like one of the guys, you want to feel like you have a crew to roll with." Nick extended this notion by highlighting the importance of not "tattletaling" through an example related to his female cousin. He explained that she was being sexually harassed during middle school and spoke with a teacher for support. When others learned that she spoke with a teacher, she was harassed and mocked even more. Nick described the message he interpreted from her experience as, "Just don't step, don't like step out of the crowd or whatever. Stay in the crowd."

Participants applied this specific aspect of the internalized messages about masculinity to the risks associated with speaking up against men's violence against women. They highlighted the importance of conforming to the crowd regarding this topic as well and described similar consequences of deviating, mainly being perceived as feminine or gay. Kyle explained the dynamic as "when you try to prevent those kinds of behaviors, it sort of isolates you from being one of the guys and that's a huge part of being masculine."

Allen and Nathan confirmed this perspective, reporting:

-So you didn't want to be, I guess, perceived as ... at that time you didn't want to be perceived as this feminine type. Or being perceived as flamboyant because that could lead to some things in terms of sexuality. (Allen)

-And that's not an easy thing to do, even in theory, if you think of it saying something in that context where you are. You're feeling as part of the group, you're feeling involved, you're feeling accepted, you're going to botch all that by being like "I don't know, I think it's pretty stupid to treat a girl like that or to make your goal to sleep with this person or whatever. It just sets you up to do all kinds of things you may regret." And it's just, I, I had those beliefs and I just never would say. I was not about to usurp my position as you know accepted in any form or even just so far as maybe not even just accepted but maybe as in operating. Just like my ability to successfully navigate that bus ride home, to you know walk through this hallway or whatever, I wasn't going to jeopardize my own needs to, to stand up for something that. (Nathan)

Overall, participants reported receiving a range of messages about masculinity, including the importance of not showing emotions, engaging in heterosexual sexual activity, being tough, and conforming to the crowd. They also highlighted the consequences for deviating from these prescriptions and the influence of the policing by peers on their performance of their own masculinity, especially during middle and high school.

Predisposing Factors Leading to Social Justice Ally Development

All participants described some combination of value systems, set of experiences, or personality factors established prior to their involvement as social justice allies on their

campuses that they connected to their investment in the issue. Nathan described these aspects as “predisposing” his involvement as a male social justice ally, so that term will be used to describe this set of variables. Participants also engaged in self-reflection about these belief systems, allowing them to identify their values and ways they could practice behaviors consistent with these ethics. In particular, participants described foundational value systems consistent with antiviolenace work, connections to men’s violence against women specifically, experiences with bullying, or experiences with oppression prior to their involvement with preventing men’s violence against women.

Foundational value systems consistent with antiviolenace work. Each participant described foundational, personal value systems that informed his interactions with others and decision-making that is consistent with his antiviolenace work. These value systems contributed to a sense of responsibility to actively work to create a safer world for everyone and belief in doing what they perceive as “right.” Participants reported developing these belief systems based on influences from parents and religions and establishing the values during middle and high school, prior to their active investment in preventing men’s violence against women. Participants described belief systems that highlight a responsibility to others, value relationships, and value equality.

Belief systems that highlights a responsibility to others. The majority of participants, with the exception of Seth, reported belief systems that highlight a responsibility to others. Participants reported developing these belief system through messages received from religion and parents as part of their upbringing. Foundational to these belief systems is a respect for other people. They also defined it as an overarching set of norms for how to interact with others that is comprised of loving others, not oppressing or violating others, and being kind to others. Further, Nathan described an “obligation to

look out for one another” that represents the sentiment expressed by other participants. Nick, Gavin, and Allen developed this ethic in part through their religious affiliation, and Nick, Allen, Kyle, and Nathan developed it through teachings from their parents. Specifically related to religion, Nick, Allen, and Gavin described the connection between respecting others and their Christian religious affiliation. Additional representative quotes that fully reflect the theme include:

-It [religion] influenced who I am as a person. And because my dad was in the social work field and my mom, she currently works for equality for all persons in the workplace, so it’s kind of in my DNA to be a selfless person. (Allen)

-And my parents have always raised me to respect women and respect anybody. So when I see things that I don’t like you know like some guy is like “oh how do your titles fit in these?” Literally someone said that the other day. Why say that to another person? I don’t know, that doesn’t seem very respectful of that person. And so I think that’s part of why I get into this stuff is because I’d rather respect people than you know say all of these things about them. (Nick)

-But I do think having a strong central mother figure who was primarily providing for my perspective on what relationships are supposed to look affects the way I interact with people. (Nathan)

Participants also described frustration when people are not treating others in a way that is consistent with their own ethic. This aspect of the value systems is directly related to their social justice ally development because it highlights the participants’ perceived responsibility to intervene on others’ behalf. For example, Gavin described his frustration with the social structure in high school that isolated certain people and observed the it in the cafeteria. He intervened by sitting at each lunch table to challenge the social structure:

I specifically remember one time in high school I was kind of frustrated with the social structure of high school, and so I made a point to go and sit down at every single table at lunch and try to talk to everybody. And I got shot down by a number of people, and I was kind of okay with it. And I don't know what prompted me to do that, I don't know why, but that's just something I did. And I just wanted to sit down and talk with, just chat with everybody and regardless of who it was. (Gavin)

Participants reported developing a belief system related to the importance of having a responsibility to others. This value, which helped them identify a relational framework for their interactions with others, reportedly played a significant role in their social justice ally development.

Belief system that values relationships. All participants reported belief systems that value relationships, defined by care and concern for others, time and effort invested in relationships, and a focus on including others. This ethic highlighted the importance of relationships to the participants. Specifically, participants reported:

-Well I guess I identify as someone who is very, very people-oriented in that my relationships are very important to me. I don't mean that with being just family relationships I, I extend that to even brief interactions. I work in customer service; I feel that on a daily basis, I have to quickly make connections with people, and I really do. I'd like to think that I really do care about the people that I talk to on a daily basis, and I really care about their issues, and I really want to get them resolved for them. (Gavin)

-I try to make every person that I know feel comfortable whenever you're hanging out with someone. One of our friends, he can be a little much sometimes, and I understand that, but I try not to judge him too much by that or whatever. He can get

too mad about certain things, so like my friends will ignore him. So I'll just talk to him and keep up the conversation just to make sure he doesn't sit there in silence while the three of us are talking. (Nick)

-I, it's a value, my relationships, but I think about them a lot I guess. And I try and think about ... I guess it just defines my approach. I don't really, I mean not in an intentional way, I try to be more this or that that defines how I listen to people, what I know, that's how I interact with them. I think I'm much more able to carry on a very meaningful conversation with my friends. I think one of the things that my friends like about me is that I'm a good listener. I think that's a consistent theme among my friends. (Seth)

This emphasis on valuing relationships reported by participants is also foundational to their development as social justice allies.

Beliefs system that values equality. Finally, all participants described belief systems that values equality. They articulated the ways in which they perceive themselves as “no better than anyone else,” challenge themselves not to judge others, and view all people as equal. Participants also described the particular influence of the Golden Rule on their value system. Gavin described his connection to this ethic, explaining “I just felt like it [the Golden Rule] made sense to me. Why wouldn't you treat somebody the way that you want to be treated?” Nick also indicated a strong belief in equality, stating:

And I think that just really makes me learn and understand that there are people who are better than me because they're just people, they're just having fun, they're not doing anything to me, so why should I be an asshole to them? (Nick)

This emphasis on equality further contributed to the overall value systems described by participants consistent with and contributed to their development as social justice allies.

Although distinct from belief systems, Seth described personality factors that led to him having a personal belief in the importance of him engaging in antiviolence work. Specifically, he described himself as both “sensitive” and “empathic,” personality factors to which he attributed his involvement. He depicted himself as attuned to the pain of others, which he remembered feeling particularly strongly as a child when he was first exposed to the notion of men’s violence against women. Although these personality factors are not belief systems, they were foundational to his development as a male social justice ally. He described:

I guess what it means is I’ve always been much more empathetic I guess the word is. So yeah, I don’t know if it’s taught or biological or what, but I’ve always been able to feel the pain of others, I think, much more easily than other people do. And I do firmly believe that I feel much more sensitive to other people than all of my friends pretty much, than my parents and my brother, and pretty much a lot of the people I know except maybe a small handful.

He also noted the connection between his sensitivity and his responsibility to become involved in preventing men’s violence against women once he learned about it. He reported perceiving rape and human trafficking as two of the most heinous forms of violence conceivable, and his sensitivity to these issues motivated subsequent investment.

Connection to men’s violence against women. With the exception of Nick, the remaining participants described connections to men’s violence against women. Each of the five participants reported a unique connection that can be described as either knowing a survivor or having a girl/woman in his life on whose behalf he is involved. Along with critical reflection about these connections, they functioned to help raise participants’ awareness about men’s violence against women and served as predisposing factors.

Knowing a survivor. A minority of the participants, specifically Nathan and Gavin, described the influence of knowing a survivor of men's violence against women on their motivation to become involved in prevention efforts. Gavin was in a relationship in high school with a girl whose previous partner perpetrated violence against her, and Nathan reported that his mother and wife, as well as numerous female friends, had been perpetrated against in the past. Both participants reported feeling more deeply connected to preventing men's violence against women after hearing the emotional pain experienced by survivors in their lives. They noted reflecting on their own reactions and feeling motivated to be involved in preventing violence after directly seeing the effect it has on survivors. They described their stories:

-Sophomore or junior year when I had a girlfriend who was probably my first really serious girlfriend, and she had told me about her last boyfriend who had beat her. And I can still remember ... we were riding, my mom was driving the car, and I picked out the music. It was the song *Face Down* by Red Jumpsuit Apparatus. And so she was kind of mouthing the words, like singing along, and I don't remember if she had told me at one point in time that this song reminds her of herself. And then I remember riding in the car and her kind of mouthing the words along and the lyrics "face down in the dark she said this doesn't hurt she said I finally had enough." And I don't know, it just kind of made me really mad at the guy who had hurt her, and I don't know, I guess that's kind of one of the things that did start, spark my interest in the antiviolence organization as well. (Gavin)

-And then she [his mother] was in an abusive, well my first stepfather was abusive, mildly though. It wasn't like a daily thing. It should never ever happen ever, but it was a cultural difference, he was from Mexico, and he's a great man. They still

have a great relationship to this day together. But it's just, I remember having you know the police show up, and hiding under the bed, and you know her just distressed over that thing and how she did not believe it was right and did not want to happen ... And whenever you know somebody that's close to you ... you know, you study like the effects of somebody going through that, and you are just more empathetic towards that situation. Then it's like cookie cutter almost ... everybody's experience is different, but you know it's a baseline amount of things that had to have happened and a number of atrocities that happened like this person has this history now. (Nathan)

These quotes illustrate the emotional reaction of both Nathan and Gavin to knowing a survivor and the direct influence on their subsequent decision to become involved in efforts on their campuses to prevent men's violence against women.

Having girl/woman in life on whose behalf involved. A small proportion of the participants, specifically Kyle and Allen, described their connection to men's violence against women as being influenced by having a girl/woman in their lives on whose behalf they are involved. Both reported the significant influence of having a younger sister. Specifically, they described feeling fearful that someone would perpetrate violence against their sisters after learning about men's violence against women, which motivated their involvement in prevention efforts. They described their connections:

-One of the things that connects me to the work is that I have a little sister. It's not necessarily, the work isn't necessarily that I directly connect with as an individual contained within myself, but it's something related to my family unit. (Kyle)

-And then what really caught my attention was the fact that we were talking about violence against women on campus, and I have a little sister who is two years

younger than me. And I knew it was more than likely she'd be coming to the university, and I wanted to do anything that I can to make sure that something like that didn't happen to her or her friends or anybody in general. And so I was looking to get involved, and this [the organization on his campus in which he became formally involved] was the perfect opportunity. (Allen)

The influence of their identities as brothers is reflected in these quotes, highlighting the responsibility they felt to create safe campus climates on behalf of their sisters.

Although Seth did not report knowing anyone who is a survivor of men's violence against women or being involved in prevention efforts on someone's behalf, he reported a distinct connection to men's violence against women. He described this dynamic as connected to his previously described sensitivity and compounded by him watching *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit*, a crime show about victims of all forms of men's violence against women and girls:

And I really don't quite, I mean I was a kid back then, I was really little, and I don't really remember ... I wish I could go back and like, like relive all of those feelings so I could put them in perspective today. I was always watching that show, so I think that my connection to it came out of that a little bit. So not, not sparked by the show but reflected in my viewing of it. Something about it just sort of simultaneously frightened me, the idea of rape or being trafficked, so something about that was always like very, I guess, terrifying.

Although Seth did not report any connection to men's violence against women in the form of knowing a survivor or being involved on someone's behalf, he described a connection based on his sensitivity and empathy that motivated his involvement.

Impact of bullying in childhood. Participants also recounted the impact of bullying experiences in childhood on their understanding of violence and decision to become involved in preventing men's violence against women. Combined with critical reflection about the experiences, bullying experiences in childhood also served as a predisposing factor to their development as male social justice allies. Specifically, Nathan, Nick, Kyle, Seth, and Gavin reported memories of being bullied, and Nick and Nathan reported additional experiences bullying others.

Memories of being bullied. A majority of the participants reported having been bullied or mocked by peers during middle and high school. They described the victimization as influencing their sense of self and contributing to them feeling marginalized and alienated from others. They also recounted ways they learned to manage being bullied, including isolating, making fun of themselves, or retaliating with violence. The response of retaliating with violence is particularly important to highlight since it is consistent with the previously described definition of masculinity, emphasizing the importance of men who are victimized to respond with violence that is "four times" as damaging. This particular response was only reported by Nick and Nathan, who will be described in the next section as the two participants who perpetrated bullying as children. Some particularly poignant stories included:

-And I remember one time I went to lunch and went to sit down, and one of his friends just like completely verbally abusing me right in the middle of lunch. I ended up walking away crying. And went to, went to sit, went to find a different group of people to sit with ... They were, they actually came over, and they comforted me, and they had me sit down with them. (Gavin)

-Yeah cause for me I was ... I was riding the same bus, and buses are like the

breeding ground for bullying. I rode the same bus since I was in second grade all the way until I could drive, and so there were the same people. I started getting beat up on and picked on in third or fourth grade ... it wasn't until I was in eighth grade when I had my growth spurt that I just beat the other dude up and he left me alone. So it was like that. (Nathan)

-During that age I was pretty, not *really* over weight, but I was overweight, and so I had kids make fun of me because I was bigger and stuff like that. (Nick)

-In school I wasn't really I guess too terrible but like most of the time other kids would just sort of act like other kids. I was always told I was a little different, I was always quieter, and that was sort of true all the way up until about high school or I guess past high school up until about college. (Seth)

-And there's going to be times, like at my high school, I told you I worked out a whole bunch like I really wanted to do something. I hated high school because nobody else cared about anything. It was just like get drunk, get high, kind of a slack off place in reference to athletics for male. So I got called meathead all the time. (Kyle)

For these participants, being bullied in the past influenced their understanding of violence since they experienced a direct connection to victimization.

Memories of bullying others. In addition to being victims of bullying, a small proportion of the participants, specifically Nick and Nathan, reported the influence of perpetrating violence as a bully on their understanding of violence and its impact. Both participants reported instances during which they perpetrated violence toward their younger brothers and in response to being bullied by peers. They witnessed the effect of their violence on their brothers and reflected on the consequences:

-And so my brother and my relationship has always been really, really bad before that point because also like bullying-type of situations like where I would, he wouldn't want to do what I wanted to do and I would make him you know cause ... he was about my size so it didn't get crazy, it wasn't like he couldn't make me stop if we didn't want to go out and play on the jungle gym or whatnot, but I did bully him quite a bit and he lost a lot of self-confidence. And you know, you can't pin it on yourself, but there's a lot of things that if I'm not careful I would say is my fault, like a lot of I guess personality traits and stuff that come from a lack of confidence or having you know the self-esteem issues whenever you're younger. So I have this relationship with him and it's kind of representative of somebody being in control over somebody that's not allowed or too small. (Nathan)

-I think a part of it is my brother because sometimes I picked on my brother pretty hard, and I feel like I've realized that the way he is now, because he has OCD now and thinks a lot about everything he does, and I feel like that's my fault from him having OCD because I feel like I make him constantly think about what he's going to do. I feel like I always nitpicked him. And so it's to the point where now he has to think about everything. And so I feel like that has really affected me and made me think a lot about what I've done and so like I've always wanted to try to be better you know. I don't want to be like that anymore and so yeah. I feel pretty awful about that. (Nick)

They also described their emotional reaction, most often indicating a feeling of guilt that was triggered by watching their brothers being bullied by others. This sentiment is described in the following quotes:

-He had people picking on him, and I was picked on a lot as a kid too, but whenever I saw someone do it to him I started feeling a lot of guilt because I didn't feel as if I had the right to think of people bad if I was picking on him when we were younger too. Yeah there was a lot of things that ... And then I guess I started thinking about it when I got older. You know, whenever I started going out on my own, and then I saw he was having troubles. A lot of it was the being assertive. It's not natural to him to be assertive. And then once he finally got to the point where he had to do it, it didn't ... he wasn't always doing it in the right way, so it took him a long time to get off the ground. And as far as gaining independence and stuff like that, which he's, he's done now, but you know he's definitely an interesting person. And that's a lot of, it's just his personality, like I can't put it all on myself, but I think is the thing. So I guess just self-reflection on it. (Nathan)

-I think I was like overreacting. I feel like now because my brother's a little awkward, so he doesn't have a lot of friends, and that's the only thing because he had ... and another thing is that my brother was bullied a lot in high school, and that just made me mad to no end. I just ... because these little kids don't understand what they're putting him through. And I know I've done that to him so that even gets me harder. (Nick)

For Nick, this emotional reaction also included his response to an incident during his senior retreat in high school in which a classmate he bullied often received support from a teacher regarding the bullying in front of his entire graduating class. The speech given by the teacher was about the idea of wearing masks, and he explained, "The mask is basically what you wear and you don't show the others and you know you have this mask of what you think you are and what you try to project yourself as in front of everybody

else.” This interaction resonated for Nick, and he acknowledged his role in harming his classmate:

I used to sometimes I would find myself being a part of that and had to step back and be like; you need to stop it’s not right what you’re doing and stuff like that. I know junior year in high school I was always messing with this one kid, but senior year I just realized the kid is probably better than me because of all of the shit he has to go through and the stuff I put him through so senior year I tried to make better and try to make things better with him and not be an asshole.

Critical reflection about the impact of bullying others and observing their brothers being bullied by others contributed to a deeper understanding of the way violence affects people and their role in being part of a solution rather than continuing to perpetuate forms of violence. The emotional impact of bullying others, particularly the subsequent feelings of guilt, also seemed to play a significant role in their understanding of violence and later decision to become involved in antiviolence work. Overall, memories of bullying others and being bullied clearly functioned as predisposing factors for participants’ involvement in antiviolence efforts on their campuses.

Personal experiences with oppression. Although only expressed by a few of the participants, personal experiences with social identity oppression deeply influenced their connection to men’s violence against women, so this theme was retained for the final analysis. Allen reported having been raised in poverty, and Nathan identified within the LGBTQ community. Nathan described his experience of identifying as bisexual, stating “So I strongly identify with people who are of minorities when it comes to sexual orientation.” Similarly, Allen reflected on being raised with minimal financial security:

And I lived in government housing for a good portion, like half my childhood, so you're exposed to a lot, and the way I would describe it is that you're exposed to seeing different personalities and how people work together ... like the relationships that people have, whether it be the absence of the father, death of the father, whether it be the father was abusive to the mother, or the different personalities the different dynamics in the friends that I had growing up and their backgrounds, what they were dealing with.

Both participants reflected on their struggles based on their own social identity, noting experiences of marginalization and mocking from others.

It is worth noting that the previously described themes in this section (a connection to men's violence against women, the impact of childhood bullying experiences, foundational belief systems, and experiences with oppression) likely influence each other. For example, a participant may have developed a connection to men's violence against women through knowing a survivor, leading to him critically reflecting on his values and confirming a belief system highlighting a responsibility for others. Data were not collected about the temporal order of themes, which would have provided information for each participant about the order in which he established each predisposing factor and the way they influenced each other. Regardless, each participant reported a set of predisposing factors that contributed to belief systems that are intolerant of men's violence against women and a responsibility to be engaged in a solution.

Necessary Shifts in Perspectives Prior to Involvement

As previously described, each participant was raised in a society that condoned men's violence against women and with some degree of internalized messages about a sanctioned performance of masculinity. This socialization process initially functioned as a

barrier to their ally development; it contributed to a paradigm that included the importance of following the crowd and not voicing disagreement, objectifying women, and following a hegemonic performance of masculinity. Participants described changes in each of these perspectives prior to their antiviolence work, necessary shifts that facilitated their involvement as social justice allies. Specifically, participants described the extent to which they increased comfort with themselves, increased knowledge about men's violence against women, learned to humanize women, revised their personal definition of masculinity, and developed the courage to speak up. These shifts comprised of both cognitive and emotional changes in perspectives. Each of these shifts was true for each participant and resulted in part because of their relationships with women.

Increased comfort with self. All participants described processes in which they felt increased comfort with themselves. Participants started to develop this stronger sense of self and identity in high school and solidified it during college. Foundational to this process, participants developed an identity and a stronger sense of self. Participants established this increased comfort in part by engaging in activities and hobbies they enjoyed rather than participating in activities because they were mainstream and acceptable by peers or avoiding their desired activities for fear of being ridiculed. For example, Gavin explained, "I guess really through being involved through stuff like music and theater and performing. I guess I think I just became more confident with myself because I developed an identity." Each participant's increased comfort with himself provided a sense of self that was separate from the cultural definitions of masculinity, which helped manage any discrepancies between participants' personal performance of gender and mainstream masculinity.

Participants' increased comfort with themselves provided a critical shift that supported their social justice ally development. It contributed to a sufficiently strong sense of self to manage isolation, stand up to peers, and buffer against mocking from peers for their antiviolence work. As Nick explained, "I mean like I feel pretty comfortable with myself, and I don't really find anything pretty tough to like not stick to what I believe in I guess." His increased comfort with himself allowed him to manage the challenges of "sticking to what [he] believes." Allen also described the specific influence of this shift on his ally development:

Yeah I think that it's just being comfortable in your own skin and who you are and not being afraid to step up and talk to people about certain issues. I found many of my friends are very receptive and respectful about it and actually change because I was able to have those serious conversations with them.

Overall, participants described an increased comfort with themselves that included a sense of identity and stronger sense of self. The critical shift in their perspectives helped buffer against any negative responses to their involvement in preventing men's violence against women.

Increased knowledge about men's violence against women. Each participant also described increased knowledge about men's violence against women prior to their involvement in antiviolence work, a shift that contributed to their social justice ally development. Participants learned about this issue from women in their lives, especially mothers and female partners, the media, such as television shows that portray the consequences for survivors, and college classes. For example, Seth shared, "Yeah about the time I got to college and taking a bunch of classes and becoming more socially aware and becoming more aware of what I can do." Allen also explained:

And then I think also I was becoming more educated to stuff around myself with kind of how I viewed the world ... Also there was something, I began to be more conscious of what I said, like the kind of jokes or what I laughed at or what I considered to be okay.

Knowledge of the prevalence and effect of men's violence against women served as a motivating factor for participants to become involved in antiviolence efforts. As Nathan described, "But then as you become more informed or more invested in you know the things that mean the most to you, you do have this motivation to kind of branch out of your comfort zone." Participants described their increased knowledge as facilitating their ability to be more vocal about the issue and preventing them from remaining passive bystanders.

Learned to humanize women. The majority of participants, with the exception of Seth, also described learning to humanize women. Since Seth internalized messages about masculinity the least, likely including any messages about objectifying women, it seems logical that he did not express any shifts in learning to humanize women during his interviews. Learning to humanize women included a shift in perspective that women are people rather than just body parts. As Kyle explained, "I know that you [speaking about women in general] have thoughts, and I know you have you know passions, and you have weaknesses, and you have pride, and all of these other different things that play into you being individual." This paradigm shift resulted from participants questioning the messages they had previously learned about the importance of objectifying women.

The five participants who expressed this shift noted that the women in their lives, especially their mothers and female partners, raised their consciousness about the problems associated with objectifying women. This increased consciousness resulted from critical

conversations about porn, music videos, and nudity in the media. For example, Nathan described the influence of his mother:

When it comes to views on women, there was very little conversation directly about it. It was more about just like her [Nathan's mother] attitude about women in general like when she would say what her preferences were, it's hard to even just think of them off the top of my head, it was very subtle because she was a pretty quiet woman too ... There was an incident whenever I had come back from I don't know, it was whenever I had left high school, they finally got internet in the home. And so my younger brother had this issue with pornography. And you know she had saw in the search history or something. And she was just like "this is a glamorized, unrealistic view of women and it's not to be something that you expect."

Nick also reported learning to humanize women through conversations with his mother and fiancé as well as his relationship with his religious institution:

-And like that's the whole other thing with like having sex with this one person and throwing them to the side. It's like the same concept as watching porn you know. And so like that, that really messed me up too, and I'm like ever since then I've been really dead set against that, and I've learned that it's not right, and I've seen from other relationships. My mother talked to me about like "hey this isn't, it's not good, it's not." And church has helped me with that too.

-Because I started dating Samantha [pseudonym]. I guess because she helped me in some ways because she, she really didn't like how the world treats women, or how all the shows have sex, or try to show as much as the women's body as possible without getting in trouble.

This shift from objectifying women was critical prior to the participants' involvement because it allowed them to humanize women, identifying women as people on whose behalf they should help prevent violence.

Revised personal definition of masculinity. All participants described a current personal definition of masculinity distinct from hegemonic notions of masculinity previously described about which they intentionally spent time exploring and revising. Since this process was complex for participants, their process of revising their personal definition of masculinity will be described first and then their compiled revised definition will be outlined. It is also worth underscoring the connection between this process of participants redefining their own performance of masculinity and both feeling comfortable with themselves and developing the courage to speak up in preventing men's violence against women.

As previously reported, half of the participants indicated a strong internalization of masculinity messages, including Nick, Kyle, and Allen, and the remaining participants Nathan, Seth, and Gavin described exposure to messages about masculinity but not strongly internalizing them and noticing the extent to which they performed their gender in a distinct way from those messages. Regardless of the extent to which participants internalized the hegemonic messages about masculinity, all participants reported intentional reflection to develop a personal definition of masculinity. For participants who did not internalize messages about masculinity as strongly, the impetus of this shift was most often experiences of being isolated and bullied during middle and high school, contributing to self-reflection about their gender performance and relationships with peers. For example, Seth reported, "Maybe in high school I tried to act more masculine at times when I felt like it was expected. Now I don't even bother with that crap. I don't, I don't

try and act masculine at any time.” This quote illustrates Seth’s process of noticing times he conformed to traditional performances of masculinity during high school and reflecting on his shift in performance.

Participants who internalized messages about masculinity more strongly, on the other hand, reported developing awareness of the internalized messages as the first aspect of revising their personal definition of masculinity. This awareness was often prompted by critical interactions or situations that required participants to renegotiate their personal definition of masculinity. For example, Kyle described important awareness that his father did not conform to stereotypical conceptions of masculinity and renegotiating his own definition of masculinity based on behaviors and traits manifested by his father that he learned to value. Kyle also reported a previously described challenging interaction with his mother during which she implored him, “Don’t you ever be like the jocks I hated.” Kyle reflected on the conversation:

Okay, so my mom, I don’t know, I got into an argument with her in high school once and this is when I was first starting to figure out what it means to be a man. You know, starting to struggle with questions like that. And I was lifting weights and I was playing a whole bunch of sports. And I thought I was this big hotshot. It was me, my brother, and my mom. My mom grew up bigger [overweight], and she grew up in Oklahoma. She hated all the football team and all the jocks because they treated her mean. So she looked at me and my brother my sophomore year in high school and said, “Don’t you ever be the jocks that I hated.” And I mean like it really stuck with me for a long time.

Kyle identified this interaction with his mother as contributing to an additional shift in his understanding of his masculinity as distinct from a more hegemonic performance consistent with “jock culture.”

Allen and Nick were also challenged by women in their lives on issues including pornography and sexual objectification, as previously described as part of their process of learning to humanize women. This increased consciousness contributed to incongruence between their notions of masculinity, leading to them renegotiating their personal definition of masculinity. Overall, these participants became aware of the ways in which their definition of masculinity was limited and challenged themselves to redefine it.

All participants described a revised definition of masculinity that included both personal and relational aspects. The personal aspects consisted of phrases such as “connecting with emotions,” “strength,” and “being open.” Nick highlights his perspective on men showing their emotions:

So I feel like being open is a good thing to be and showing your emotions because a lot, a lot of things nowadays is like you don’t want to show your emotion because you don’t want to be too feminine or whatever, but I think part of being a good man is being able to show your emotion and being able to describe how you feel and stuff like that.

The revised definition of masculinity, however, was mostly comprised of notions related to relationships and responsibilities to others. For example, participants described the importance of “stepping up,” “standing up for what is right,” “respecting others and women in particular,” “taking care of partner,” “supporting people in life,” “helping others,” “fulfilling responsibilities,” “doing what is right,” and “sacrifice.” As Kyle explained, “You’ve become a man when you do things you don’t want to do just as well as

if you wanted to do them.” He noted the sense of responsibility to others and importance of being fully invested in all activities, not just ones that are self-serving. The following quotes further illustrate the participants’ revised definition of masculinity:

-I think being able to step, stand up for whatever you believe in ... I think that describes somebody that ... really like even if you’re a female like I think, I don’t necessarily go for masculinity. I think of just like what makes you a better person.

(Nick)

-To me, healthy masculinity looks like being responsible, showing people respect even when they don't respect you, being mature in the emotional sense, taking responsibility for your actions and just being an adult about things overall. (Seth)

Overall, participants also described their desired traits as generalizable to all genders rather than specific to masculinity, although they did emphasize the importance of internalizing these traits for their own gender performance. They associated these traits with being a “better person” and “adult,” further underscoring the sense of responsibility and obligation to others they perceive as foundational to masculinity.

Developed the courage to speak up. An additional shift reported by all participants prior to their work as male social justice allies was developing the courage to speak up. Participants described this new paradigm as confidence, comfort, and assertiveness; courage was chosen for this theme to encompass all terms used. Kyle further articulated the importance of developing courage:

I mean, a lot of times it was ... a lot of times I wouldn’t say anything in the moment because when you’re in a group, you’re sitting in the lunch table with a group of like 16 kids as a freshman on the football team and you know they’re all being douchy, talking about like exaggerated stories of like this, and that you know

speaking up and saying “yeah you shouldn’t say that” takes a lot of courage I didn’t even have. So I had to learn how to speak out.

This shift seemed to facilitate the behavioral aspect of involvement, the actual antiviolence work. As Nathan described, “I think what has happened is instead of believing something and then keeping it to yourself, one becomes more assertive. I think naturally as you get older people become more assertive.” Nathan highlighted the way courage, or in his words “assertiveness,” helps social justice allies translate their beliefs and perspectives into actions.

Courage also helped participants manage risks and challenges associated with engaging in this work. As previously described, participants noted the critical message they received about “staying in the crowd” and not voicing a dissenting opinion from the majority. They also described their antiviolence efforts as violating that norm of masculinity. The following quote from Kyle exemplified the challenges inherent in being a male social justice ally and the role of courage in managing them:

I think the hardest part about speaking out is when you speak out, not even when you speak out, it’s just when you speak up because you can play along and you can mingle in the crowd and flow with all the other fishes and it won’t matter. You can have these beliefs and these thoughts, but when you speak up, in a manner of speaking you’re stopping and it fucks up the flow. So it detracts in the immediacy from you being identified as one of the guys because if you’re rolling through with a bunch of dudes you don’t want to go to the bar with somebody whose just going to be there slapping your hand every time you make some innuendo or something.

Further, participants expressed continued personal difficulties associated with their antiviolence work. For example, Gavin reported continued struggles to speak up with

strangers, Kyle described challenges with male fraternity brothers or teammates, and Nathan indicated a lack of support from others in the military. Participants shared the need for courage to manage these challenges and decide on a daily basis to be involved in this work. As Kyle aptly described:

It's scary as hell to stand up in front of the 30 other guys you're with and try and do the right thing in that moment whatever it may be because if nobody stands up with you, it's just you and you're all alone and you have to see these guys, they have to count on you.

Evidently, a critical aspect of participants' social justice ally development included developing the courage to speak up despite the inherent risks and challenges associated with it based on both messages about masculinity and personal difficulties.

Participants noted that when combined with other predisposing factors and shifts in perspectives, they had no other choice but to find the courage to speak up. Seth shared, "I don't really see myself as having another option" in response to continuing to speak up to friends who make sexist comments despite them seemingly not hearing his feedback. Similarly, Allen expressed, "I think just staying committed to being involved in saying that okay this issue weighs heavy on me so regardless of how I might be perceived, it's something I'm going to commit to," further evidencing the importance of this work to him regardless of potential consequences. These two participants articulated sentiments shared by other participants that further underscore their social justice ally development.

Facilitating Factors

In addition to predisposing factors and necessary shifts in perspectives that provided participants with a foundation for their development as social justice allies, they described facilitating factors that contributed to their involvement. These factors helped

participants transition from belief systems consistent with antiviolen work and connections to the specific issue of men's violence against women to actual involvement in the prevention work. Specifically, participants reported a critical event that triggered their involvement and the opportunity to be an ally as facilitating their development as social justice allies.

Critical event that triggered involvement. Each participant described a critical event or circumstance that seemed to be a "tipping point" for their involvement in preventing men's violence against women. Although they already had predispositions and shifted perspectives consistent with antiviolen work, this event triggered more sustained involvement. Kyle succinctly described his process:

I mean I was like vaguely involved with stuff like this [antiviolen work] in high school but you know frankly most people don't have any conception of what it means to be involved with nonviolence in any manner. So you're ... and then Frank [pseudonym; the person who coordinated the antiviolen program on his campus] does this fucking awesome, I mean like rockstar presentation on masculinity and what it means to be a man and you know what society and what culture builds us up to and things like that. And I was hooked, so I wanted to help Frank [pseudonym] out as much as possible.

Although each person reported a different critical event, he reported a similar process. Each participant described being "vaguely" involved prior to the critical event, and following the event, he reported being "hooked," triggering more active, sustained involvement.

Since each participant reported a distinct critical event, each will be briefly described. Building on Allen's predisposition to this work following his education about

the prevalence of violence on campuses and his sister starting college in the future, he attended a program about men's violence against women facilitated by a woman who worked for the antiviolence organization on his campus. He found the program to be inspiring and motivating, triggering his more sustained involvement in preventing men's violence against women. Similarly, Gavin had the opportunity to work at the antiviolence organization on his campus. Combined with his predispositions as a pacifist and believer in equality and responsibility to others, this opportunity propelled his development as a male social justice ally. As previously noted in the quote, Kyle became "hooked" after seeing a presentation about masculinity that resonated deeply for him based on the interaction with his mother during which she implored him to challenge the stereotypical notion of masculinity in athletes. Kyle described this comment as facilitating his consistent self-reflection about his masculinity and interactions with women as well as contributing to his decision to become involved in antiviolence work in college. Similar to Allen, Nathan described predisposing factors associated with his involvement, namely his childhood experiences with bullying, and attended a presentation about men's violence against women as a college student that triggered his involvement. Nick described his senior retreat in high school, during which he became aware of the way his bullying affected others, as an important experience that established a foundation for his antiviolence work. He described his tipping point as observing a program about men's violence against women that built on his previously described belief systems and motivated his sustained involvement as a male social justice ally. Finally, Seth reported a similar experience to Gavin in which he was predisposed through his specific sensitivities to men's violence against women, and his involvement was triggered by having the opportunity to work at an organization focused on antiviolence efforts. Overall, each participant's experience

included factors connecting the participants with men's violence against women, establishing a foundation upon which a critical event built, leading to their more formalized involvement in antiviolenace work and development as social justice allies.

Opportunity to be an ally. An additional facilitating factor leading to each participant's involvement in preventing men's violence against women on their campuses was the opportunity to be involved in this work. All participants attended a university or college that had a formalized program focusing on preventing men's violence against women. As previously described, each participant indicated a critical event that included a program or presentation by this organization about men's violence against women. The participants became involved in preventing men's violence against women in part because the opportunity presented itself. As Seth explained:

I've always been I think more sensitive to like issues of violence against women, particularly rape. So I think when I learned about the opportunity to volunteer I maybe chose that over other things. There's plenty of volunteer opportunities and ways to get involved and issues to care about at my university, and I think I was drawn to that a little, a little bit more.

This quote illustrates the extent to which participants attended universities with resources for this type of prevention work, they were made aware of the resources, and they took advantage of the opportunity to be involved with the resources. The participants' active involvement in antiviolenace efforts on their college campuses was another factor contributing to their social justice ally development.

Nature of Involvement as an Ally

Participants described in detail their involvement as a social justice ally while enrolled as an undergraduate student at their university. These forms of involvement are

categorized as either supporting an organization on campus or challenging and educating people in their lives. All participants described involvement in both forms of antiviolen work.

Supporting an organization on campus. As part of their sustained involvement as male social justice allies, all participants described the ways in which they supported an organization on campus that worked to prevent men's violence against women. As previously described, these prevention organizations helped facilitate their involvement in antiviolen work as well as their development as social justice allies. Participants reported supporting the organizations on their respective campuses with a range of activities, including involvement with information technology for the organization; heavy lifting and moving when organizations were changing offices; photography; advertising the services of the antiviolen organization at events; and developing, marketing, and implementing programs on campus. The following quotes exemplify the range of activities reported by participants:

-So I went on a weekend retreat [for training in active bystander prevention efforts to volunteer as part of the antiviolen organization on his campus] and then just got involved after that, like I would ... *Take Back the Night* every year since then, and then I also help them out with projects, especially their Greek stuff because the thought that they could have a really large impact in the Greek community because of obvious stereotypes that plague the Greek community. Whether it is they're [the programs] effective or not is not quantitated yet ... And yeah like help setting up and providing material and stuff for their presentations and that type of thing. And then also do photography and videography. (Nathan)

-I'm going to use an example of actually a program that I, it was actually the first program that I created for the organization [the antiviolence organization on his campus]. We had a couple of different program structures. And this one in particular the structure of the program was we would get a couple of panelists together, buy a bunch of pizza, and basically invite students to come listen to the panelists, eat pizza, and engage in this relevant discussion. This in particular my first program was a program around masculinity and homophobia. (Gavin)

-What that means is basically for our [the antiviolence organization on his campus] big events we like to have something on social media that the sort breaks through and is viewed. So instead of just making a poster, it's people tweeting about it. You actually have a video that you can watch that's supposed to create interest among people watching it. And I develop any other videos or media that are needed, so sometimes I take pictures at events that we do as well. (Seth)

These forms of sustained involvement in supporting organizations on campus that work to prevent men's violence against women reflected participants' development as social justice allies.

Challenging and educating people in life. In addition to formal involvement through an organization on their campuses, participants described sustained involvement in preventing men's violence against women by challenging and educating people in their lives. Participants reported engaging in these efforts with friends, family members, and occasionally strangers. These conversations often occurred in response to others making sexist or victim-blaming comments and consisted of educating others about men's violence against women as well as the effect of their comment on others. This form of informal involvement was particularly salient for Allen, who described his goal of being a

representative for other African American men who want to be involved in preventing violence but lacked a role model for this work. Allen explained:

What I really wanted to focus on and internalize was like, okay if I feel uncomfortable in this kind of situation, this is something that I care about, I wonder how other males might come in here and say “oh these people look nothing like me.”

He described this realization as motivating him to “reach other people who are hesitant about” becoming involved in antiviolence work because of the lack of diverse role models.

The following quotes represent the range of experiences challenging and educating others shared by participants:

-I was hanging out with some friends, and it was an issue that a girl had been sexually assaulted and we were just discussing about how we ... some of the parties that we went to. And one of our friends made a comment like “oh I mean the girl probably deserved it based on the way she was dressed, that she was dressed and the way that she was looking.” So what I sort of did was challenge him, like ‘oh yeah you could point that out and that’s an easy go to, and at the same time if you had a little girl would you accept the fact that she’s dressed this way so she sort of deserved it and be okay with that just because you think she deserved it based on the way she dressed and had been acting’ and it was like yeah. And his response was like “yeah I understand, I respect that.” I think he was taken back that I put it in that terminology. (Allen)

-In my real world life I talk to my friends about it, even though that doesn’t really go over well ever at all ... Another one of my friends, he’s a very difficult to sort of persuade of these issues, and he is sort of the main informal outlet that I try to

reflect all of these attempts and interests and new information I sort of digest and sort of project on to him and sort of gauge his responses to what I say to him. He's got, he's like me ... he's a White male, never had really any like education about violence against women issues, he's a very privileged individual. So he's never had to be aware of it. So what he does, he's really exemplary in his language. He uses the word bitch a lot to express like dominance I guess, like video game dominance type thing. Use the expression rape sauce. And he's called women hoes on Facebook. He'll often use sort of sexist putdowns like if his girlfriend's complaining he'll make a reference to her being on her period or a tampon or something. So stuff like that. I try to remind him again why it's very harmful, and that doesn't always go over so well. I don't do this for all the language because if I did I would be bothering him pretty much every five minutes. (Seth)

-My other brother, he's a year younger than me and he's, he's far from that. He uses a lot of language that I personally don't approve of. F*ggot being one word that I can't stand, he uses it all the time. I talk to him about it a lot, and I always, any time he uses those words, I tell him "dude not cool you need to stop saying that you know I don't like that." (Gavin)

These quotes illustrated the additional ways participants were involved in preventing men's violence against women by educating individuals in their lives about men's violence against women and challenging them to think critically about victim-blaming or sexist statements.

Sustaining Factors for Antiviolence Work

In addition to the specific forms of involvement, participants also described factors that helped them sustain their antiviolence work. As previously described, participants

experienced challenges during their social justice ally development and continue to experience repercussions for their involvement in the form of mocking and isolation from peers. Therefore, each participant articulated specific factors that helped sustain his involvement, creating a feedback loop between their forms of involvement in antiviolence work and their sustaining factors.

Support systems that validate efforts. Having support systems that validated their efforts functioned as a critical factor that helped participants sustain their involvement in antiviolence work, especially during the most challenging times. Each participant described support in the form of other people and environments.

Key people who provide support. Participants described the importance of having created a network of people who appreciate their efforts to prevent men's violence against women and understand the importance of this work. They described these support networks as consisting of some combination of friends, female partners, and family, for the majority of participants. Seth was the only participant who reported discomfort talking about his social justice ally development with his family and did not disclose to them his involvement in the prevention organization on campus. It is worth noting that this theme extends the previously described importance of participants' relationships with women, since women were often a strong source of support for participants.

With the exception of Kyle, participants also described a realization that they were spending less time with individuals whose sexist language they had to challenge as they became more invested in their antiviolence efforts. They observed increasing connection to individuals who also understand the importance of preventing men's violence against women and almost naturally growing apart from individuals in their lives who do not hold the same values. This separation would have been challenging for Kyle, whose social

connections included both a fraternity and football team, since the majority of his friends functioned in environments that ascribed to hegemonic forms of masculinity. The following quotes from Kyle and Seth illustrate support in the form of a close friend and family member:

-Okay, so I'd say first off being a twin because it kind of, it's one of my biases but I've never ... I've been away from my identical twin for the most three weeks my entire life. And the thing is, a lot of guys walk around as individuals, and when you're just walking around as an individual, you don't have that outside view. So like if I try to speak up, and I say "John [pseudonym; his twin brother] was that the right context or did I fuck up there? Let me know how was that?" And he'll give me honest feedback. (Kyle)

-There's one female friend I have who's basically like really awesome. She's 28, so she's a few years older than me. And she's basically like the most hardcore feminist I've ever met. But you wouldn't know by looking at her. She's the strongest woman I've ever known in my life, and I just respect her. I like talking to her about these issues. I get a lot of perspective, and I feel like we connect on that level. (Seth)

Kyle also described the way in which interactions with other men who are involved in this work provided a unique source of support. He explained:

When you speak up, you start to find other people that share your beliefs and you find the guys that understand what you're trying to say. And when you have that connection and you get it, there's just a language that doesn't need to be spoken because you have automatically that understanding of all right we're on the same page with this.

Combined, all of these forms of support from others provided foundational encouragement that highlighted for participants the importance of their work. Support from others also provided a level of validation that was crucial for them to continue with their antiviolence involvement despite challenges they faced.

Environments that convey support. Each participant also described environments in which he spent time that conveyed support for his involvement in antiviolence work. Foundationally, participants understood the antiviolence organization on their respective campuses as a supportive environment. Some participants also received support from their academic environment, a finding that was most true for Allen, Nathan, and Seth, who were associated with helping professions and social sciences such as social work, psychology, and sociology. Finally, Nathan also described the support he felt to engage in antiviolence work after moving from a rural, country town to a larger, more liberal city. Since Nathan described the importance of supportive environments more than any other participant, representative quotes were selected from his interviews:

-And there was [in his hometown], there's always the old standard, it's like this is what men are supposed to be. And then there's also the understanding that they don't really do it sometimes or that their masculinity gets the best of them sometimes, and it's kind of like something everyone should know and be prepared for and so there's a lot of that. I think it's a fairly common thing as a double standard when it comes to that. So that was, that was very much alive and well in my home county You'll find people who obviously believe whatever you, people who share the same beliefs that you did back home, but there is kind of like this freedom to decide for yourself once you come to college.

-When I switched to social work as a major because before I was a chemical engineering. And like I didn't experience anything that was anti-, that was against what I believe now, but there wasn't a supportive body there. And then being in social work, I'm one of the few men that are in social work, and there's like six men in my program, my cohort... Yeah and so we're a rare breed, and so there was a lot of support for men taking a stance and in the social work program especially so that was probably the biggest thing [form of support].

Continual increased knowledge. The final factor that participants described as sustaining their involvement in preventing men's violence against women was continuing to increase their knowledge about the prevalence of the issue both on their campus and throughout the world. This continually increased knowledge happened naturally because of their involvement and provided motivation to continue their work despite the challenges they faced. Seth demonstrated this process in the following quote:

I mean I guess you could say examples that stick out are examples of sexism that I see that remind me of why what I do is so important. So reading articles online and reading about the pushback that feminists receive online. Awful twitter comments that people will make about a case like the Steubenville rape case, or just pushback that different feminist blogs and writers receive on twitter and other social media websites, and harassment that takes place online, that sort of blatant sexism. Stories of catcalling and stress harassment, which I've never really seen but always hear about. And then of course sexism from my friends. Those are the only examples that I have that really stick out that remind me that what I'm doing is like.

The knowledge also provided confidence to speak up because participants knew they could rely on the information they learned to challenge individuals in their lives. As Allen explained:

I'd say the struggles would definitely be having the courage to speak up to friends and also just making myself more aware of this kind of stuff happening around me and somebody making a certain comment. Up until the training [that he received at the antiviolence center on his campus], there's probably multiple instances where I had let someone make a comment and sort of slide or laughed it off or something like that.

This quote illustrates the extent to which learning about men's violence against women provided him with a foundation to challenge friends that he was not able to develop prior to his involvement.

Outcomes of Social Justice Ally Development

Each participant described outcomes of his social justice ally development, indicating ways he will continue his involvement beyond supporting the organization on campus. Participants described their involvement in preventing men's violence against women as shifting their identity and connecting them with other forms of social activism.

Ally integrated into identity. Participants described the extent to which their male social justice ally development became integrated into their identity. Specifically, they explored the ways they intend to continue their involvement beyond their time as an undergraduate student by continuing to challenge and educate people in their lives. This process is exemplified by the following quote:

So continuing to keep it close to who you are and to continue being assertive when it comes to acting for other people in those situations is all you can hope for

someone to do coming out of a campus that's supposed to be supporting that kind of culture. That's my biggest aspiration as far as working in this community is to let those in my life that are close to me know and reaching out whenever I can.

(Nathan)

A few participants, especially Nick and Allen, described specific ways they currently are or intend to incorporate this aspect of themselves into their profession:

-So sort of I think the few times that I've had to like especially make my guys [students in his eighth grade class] aware of stuff like that is like when we're talking about popular rap songs or when we're taking about a certain celebrity making a certain comment sort of putting it in perspective for them. I know one of the things I do a lot in my class is I play a lot of Tupac. And so one of the songs is "Dear Mama" and "Keep your Head Up," which are very motivating songs in terms of showing respect to women and having respect for yourself. So I sort of try to influence them through music because that's the main thing that they're influenced by and bring it to my classroom. (Allen)

-If I need to go help get a bill passed so that gay people can get married I will be there. (Nick describing his goal of being a human resources employee at an organization.)

Overall, participants described their antiviolence work as becoming integrated into the way they understand themselves and their role in the world.

Connection with other forms of social activism. All participants noticed the connection between men's violence against women and other forms of oppression and injustice, and they described developing an investment in other forms of social activism. Most commonly, participants reported observing the similarities between sexism and

heterosexism, and they described ways they challenge and educate people in their lives who engage in heteronormative and homophobic behaviors and use problematic language. In addition, Seth and Allen both described working to prevent forms of racism, and Seth also described interests in issues of class privilege as well. The following quotes illustrate the extent of participants' understanding of the connections among forms of oppression and investment in other forms of social activism:

-And I feel like using homophobic slurs as a derogatory term, I feel like that does translate over into even issues of men's violence against women. (Gavin)

I know an RA that was gay and that had to work with a super Christian that saw being gay as wrong, as completely wrong. The gay person talked to him and made it clear it's not a bad thing, and eventually he learned. And I worked with somebody that did not like gay people because he was a Christian or whatever, and he seems like he's been working [at changing his perspective] but I stay away from him because I can't stand that he sees that as something wrong just because that's the way he [the gay person] is does not make it wrong. That just pisses me off to no end. (Nick)

-Now I'm very interested in issues related to race, basically exploring what racism looks like today and how that expresses itself, issues related to basically prison justice, fighting for any really minority issues. So definitely stuff related to like African American injustice, institutionalized racism, immigration rights, refugee rights, any poverty is something I'm extremely interested in. (Seth)

Therefore, participants increased awareness of the connection among different forms of injustices motivated their investment in challenging other forms of oppression.

Overall Process of Male Social Justice Ally Development

The overall process of male social justice ally development as described through these themes is included in Figure 4.1. The depiction illustrates the connection among experiences and perspectives reported by participants involved in preventing men's violence against women on their college campuses. It conveys the connections among predisposing factors and necessary shifts in perspectives prior to involvement combined with facilitating factors for their involvement that lead to their antiviolence work. Once involved, their social justice efforts include supporting an organization on their college campus and challenging and educating people in their lives. Their involvement is then sustained by support systems and continual increased knowledge about men's violence against women that creates a feedback loop.

Of note, as part of the data analysis process, I was challenged to separate my perspectives and lens related to the research to fully immerse myself in the perspectives and experiences of the participants, a process described in this project as "bracketing" (Schram, 2006). I worked toward this goal by remaining cognizant of the influence of my lens on the questions I asked during interviews and by maintaining a journal of my reactions and reflections throughout the process. One example that reflects this process is my interaction with Seth during interview one. Seth described his emotional connection to the issue of men's violence against women based on his overall sensitivity, which he attributed mostly to his biology. During this conversation in the interview, I asked questions about how he learned that being sensitive was an option for him and what messages he received about being sensitive throughout his life, though he repeatedly responded about his conceptualization of himself through biology. I realized in the moment that I was asking questions based on my social constructivist lens, and this

awareness allowed me to shift my questions to understand Seth's perspective of his own process better. I also journaled about the experience following the interview, which improved my ability to "bracket" this perspective during future interviews and truly learn about participants' own perspectives of their social justice ally development process. This use of bracketing contributed to the emerging themes that fully reflect the participants' lived experiences.

This chapter provided an overview of initial findings from data generated through this project. It began with a description of participants, both an overview and a description of each person involved in this project. It then transitioned to emerging themes formulated from data generated by participants and concluded with a description of the process of male ally develop described by participants in this study. The next chapter will further extend these findings, outlining conclusions drawn from these results and describing their implications for preventing men's violence against women.

Table 4.1

Summary of Themes Endorsed by Each Participant

Theme	Gavin	Nick	Nathan	Allen	Seth	Kyle
Internalized hegemonic masculinity	X	X	X	X		X
Predisposing factors						
<i>Foundational value system</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Responsibility to others	X	X	X	X		X
Values relationships	X	X	X	X	X	X
Values equality	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Connection to MVAW</i>	X		X	X	X	X
Knowing a survivor	X		X			
Having girl/women in life				X		X
<i>Impact of bullying in childhood</i>	X	X	X		X	X
Memories of being bullied	X	X	X		X	X
Memories of bullying others		X	X			
<i>Experiences with oppression</i>			X	X		
Necessary shifts in perspectives						
<i>Increased comfort with self</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Increased knowledge about MVAW</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Learned to humanize women</i>	X	X	X	X		X
<i>Revised definition of masculinity</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Developed courage to speak up</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Facilitating factors						
<i>Critical event triggered involvement</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Opportunity to be an ally</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nature of involvement						
<i>Supporting organization campus</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Challenging and educating people</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sustaining factors						
<i>Support systems that validate efforts</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Key people who provide support	X	X	X	X	X	X
Environments that convey support	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Increased knowledge about MVAW</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X

Note. Language used to describe some themes are shortened to fit in the table; MVAW = men's violence against women; X indicates participant endorsed the theme.

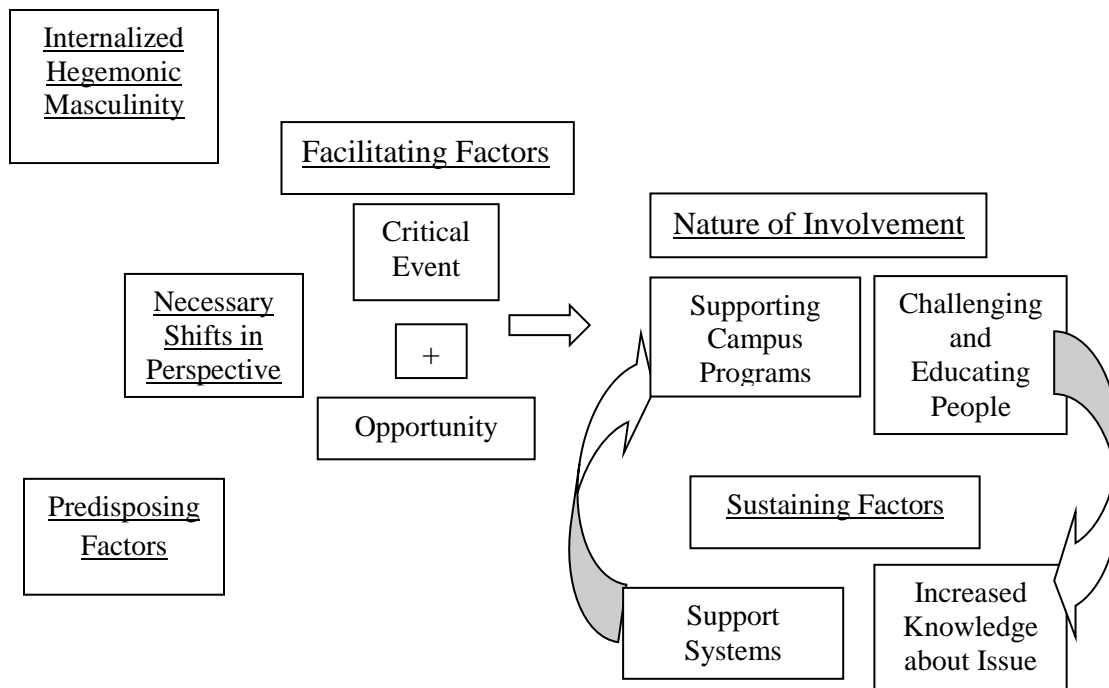


Figure 4.1. Process of male social justice ally development. This figure illustrates the connection among experiences and perspectives reported by participants involved in preventing men’s violence against women on their college campuses. Language used to describe some themes are shortened to fit in the table. MVAW = men’s violence against women.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The purpose of this project was to begin to understand the process of male social justice ally development among men who become involved in preventing men's violence against women as undergraduate students. The following chapter will provide an overall discussion of the emerging themes from the data generated as part of this project, including specific factors that influence social justice ally development as well as the overall model of involvement. It will begin with a brief overview of the results and then transition to factors associated with male social justice ally development based on data from this project. It will also incorporate a discussion of masculinity, intersectionality, and facilitating and inhibiting factors, specific areas of interest for this project, as they emerge as relevant. The chapter will then include a description of conclusions and implications of the findings, a discussion that will incorporate the theoretical underpinnings of the project and compare findings of this project with additional studies in this area. Finally, it will conclude with a discussion of the study strengths and future directions for the research.

Review of Results

This section will provide a shortened review of the results presented in the previous chapter focusing on findings related to the overall research question, how undergraduate male students become social justice allies involved in preventing men's violence against women. I will describe the results in three sections, findings that reflect the participants' experiences prior to their involvement as male social justice allies, during their involvement, and following their involvement. As previously indicated, data that contributed to emerging themes were generated from open-ended questions as part of interview protocols and the male social justice ally development timeline. The timeline facilitated a structured discussion of participants' experiences related to antiviolence work

as well as their understanding of men's violence against women and masculinity over time, providing information about the temporal flow of these experiences and understandings.

Prior to involvement. Prior to their active involvement in preventing men's violence against women and development as social justice allies, most participants described internalizing messages about hegemonic masculinity, though half of the participants described both internalizing and acting on these messages as a child and through high school. As previously described, these messages included the importance of not expressing emotions, not being sensitive, drinking and "partying hard," being physically strong, victimizing others worse than they victimize you, objectify women, and have a lot of sex. Participants also indicated the importance of staying in the crowd and being silent rather than expressing a different perspective from male peers.

Further, all participants in this project noted some combination of predisposing factors that led to their involvement in preventing men's violence against women. More specifically, participants described having or developing foundational belief systems consistent with antiviolence work, which they learned most frequently from their parents or religious institutions. Participants also described having connections to men's violence against women through either knowing a survivor or being involved on behalf of a girl or woman in their lives. Further, participants self-reflected on feelings of guilt associated with having bullied someone and explored the influence on their understanding of violence. Finally, participants described additional influences of having been bullied and personal experiences with oppression, both of which increased their cultural empathy related to men's violence against women and set a foundation for their involvement. The unique combination of these factors for each participant led to a predisposition to their investment in preventing men's violence against women as an undergraduate student.

Participants also described necessary shifts in their perspectives prior to their involvement. Their previous perspectives, most notably conformity to hegemonic masculinity, valuing and engaging in objectification of women, and prioritizing “staying in the crowd” over expressing their dissenting views, had functioned as inhibiting factors to their involvement. Therefore, the shifts in perspectives they reported were critical to their social justice ally development. Specifically, participants discussed increasing comfort with themselves, increasing knowledge about men’s violence against women, learning to humanize women, revising their personal definition of masculinity, and developing the courage to speak up. All of these shifts in perspectives also begin to highlight the role of masculinity in male social justice ally development, which will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

Finally, all participants described two key factors that facilitated their involvement in preventing men’s violence against women as an undergraduate student and their subsequent social justice ally development, which included a critical event that triggered their involvement and the opportunity to be a social justice ally on their campus. Combined, the critical event and opportunity to be involved in preventing men’s violence against women functioned as catalysts for their investment, serving as “tipping points” for their involvement, shifting the participants from men who might get involved to men who sustain active involvement in preventing violence.

During involvement. All participants also reported the details of their antiviolence work, describing both formal and informal involvement. Their formal involvement consisted of programming, marketing, taking pictures, and providing technological support, all provided to assist organizations on their campuses whose mission is to prevent men’s violence against women. Participants also shared instances of informal involvement,

during which they challenged people in their lives who made sexist or victim-blaming comments and educated them about men's violence against women and reasons why their comments are problematic. Once involved, participants sustained their formal and informal investment in preventing men's violence against women throughout their college careers.

While involved, participants also noted sustaining factors that maintained their antiviolence work, including support systems that validated their efforts and continual increased knowledge about men's violence against women. These support factors proved critical for their social justice ally development and sustained involvement in antiviolence efforts since they helped participants manage reported repercussions for their antiviolence work. Specifically, they utilized the supportive people and environments for validation of their work and increased knowledge about men's violence against women as continued motivation to stay involved as well as for language to challenge others. Without these sustaining factors, the participants may not have sustained their formal and informal involvement in antiviolence work or developed as a male social justice ally.

Following involvement. Following their sustained involvement in antiviolence efforts on their campuses and in their social spheres, participants described shifts in their sense of self and their behaviors. Participants noted that their sense of self as someone who engages in antiviolence work became integrated into their identity. As they shared ways they would continue to engage in this work, they described intentions to continue with informal involvement after completing college since it became part of how they viewed their role in their relationships. Participants also described increased awareness about other forms of oppression as they learned about men's violence against women, especially heterosexism, which contributed to forms of social activism addressing other injustices.

Factors Associated with Male Social Justice Ally Development

The following section identifies and explores the factors associated with male social justice ally development that emerged as significant from this study. In describing each factor, connections with literature described in Chapter Two and theoretical frameworks used for this study will also be incorporated.

Masculinity. Consistent with the conceptual and empirical findings of previous studies, participants in this project described awareness of male gender-role norms since childhood, and some participants reported both an internalization of and adherence to hegemonic masculinity through high school. The internalization of hegemonic masculinity was followed by a revised personal definition of masculinity reported by all participants that was necessary prior to their sustained involvement in antiviolence efforts. Feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003) can provide a framework for conceptualizing this factor since it is based largely on gender-role socialization and consciousness raising that helped participants shift their personal definition of masculinity. Previous research identified hegemonic masculine norms as inhibiting factors for social justice ally development (Carlson, 2008; Davis & Wagner, 2005) and highlighted the ways men who identify as “profeminist” or who are actively involved in preventing men’s violence against women are “doing masculinity differently” (Casey & Smith, 2010; Vicario, 2003).

Findings from this study confirm and extend conclusions from previous research studies about masculinity and social justice ally development. Although the connection between decreased conformity to hegemonic masculinity and antiviolence work has been mentioned in previous studies as conceptually and potentially empirically related, this project confirms the critical role of the shift in each participant’s personal definition of masculinity on his social justice ally development. Participants described their gender-role

socialization in high school as a barrier to the involvement in antiviolence work because of the peer pressures to “stay in the crowd” and remain silent even when they witnessed behaviors with which they disagreed. Other aspects of hegemonic masculinity internalized by participants that inhibited their antiviolence work prior to college included viewing women as sex objects and engaging in objectification of women. Combined, these two aspects of internalized hegemonic masculinity contributed to participants’ initial struggle in identifying men’s violence against women as an issue and becoming involved in prevention work.

Prior to their involvement in antiviolence work, all participants reported the importance of redefining masculinity for themselves, an imperative shift in perspective that supported their male social justice ally development. Through this personal redefinition of masculinity, combined with other related shifts in perspectives such as learning to humanize women, increasing comfort with self and with speaking up, and increasing knowledge about men’s violence against women, participants established perspectives that were consistent with and supported their antiviolence work. This project also extends findings about the potential role of masculinity as a barrier to antiviolence involvement by identifying participants’ revised personal definition of masculinity as a strength that facilitated their involvement. Previous research focuses solely on the role of hegemonic masculinity as a barrier to involvement in antiviolence work (Carlson, 2008; Davis & Wagner, 2005), while findings from this project contribute to the literature by identifying strengths described by each participant in challenging his conformity to hegemonic masculinity and recreating a personal definition of masculinity that facilitated his involvement in antiviolence work. Therefore, developing a revised, personal conception of

masculinity distinct from the hegemonic kind appears to be a critical factor in the social justice ally development of men who work to prevent men's violence against women.

Findings related to masculinity, both barriers to involvement in preventing men's violence against women reported by participants when they conformed to hegemonic masculinity and the influence of their redefined masculinity on their social justice ally development, may be the most critical finding of the current study. This transformation in their personal definition of masculinity proved foundational for their involvement in antiviolence work because without it the hegemonic masculine norms, especially ones related to staying in the crowd and devaluing women through objectification, would have continued to function as barriers. Further, the shift in their personal definition of masculinity is related to other shifts in perspectives. As previously noted, it is likely connected with the shifts in learning to humanize women by no longer objectifying them and both increasing comfort with self and developing the courage to speak up through them no longer being influenced by the peer pressure norm of staying in the crowd. Without this shift in their personal definition of masculinity, participants in this project probably would not have become invested in preventing men's violence against women and subsequently developed as male social justice allies.

Value systems. Participants in this project described personal value systems that are consistent with and extend previous research connecting foundational belief systems with social justice activism. Existing research about this connection highlights the importance of egalitarianism, equality and fairness, open-mindedness, acceptance and respect for all individuals, justice, and self-interest as foundational value systems that participants described as consistent with and motivating for their social justice ally development (Broido, 2000; Dillon et al., 2004; DiStefano et al., 2000; Goodman, 2000,

2001; Kennelly, 2009; Reason, Roosa et al., 2005; Russell, 2011). Participants described these values as developed from both family and religious institutions. The role of values can be conceptualized through feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003), since the participants indicated developing the values through socialization. They learned the importance of these belief systems from the individuals and institutions in their lives and applied them to their social justice activism.

Participants in the current project reported similar processes during which they identified foundational belief systems they developed from family and institutions, especially religious institutions that informed their investment in preventing men's violence against women. Their belief systems that highlight a responsibility to others and value equality parallels the belief systems reported by participants in previous studies. Extending these findings, novel belief systems reported by participants in this project that has not been previously discussed is a belief system that values relationships. As described by participants, this value encouraged them to prioritize and attend to their relationships with others. Each of these value systems is consistent with the idea of antiviolence work and even highlights the importance of social justice activism through the valuing of others and equality. These participants noted a sense of responsibility to become involved in antiviolence work because of its consistency with their value systems and the incongruence of those values with knowing about men's violence against women and inaction. Overall, findings from this project confirm and extend research that suggests value systems consistent with social justice activism are an important factor in ally development.

It is worth noting the incongruence between participants' value systems and notions of hegemonic masculinity. Specifically, the aspects of hegemonic masculinity reported by participants included victimizing others, objectifying women, and staying in the crowd at

the expense of expressing disagreement. Combined, these norms are inconsistent with value systems that emphasize the importance of relationships, equality, and a responsibility to others. It is likely the participants, especially the participants who conformed to hegemonic masculinity, experienced this incongruence prior to their personal redefinition of masculinity, which may have contributed to their decision to revise their personal definition of masculinity. The revised definitions, on the other hand, include such aspects as standing up for what is right, helping others, and sacrifice. These notions are in direct conflict with hegemonic masculinity and are more consistent with participants' reported value systems.

Connection to men's violence against women. Participants in this project as well as other studies about social justice ally development described a connection to the issue they were invested in preventing. Previous research highlighted the educational or experiential nature of this connection, either learning about the issue or developing a first-hand connection to it (Broido, 2000; DiStefano et al., 2000; Evans, Assadi, & Herriot, 2005; Goldstein & Davis, 2010; Ji, 2007; Munin & Speight, 2010; Reason, Scales, & Roosa, 2005; Russell, 2010; Smith & Redington, 2010; Stotzer, 2009). Specific to men's violence against women, studies indicated the importance of "sensitizing" experiences (Casey & Smith, 2010) that helped men establish a connection to this issue and motivated their involvement in preventing it. Related, research also suggested that a lack of connection to the issue might function as an inhibiting factor to sustained involvement and ultimately social justice ally development (Rich et al., 2010). The role of connecting with the issue can be conceptualized through transformational learning theory, with the educational or experiential event facilitating the connection functioning as a disorienting event that triggers critical reflection and involvement (Mezirow, 1997, 2000).

Specific to this project, participants described a range of personal connections to men's violence against women, including knowing a survivor, having a girl/women on whose behalf they are involved, and developing a knowledge base about the prevalence and consequences of men's violence against women. Similar to previous research, these connections were experiential and educational in nature. The connections functioned as factors that both initiated participants' antiviolence work and facilitated their sustained involvement, leading to their development as social justice allies. Therefore, a connection to men's violence against women was a particularly critical factor for the social justice ally development of the participants in this study.

Opportunity. Consistent with previous research, participants in this project described the importance of having the formal opportunity to be involved in preventing men's violence against women on their college or university campus as a factor contributing to their social justice ally development. Previous research indicated that either being invited to participate or choosing to align themselves with an existing organization on campus whose mission is based in social justice activism was critical to their general social justice ally development (Broido, 2000; Dillon et al., 2004; Goldstein & Davis, 2010; Kennelly, 2009; Reason, Scales, et al., 2005) or specific male social justice ally development (Casey & Smith, 2010). The importance of an opportunity to be involved is highlighted by transformational learning theory (Daloz, 2000; Mezirow, 1997, 2000), which suggests the overall social justice ally development process would not occur without the opportunity to engage in sustained activism.

Participants in this project reported a similar process, noting a connection to the issue of men's violence against women and personal belief system consistent with antiviolence that was solidified after becoming involved in their campus organization.

Further, they described their sustained involvement in this prevention work as contributing to their social justice ally development and noted their ally development was not initiated until they became actively involved in the antiviolenence work on their university or college campus. Finally, although participants described connections to the issue of men's violence against women and predisposing factors leading them to involvement, some participants also reported an interest in other forms of social justice activism. For these participants, the formalized opportunity to become involved in preventing men's violence against women on their campus is the factor that solidified their sustained involvement in this particular issue rather than other issues and ultimately led to their male social justice ally development.

Data generated in this project also identified factors that extend previous literature about social justice ally development in general and male social justice ally development in particular. Some factors that emerged as significantly influencing participants' involvement in antiviolenence work had not been discussed in other studies. These findings are highlighted to contribute to the overall conversation about social justice ally development.

Being bullied. Distinct from other studies about male social justice ally development, a majority of participants enrolled in this project discussed the influence of having been bullied on their investment in antiviolenence efforts and subsequent social justice ally development. Participants described having been bullied by other male peers, often because of their gender nonconformity or others perceiving them as gay. This contributing factor to their social justice ally development can be conceptualized through a feminist lens (Worell & Remer, 2003), since this framework attends to the influence of environmental factors, such as being victimized, on future behaviors and self-identification. Being bullied

highlighted for participants the role of power in their relationships and the influence of male gender-role socialization, particularly hegemonic masculinity, on their interactions. For participants who were bullied, the experience of violence contributed to their personal process of defining their own performance of masculinity. Related, it facilitated their increased comfort with self and courage to speak up by motivating them to connect with other less violent peers and develop a strong sense of self to withstand the emotional and sometimes physical abuse. Further, through this experience of victimization, participants were able to gain a sense of empathy for women survivors of men's violence against women, likely also contributing to their investment in prevention work. They understood through their lived experiences the negative impact of being victimized. Therefore, having been bullied seemed to contribute to participants' social justice ally development and potentially their revised personal definition of masculinity as well.

Bullying others. A few participants described a history of bullying others, especially their brothers, and reflecting on the way it negatively affected their brothers' well-being. Distinct from previous research, this form of perpetration emerged as significant for a few participants' antiviolence work in this project. This contributing factor to their social justice ally development can be conceptualized through both a feminist lens (Worell & Remer, 2003) and transformational learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000). Similar to being bullied, bullying others highlighted for these two participants the role of power in their relationships and the influence of the male gender-role socialization on their interactions. Participants who bullied developed an increased awareness about messages they received about power in relationships based on their hegemonic masculine gender-role socialization, especially the importance of victimizing others in response to having been victimized. The two participants who bullied others

perpetrated violence against their brothers, so they noticed the influence of their bullying on their brothers over time. After self-reflection about their behavior, both participants noticed feelings of guilt and regret related to bullying others and a disconnection between their perpetration and values they held that value relationships and highlight a responsibility to others. Through this heightened awareness and self-reflection, participants recognized the problematic nature of hegemonic masculinity leading to their use of violence and challenged themselves to interact with others in a way that was more consistent with their value systems. Therefore, bullying others also emerged as a significant factor contributing to participants' male social justice ally development.

Comfort with self and courage to speak up. Discussed in the literature either as self-efficacy or self-confidence, this factor has previously been connected with social justice ally development in general and male social justice ally development in particular. In general, research highlighted the role of self-confidence in supporting participants' ability to engage in ally behaviors and handle negative feedback that challenges their self-esteem, self-worth, physical safety, and personal identity (Broido, 2000; Ji, 2007). Specific to male social justice ally development, research identified the importance of self-efficacy for a willingness to engage in antiviolence behaviors and noted the way a lack of self-efficacy inhibits involvement (Casey & Ohler, 2012; McMahon & Dick, 2011; Rich et al., 2010).

Findings from this study contribute to the conversation by distinguishing between comfort with self and courage to speak up, previously conceptualized as one construct. These factors can be conceptualized through a developmental lens, such as the one provided by college student development (Chickering, 1972) or the overall process of identity development as an ally (Bishop, 2002). Participants enrolled in this project

described two separate, though not completely independent, processes of developing a personal identity that allowed them to experience increased comfort with self and developing courage specific to speaking up about the issue of men's violence against women, especially in their peer groups. This distinction highlights two different developmental processes experienced by participants prior to their social justice ally development. The developmental frameworks are relevant for understanding these processes since participants indicated they would not have been able to experience the increased comfort or increased courage during high school. Rather, they indicated being able to engage in these processes during college because of a stronger sense of their own identity and decreased importance of conformity with peers. It is also possible that the role of the college environment as compared with the environment of high school influenced their ability to shift these perspectives, though no previous research exists to provide a context for this potential explanation. This analysis is also connected with participants' initial conformity to hegemonic masculinity and the imperative shift in redefining masculinity for themselves. More specifically, the peer pressure experienced by participants to "stay in the crowd" during high school prevented them from being able to increase their comfort with self and develop the courage to speak up; therefore, these shifts in perspectives are intimately connected with their revised personal definition of masculinity. Findings related to comfort with self and courage to speak up provide additional data to inform intervention strategies for engaging more men in antiviolence work.

Relationships with women. Findings from this project also extend the limited research suggesting relationships with women are an important factor for men's development as social justice allies. In a study of men's motivations for professionally

becoming involved in preventing men's violence against women, Casey and Smith (2010) indicated that a proportion of participants ($n = 5$, 18%) described the importance of close relationships with influential women, especially mothers, that heightened their awareness of the lived experience of women and the prevalence of violence. Participants in this project described a similar and more nuanced experience that can be conceptualized using transformational learning theory (Daloz, 2000). Influential women in participants' lives included their mothers and their female partners or friends. Overall, these women challenged the participants' conformity to hegemonic masculinity prior to their personal redefinition of masculinity and provided options about a more flexible performance of masculinity less restricted by the hegemonic norms. In particular, the women in the participants' lives increased their consciousness about men's violence against women through education and conversations, similar to the participants in the previous study. Participants also noted the importance of education from women in their lives about objectifying women and hegemonic masculinity, which helped them shift perspectives related to humanizing women and revising their personal definition of masculinity. Therefore, these influential women facilitated critical discourse and provided a mentoring community (Daloz, 2000; Mezirow, 1997, 2000), both of which led to the participants' investment in preventing men's violence against women.

Support systems. Participants also described the importance of support systems to sustain their involvement in antiviolenence efforts as well as their social justice ally development in general. Although this factor has not previously appeared in the literature as facilitating antiviolenence efforts, a lack of social support through pressure from male peers to conform to hegemonic masculine culture has previously been identified as a factor inhibiting involvement (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fabiano et al., 2003; Stein,

2007). Therefore, this project extended the existing literature by identifying the benefits of supportive systems to social justice ally development, both environmental and key people. Support systems can be understood through transformational learning theory (Daloz, 2000), consistent with the framework's emphasis on a mentoring community and reflective discourse with others. The support systems described by participants fit both of these criteria, especially the women in their lives and supportive environments that provided both mentoring and opportunities to dialogue about the issue of men's violence against women. Therefore, this factor seemed to be critical in sustaining the participants' involvement in antiviolence work and their social justice ally development.

Critical event. Participants in this project also identified the importance of a critical event that triggered their sustained involvement in antiviolence work on their campus. This factor appeared in the literature as an opportunity to be involved, as previously discussed (Broido, 2000; Casey & Smith, 2010; Dillon et al., 2004; Goldstein & Davis, 2010; Kennelly, 2009; Reason, Scales, et al., 2005). Data generated as part of this study, however, extended these findings by suggesting a two-pronged situation that facilitated their involvement, both a critical event triggering their involvement and the opportunity to be involved. Combined, this process can be conceptualized through the lens of transformational learning theory, which uses the language of "disorienting" to describe the critical event (Mezirow, 1997, 2000). As described by the participants, the critical event raised their awareness about the opportunity to be involved in antiviolence work on their campus. It also raised their consciousness about their already existing predisposing factors and shifted perspectives, all of which are consistent with antiviolence work, to function as a "tipping point" for their subsequent sustained involvement. Without this critical event, the participants would not have known about the opportunities to be involved

and would have functioned with a predisposition for involvement without ever transitioning from the mindset to the behavior.

Overall Framework for Male Social Justice Ally Development

A significant contribution of the current study is the emerging overall framework for male social justice ally development specific to undergraduate students. Prior to this project, one other study proposed a conceptual framework for male ally development, though it was specific to professionals who work in the field of antiviolence (Casey & Smith, 2010). The framework included a sensitizing experience that led participants to an opportunity experience and contributed to shifting meanings derived from the sensitizing events. The opportunity experience and shifting meaning were reciprocal and both together and separately led to antiviolence involvement.

Findings from the current study are consistent with previous research and extend the framework in the application to an additional population of male social justice allies and the specific aspects of the process. Specifically, this framework consists of factors prior to involvement and during involvement that motivated participants to engage in antiviolence work and sustain their involvement and subsequent development as social justice allies. Prior to involvement, participants reported predisposing factors, shifts in perspectives, and facilitating factors that contributed to their involvement. While involved, participants described the nature of their involvement and factors that sustained their involvement. The overarching process reflects participants' experiences personally, in terms of how they react and feel, and behaviorally, in terms of their action-oriented responses. Combined, this framework, as illustrated in Figure 4.1, extends the current literature by identifying factors that contribute to male social justice ally development.

Limitations of the Current Project

When considering the broader conclusions and implications associated with the current project, it is important to keep in mind potential limitations of the study, which include generalizability of the findings and the lenses through which data were generated and analyzed. Primarily, data were generated from a homogeneous sample consisting primarily of White, heterosexual participants who are religiously affiliated, a notably privileged sample. Therefore, the emerging themes and overall framework represent their process of social justice ally development, necessarily limited by their lived experiences and their intersecting social identities. Further, data were generated from participants who live in the Southeast and Midwest. Data may not fully reflect the social justice ally development of gay or bisexual men, men of color, men who are not religiously affiliated, men who live in areas of the United States outside of the Southeast or Midwest, or men who do not live in the United States involved in antiviolence work. Combined, the findings reported from this project are a reflection of the participants who comprised this sample in this political, cultural moment in time and may not be generalizable to male social justice allies whose intersecting identities are not represented by this sample and who live in a different region. Therefore, application of themes generated from the data and the resulting model of male social justice ally development should be applied to men from these groups with caution.

Further, an additional limitation of the current project is that some themes may be an artifact of the nomination process and having a staff member on the campuses who nominated participants since only campuses that have a formalized program for antiviolence efforts were chosen for this project. Some themes, such as the importance of an opportunity to be involved in preventing men's violence against women and the nature

of the participants' involvement, may be an artifact of the specific sample nominated as part of this project. Therefore, the specific process of male social justice ally development delineated as part of this project may not apply to all men involved in antiviolence work.

An additional inherent limitation of qualitative research is the role of the lenses chosen to frame the study and analyze the data. For this project, transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2000) and feminist theory (Worell & Remer, 2003) served as theoretical frameworks to underpin the study and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) was chosen as the analytic methodology. Further, data were analyzed by a researcher and three peer debriefers, all of whom have their unique connection to men's violence against women and a strong investment in social justice. Therefore, data were generated and analyzed in part using these frameworks and through the lens of these individuals. Although participant experiences were privileged beyond the specific theories chosen for this study and additional mechanisms for trustworthiness were utilized, it is important to note the lens they provided and acknowledge potentially slight differences in findings if a different framework were used.

Finally, all interviews were completed by a White, heterosexual, young woman. Since all participants identified as men, one identified as bisexual, and one identified as African American, each participant represented a social identity that was visibly different from the researcher in at least one way. These differences may have affected the data generated as part of this project in unknown ways. In particular, the social identity differences between the researcher and participants may have affected the comfort level of participants' disclosing information related to their masculine gender-role socialization and other aspects of their identity development as it related to their development as social justice allies. Future qualitative research students should ask about the influence of the

researcher's social identities on the experiences reported by participants so any limitations can be addressed as part of the data analysis process. All considerations of data applicability and conclusions should be conceptualized with these limitations in mind.

Conclusions

The following section will explore conclusions derived from the findings of the current study. It highlights key findings from the current study that will subsequently be used to identify implications for theory and for prevention programs related to male social justice ally development as well as social justice ally development in general. The specific conclusions discussed include the role of college student development; investment in the issue; shifts in perspectives; the connection among comfort, courage, and masculinity; and sustaining factors for involvement.

College student development. One conclusion that emerged from the current study is the shifts described by participants that they noted occurred for them after starting college and that facilitated their social justice ally development. Specifically, participants described the difficulties “stepping out of the crowd” while in high school, especially with male peers. They noticed this dynamic in particular related to objectifying women, viewing women as sexual conquests, and competing with male peers regarding sexual behavior. These perspectives are consistent with inhibiting factors to male social justice ally development described in the literature related to hegemonic masculinity (Carlson, 2008; Casey & Smith, 2010; Davis & Wagner, 2005; Vicario, 2003). Participants also described the critical shift they experienced after starting college related to their increased comfort with themselves and their increased courage to speak up, even when it deviated with the popular opinion being expressed. These findings suggest the possibility that their social justice ally development could not have happened in high school.

Consistent with this observation is the previously described developmental framework for college students proposed by Chickering (1972). As a reminder, his seven-vector framework includes attention to developing competence, managing emotions, developing autonomy, establishing identity, freeing interpersonal relationships, developing purpose, and developing integrity. The majority of these developmental milestones and changes seem critical to the process of social justice ally development as well. In particular, as participants developed competence, especially social and interpersonal competence, they developed skills for communicating with others, which helped them gain competence for negotiating relationships in which others are making victim-blaming or sexist comments. This competence likely helped them develop the courage to speak up to challenge the comments and voice their dissenting opinion from the crowd. Relatedly, establishing identity and autonomy, especially as manifested by not needing approval or reassurance from others to gain a sense of identity, helped the participants develop the previously described increased comfort with self, even when their identity diverged from the identities of their friends or other male peers. Finally, the vectors of developing purpose and integrity helped participants crystallize their foundational belief systems and the overall motivation to engage in antiviolenace work as part of their overall identity. It is worth noting the developmental process described as facilitating the participants' social justice ally development was likely the same process that helped them revise their personal definition of masculinity since, as previously noted, the majority of the shifts in perspectives reported by participants are connected with their revised personal definition of masculinity. Overall, data from participants and corroborating evidence from college student developmental theories suggest the developmental milestones experienced by college students may provide a foundation for social justice ally development.

This conclusion also has potential implications for social justice ally development in general. Specifically, based on the reports of participants in this study, which are consistent with other studies of ally development in general (e.g., Broido, 2000), it seems that the developmental and personal shifts that occur for individuals who enter college are foundational for any type of social justice activism. In particular, the developmental shifts described by Chickering (1972) as related to the participants in the current project may be applied to social justice ally development in general. It is likely social and emotional competence, establishing identity and autonomy, and developing purpose and integrity are necessary, foundational shifts for all individuals who develop as social justice allies. This application further extends the conclusion that social justice ally development is harder to facilitate prior to college because inhibiting factors for activism experienced by middle and high school students, especially peer influences and messages about “staying in the crowd,” may prevent their involvement. Further, the necessary shifts in perspectives that were critical for social justice ally development seem more likely to happen during college than middle or high school.

Investment in the issue. An additional conclusion drawn from these findings is the importance of an investment in the issue of men’s violence against women. Participants described multiple forms of an investment in the issue, most notably a direct connection to men’s violence against women through knowing a survivor or preventing it on behalf of a woman in their lives and a foundational belief system consistent with antiviolence, such as valuing equality and relationships with others. Though not expressed by all participants, additional forms of investment in the issue include having been bullied, having bullied others, and personal experiences with oppression. Overall, an investment in the issue came in multiple forms, often a distinct combination for each participant, all of which are

important and valid. The investment in the issue can be conceptualized as their foundational motivation for being involved, and it facilitated their development as male social justice allies. This investment also helped buffer any consequences or “heat,” as described by Nathan, received for their antiviolence efforts because it reminded them about their personal reason for engaging in this work above and beyond any critical feedback from others. When combined with a critical event highlighting the importance of the issue, these predisposing factors facilitated the participants’ decision to pursue the opportunity to become involved and their decision to support this issue as compared to other social justice issues.

This conclusion can also be extended to social justice ally development in general. For all individuals who engage in activism, having an investment in their particular cause provides a motivation for sustained involvement. It also helps social justice allies endure any inevitable difficulties experienced in the way it grounds them in their original intention for being involved. Overall, an investment in the issue was critical to the participants’ involvement in this study and likely the involvement of all social justice allies in their cause.

Notably, the factors related to participants’ investment in preventing men’s violence against women, especially the predisposing factors, are likely related and influence each other. For example, participants who engaged in bullying behavior may have recognized a disconnection between their perpetration of violence and their foundational value systems that value relationships and equality and used this awareness to make intentional changes in their ways of relating. It is also possible that certain predisposing factors, such as having been bullied or experiencing oppression, influenced participants’ value systems, emphasizing their attention to relationships and equality. Therefore, their collective set of

predisposing factors contributed to their investment in preventing men's violence against women and their subsequent development as male social justice allies.

Shifts in perspectives. As previously described, participants noted a number of shifts in their perspectives prior to any involvement in preventing men's violence against women that contributed to their investment in this work and ability to engage in antiviolence efforts. This factor is critical to highlight as a conclusion because it extends previous research about male social justice ally development, which focused specifically on factors associated with activism. It also has important implications for ways to engage more men in antiviolence work, which will be described in a subsequent section. As described by all participants in this project, the shifts happened largely because of education about men's violence against women and the lived experience of women in their lives. They also happened through conversations with women in their lives, especially mothers and female partners. These shifts in perspectives were critical for the social justice ally development of participants in this project because prior to the shifts, participants were socialized in part by norms associated with hegemonic masculinity. This socialization contributed to inhibiting factors associated with their ally development, such as objectifying women, antifemininity, and peer influences (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Casey & Ohler, 2012; Fabiano et al., 2003; McMahon & Dick, 2011). By experiencing these shifts in perspectives, participants were able to manage the barriers they experienced when engaging in antiviolence work. They were then able to connect with their predisposing, facilitating factors to involvement, become motivated to engage in this work, and develop as male social justice allies.

Highlighting these shifts in participants' perspectives also extends to social justice ally development in general. Pervasive, systemic oppression continues to exist in society,

leading to individuals internalizing the messages and considering them normative (Frye, 2003; Goodman, 2001). This dynamic is especially true for individuals with privileged identities because they receive the benefits of the system and are not challenged to question it (Goodman, 2001). However, similar to the experiences described by participants in this project, consciousness raising can happen through education and relationships with others and individuals can be encouraged to question the previously normative perspectives, leading to shifts in perspectives. These shifts are imperative for social justice ally development because without them, individuals would not question the system, identify a problem, and experience motivation to change it.

Connection among comfort, courage, and masculinity. An additional conclusion drawn from findings of the current study is the connection among increasing comfort with self, developing the courage to speak up, and revising a personal definition of masculinity. These three themes all emerged as critical shifts in perspectives prior to sustained involvement in antiviolence work. As previously discussed, aspects of college student development (Chickering, 1972) likely facilitated the changes in perspectives and ultimately the participants' male social justice ally development. Their revised personal definition of masculinity seemed to be the foundational, critical shift that facilitated their increased comfort with self and the courage to speak up. This conclusion seems unique to the social justice ally development of male allies.

More specifically, participants first described experiences in high school in which they experienced pressure from other male students not to "step out of the crowd" or express a dissenting opinion from the group. These peer influences are consistent with other studies about the ways hegemonic masculinity manifests in relationships (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fabiano et al., 2003; Stein, 2007). The messages received from

peers are in direct conflict with the notions of increased comfort with self and increased courage to speak up, both of which require men to identify their senses of self as individuals and sometimes express perspectives that are distinct from the majority. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude that participants' more flexible revised personal definition of masculinity is connected to their comfort and courage and that they would not have developed increased comfort and courage if they had not revised their personal definition of masculinity. It also seems likely that the revised personal definition of masculinity shifted prior to their increased comfort and courage, though no data were generated to answer this specific question.

Sustaining factors. An additional conclusion that can be drawn from data generated during this study is the importance of sustaining factors for social justice ally development. Specific to this project, participants described the importance of social support from both environments and people in their lives. They also described the importance of continually increasing their knowledge about men's violence against women to sustain their motivation to engage in antiviolence efforts and further refine their language for challenging and educating others as part of their informal involvement. These sustaining factors provided support when participants "got heat" for their involvement in preventing men's violence against women, especially as a man engaging in this work. This dynamic is consistent with findings from previous studies about barriers to men's involvement in prevention work, since it is seen as a women's issue and men involved in this work are "weak" and mocked for their efforts (Kilmartin & Allison, 2007; McMahon & Dick, 2011). Negative feedback from others and repercussions for their involvement in general could function to halt men from being involved in this work, despite any predisposing factors or shifts in perspectives that motivate them to be involved. Factors

that sustain their involvement, however, provided critical support to maintain their involvement despite the challenges. This support functions in two ways; first because they can connect with others who understand the importance of this work as well, and second through increased knowledge, which helped the participants continue to gain language justifying their involvement and facts that provide additional motivation to overcome the challenges.

The importance of sustaining factors can be applied to social justice ally development in general as well. All social justice allies, regardless of their specific cause, experience challenges for their work (Goodman, 2001). Sustaining factors in the form of support and education, and in potentially other forms as well, help buffer the negative influences of these challenges. This conclusion is critical as we consider applications of these findings to engaging and retaining people in social justice activism. A relevant and significant manifestation of privilege is the ability to decide to cease involvement when it becomes challenging (Goodman, 2000). Creating a network of sustaining factors could mitigate the challenges faced in activism work and facilitate the shift from occasional involvement to development as a social justice ally.

Implications

While continuing to consider strengths and limitations of the current study, findings from emerging themes have implications for male social justice ally development. Specifically, the findings support and extend current research about social justice ally development in general and male social justice ally development in particular, especially ways to engage men who are currently passive bystanders on their college campuses, not actively perpetrating violence and not actively preventing it. In targeting male undergraduates, these findings have implications for theory and for prevention programs.

For theory. Emerging themes based on the perspectives and experiences of participants in this project have implications for theory regarding social justice ally development and male social justice ally development in particular. Primarily, findings from this project highlight the importance of the shift in performing masculinity expressed by the participants to the overall conceptualization of social justice ally development. Masculinity was previously identified as potentially related (e.g., Casey & Smith, 2010), and this project confirms its role theoretically. Based on the experiences shared by participants in this project, conformity to hegemonic masculinity serves as a barrier to involvement in antiviolence work, and a redefinition in how men conceptualize their masculinity is critical prior to their social justice ally development.

This shift in personal definition of masculinity is especially important in the way it underscores other theoretical implications of findings from this project. Specifically, this project highlighted the importance of shifts in perspectives prior to actively engaging in antiviolence work, such as increasing comfort with self, increasing knowledge of men's violence against women, learning to humanize women, and developing the courage to speak up. Further, findings suggest the developmental importance of participants being undergraduate students, with participants noting that the pressure to conform and "stay in the crowd" during high school prevented their active involvement in antiviolence work despite them having personal values consistent with it. Findings from this project also extend theories that solely identified factors that engage men in antiviolence work by also identifying factors that sustain their involvement, such as support systems and continual increased knowledge of men's violence against women. Combined, these three factors are important to the theoretical understanding of male social justice ally development. They are also connected to participants' performance and understanding of masculinity, since

many shifts in perspectives were related to their socialization to hegemonic masculinity and subsequent redefinition of their own masculinity, barriers to involvement in antiviolence work prior to college were associated with hegemonic masculine norms, and factors that sustain their involvement help them manage the repercussion of no longer conforming to hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, this project identifies the critical role of the shift in personal definition of masculinity and its relationship with other aspects of the overall framework of male social justice ally development.

Beyond masculinity, the current study has implications for male social justice ally development and ally development in general. In particular, it formulated an overall framework for the process with nuances that extend previous research. For example, the current study found nuances related to foundational belief systems that predispose men and other individuals to social justice ally development and the role of necessary shifts in perspectives prior to ally development. Further, as previously mentioned, the current study identified sustaining factors for ally development, an additional contribution to the current theoretical framework for social justice ally development. Overall, the findings from this study extend theoretical perspectives about the process of social justice ally development and relatedly ways to engage individuals in social justice work.

For prevention programs. Many of the theoretical contributions of the current study are also related to the implications for programs focused on preventing men's violence against women on college campuses. These implications will be explored in terms of logistical aspects of the programs and content aspects of the program.

Logistical aspects of future prevention programs that emerged as important based on experiences reported by participants include prevention programming with dedicated time with and without women and programming that lasts for more than one day. Findings

from this project highlight the importance of relationships with women to raise consciousness about the consequences of men's violence against women and objectification of women, suggesting the importance of mixed-sex programs to increase participant cultural empathy. On the other hand, participants also described the importance of being able to explore their masculinity, a conversation that may benefit from male-only members. Although previous research reports mixed findings about this aspect of prevention programs (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Foubert & Marriott, 1996; Katz, 1996), findings from the current study suggest the benefit of including both mixed-sex and single-sex aspects of prevention programs. Participants' reported experiences also indicate the shifts in perspectives and awareness over time, suggesting the importance of avoiding single day programs. Although prevention efforts do not necessarily have to include multiple days of formal programming, participants would likely benefit from the opportunity for continued discussions and support related to their shifts in perspectives. This finding is consistent with previous research that highlights the importance of multiple day prevention programs or workshops to allow participants to process their reactions over time and avoid rebounding to previously adhered to beliefs (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). The follow-up conversations would also provide support that has been identified as critical for participants' sustained involvement in antiviolence work. Opportunities to engage in dialogue with both men and women about men's violence against women over time seems to provide the best framework for supporting male undergraduate students' social justice ally development and sustained involvement in antiviolence work on their campuses.

Content aspects of the program are based on key experiences noted by participants prior to their involvement in antiviolence work and factors that sustained their work.

Foundationally, findings from this project highlight the importance of predisposing factors and necessary shifts in perspectives reported by the participants that can inform prevention programs. First, the shifts in perspectives reported by participants as critical to their antiviolence work offer an entry point to educate men during these programs, seeking to raise their awareness about the issue and ultimately shift their perspectives to engage them in this work. As noted by the shifts in perspective reported by participants, it is critical to educate male undergraduate students about men's violence against women, teach them about objectification so they begin to humanize women, help them redefine their personal definition of masculinity, support their increased comfort with self, and facilitate their development of courage to speak up. By addressing these shifts in perspectives, prevention programming can raise their consciousness about men's violence against women and facilitate self-reflection about their own barriers and facilitating factors to antiviolence work. Findings also suggest the importance of implementing prevention programs on campuses that help male undergraduate students identify their existing predisposing factors to antiviolence work, such as their potentially existing connection to men's violence against women and any foundational value systems that are consistent with equality and antiviolence efforts. It is important to note that the findings do not suggest creating these factors but rather helping men reflect on them if they already exist.

It is worth highlighting the unique importance of supporting men in creating their own definition of masculinity, which underlies the increased comfort with self and developing the courage to speak up. Therefore, prevention programs should provide opportunities for this exploration and discussion both with other men and with women. Conversations about gender-role socialization experiences, pressures to continue to conform to hegemonic masculinity, and barriers to antiviolence work because of

hegemonic masculinity could help male undergraduate students' awareness about their understanding of their own and their peers' masculinity. It could also support them reflecting on ways their performance of masculinity is both consistent and inconsistent with other values they hold. Through these discussions, prevention programs could help men identify desired shifts in their performance of masculinity to include behaviors and attitudes that are more consistent with antiviolence work.

Additional implications for prevention programs based on findings from this study indicate the importance of opportunities to be involved and support to sustain their antiviolence work. Specifically, participants described the foundational importance of having an organization on campus whose mission is related to preventing men's violence against women to their social justice ally development. If more campuses had this opportunity with varied avenues for involvement so men can use their unique skills and talents to support the cause, it is likely more men would be involved with antiviolence efforts. Finally, this project highlighted the importance of providing a support system to sustain involvement. Without this factor, men may perceive the costs of their involvement as outweighing their desire to engage in antiviolence work, ending their involvement and halting their social justice ally development. These two topics should also be addressed during prevention programming with undergraduate men, educating them about opportunities to be involved and helping them establish a support network to sustain their involvement.

The results from this study can also inform ways to facilitate climate change on campuses to environments that are intolerant of men's violence against women. By having an organization on campus that focuses on preventing men's violence against women, the campus sends a message to the students that this issue is important and is being addressed.

It also facilitates involvement of all students in the prevention effort, ultimately leading to a critical mass of individuals involved in this work. Further, the organization provides a supportive environment and connects men involved in antiviolence efforts with other social justice allies, both of which emerged as critical to sustaining involvement. Combined, these factors would support the development of a culture on campus that challenges traditional norms of college and university campuses and instead increasingly engages men in antiviolence efforts and creates a culture that is intolerant of men's violence against women.

Findings from this project also have prevention programming implications for social justice ally development in general. The implications for prevention programming with men to engage them in antiviolence work, including helping them identify their values consistent with antiviolence work, highlighting their connections to men's violence against women, providing an opportunity to be involved, and supporting them through their involvement, can also be applied to any form of social justice activism. To help support social justice ally development on college campuses in particular, colleges can consider having an organization whose mission is related to addressing all forms of injustice or one particular form and implementing prevention programs on campus to recruit and engage college students in the efforts, facilitating their social justice ally development. These programs can help students identify their value systems that are consistent with challenging injustices and provide educational and experiential programming that assists shifting students' perspectives in ways that are consistent with social justice activism. Combined with the opportunity to become involved through the organization and establishing social support to sustain their involvement, these factors can help recruit students to participate in the activist efforts and change the campus climate to one that is intolerant of oppression.

Strengths of the Current Project

Strengths of the current project include aspects of the research design and methodology for data analysis as well as the unique contribution to the field since it addresses a gap in the literature with implications for male social justice ally development and prevention of men's violence against women on college campuses. Foundationally, the project addressed a topic not previously explored empirically in the literature, the social justice ally development of male college studies. Research exploring the unique social justice ally development of men and of college students are both limited, so this project extends the current literature base about ally development in general. Further, within the context of men's violence against women, men are most commonly addressed as potential perpetrators of violence (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). Using a strengths-based approach, this study gives voice to the men who work to prevent violence and engage in culture change both on their campuses and in their lives.

An additional strength of the current study is the nomination process used to recruit participants, which is consistent with other projects exploring social justice ally development (e.g., Broido, 2000). Soliciting nominations from campus community partners who work in the field of preventing men's violence against women ensured the participants involved in the study demonstrated sustained involvement in antiviolence work on their campuses and truly developed as male social justice allies. Further, the nomination process did not require that the nominees self-identify as social justice allies. This aspect provided a strength for two reasons; first, many of the participants had not heard the term "ally" prior to the study, and second, some of the participants were humbled by being referred to as a social justice ally. Both of these factors may have prevented male social

justice allies from self-nominating for the project, additional evidence the nomination process was a particular strength of the current project.

Further, a strength of the current study was the use of the Social Locations Worksheet (Worell & Remer, 2003) and male social justice ally development timeline, both of which provided structure to components of the interview process. These activities created the opportunity to gain more in-depth information about participants' experiences by providing structure to certain conversations. For example, the researcher was able to gain more knowledge about participants' self-identification through the Social Locations Worksheet, which allowed them to use their own language for their identity variables and provide information about their process of formulating that self-identification and label. Structure provided by the worksheet was especially helpful in understanding participants' self-identification of their gender identity. During this discussion, participants provided details about the messages they received about hegemonic masculinity throughout their lives, the source of the messages, the extent to which they internalized the messages, and the ways they revised their current performance of masculinity in part based on their antiviolence work. The current project would not have obtained the details provided by Social Locations Worksheet if it solely employed a demographics worksheet that participants completed on their own prior to the start of the interview process to attain participants' demographic information.

In addition, the structure provided by the male social justice ally development timeline activity completed during the second interview allowed for gathering of data that included temporal ordering of events leading to participants' social justice ally development and antiviolence involvement. More specifically, it facilitated a conversation about participants' antiviolence experiences and understanding of both men's violence

against women and masculinity during different times in their lives, including childhood, adolescence, and college. Without this activity, participants may not have included experiences from certain times in their lives, such as childhood, which were more difficult for them to recollect. The structure of this activity allowed the researcher to identify transformations experienced by participants related to their masculinity and social justice ally development that would not have been as identifiable or in the same way without the timeline. Therefore, the emerging themes were developed with the inclusion of these transformations, consistent with the research question of this project and honoring the experiences of participants. Combined, the use of both the Social Locations Worksheet and the male social justice ally development timeline to provide structure to some components of the interviews is a strength of the current project.

Additional strengths of the project are related to the use of qualitative methods and the specific qualitative methodology chosen to structure the design and analyze the data. More specifically, qualitative research in general is most appropriate for exploring topics with a limited research base, such as the current study (Glesne, 2011). The semi-structured and open-ended framework used for the interviews allowed participants to describe their process, which would have been challenging with a quantitative research method that was more limited in design by the questionnaires used. Further, constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), the specific methodology used to frame the design and analyze the data of the current study is an additional strength. This methodology values the co-creation of data and emerging themes from the data, particularly relevant for a process-oriented research question regarding a topic with little previous research. It also values and highlights the role of meaning-making with the data generated, also appropriate for the specific purpose of this project. Overall, constructivist grounded theory facilitated a data

analysis process that valued the participants understanding of their own experience, privileged the mutual generation of data between researcher and participants, and supported ways to contextualize the data through participants' lived experiences and understanding of their process of development. These strengths are important to keep in mind when considering the conclusions and implications of findings from the current study.

Future Directions

Derived in part from the implications and limitations of this study, future directions for this line of research revealed from this project include additional studies to better understand newly proposed factors associated with ally development and systematic evaluations of effective ways to engage men in this work. More specifically, additional studies about the unique social justice ally development of male undergraduate students using samples that are more diverse would provide a more nuanced understanding of the process. The sample utilized for this project was homogeneous, including mostly White, heterosexual participants who were religiously affiliated. Studies obtaining the perspectives of men of color and men who identify within the LGBTQ community would be particularly valuable based on the experiences shared by Allen, the only man of color enrolled in the current project, and Nathan, the only person who identified within the LGBTQ community, about the connection between their experiences of oppression based on their intersecting social identities and their male social justice ally development. Generating data about male social justice ally development from male college students who have experienced social identity oppression would help provide additional information to refine further an understanding of the role of experiences of oppression and intersecting identities on male social justice ally development. Studies with more heterogeneous samples would therefore provide an additional information to further refine the theoretical

framework of male social justice ally development as well as the potential role of intersectionality on this process.

Addressing a limitation of this project, future research should be conducted about male social justice ally development at colleges and universities that do not have formalized antiviolence programs. Previous research suggests that an opportunity to be involved in this work is critical to acting on predisposing factors and investments in preventing men's violence against women (Casey & Smith, 2010), a finding supported by the current project. Additional studies exploring whether men at universities and colleges that do not have opportunities to become formally involved in prevention work still develop as social justice allies may provide additional information about the range of ways men engage in antiviolence efforts, especially informally, and additional information about the social justice ally development process. On the other hand, if not having a formalized antiviolence program is a barrier to social justice ally development, this research may support the importance of having formalized programs on all campuses to engage men in this work.

Additional studies to understand the relationship among the predisposing factors, which included value systems, connections to men's violence against women, memories of bullying others and being bullied, and person experiences with oppression, would also be helpful in conceptualizing targeted recruitment and programming strategies to engage men in antiviolence work. As previously noted, data were generated about the predisposing factors but not about the connections among the factors. It is likely the predisposing factors are related, with value systems being influenced by and influencing connections to men's violence against women and both experiences with oppression and bullying. A more detailed understanding of the connections among these predisposing factors would help

identify ways to target antiviolence prevention programming and recruit men who already have predisposing factors to this work. Similarly, a better understanding of the relationship among comfort with self, courage to speak up, and masculinity would provide data to structure both programming to engage men in this work and training to support their continued involvement. The shifts in these three factors emerged as critical to the participants' social justice ally development, and as previously discussed, may be a way to intervene with male undergraduate students who would be interested in antiviolence work and shift the climates on campuses. Combined, a more thorough understanding of these factors would enhance efforts to engage men in this work and create safer campuses.

Future research may also focus on the specific influence of perpetration of violence, including bullying and men's violence against women, on male social justice ally development. Previous research has not explored this potential factor, and data generated as part of this project provide initial, tentative support that the emotional influence of bullying someone and reflecting on that behavior influences men's value systems and decision to become involved in antiviolence work later in life. Exploring this factor in more detail may provide additional information about the development process of social justice allies as well as potential implications for prevention programs.

As additional factors associated with antiviolence work and subsequently social justice ally development are identified, it will be crucial to employ systematic studies of potential ways to engage men in antiviolence work. These projects would help identify effective ways to recruit and sustain men in this work. Evaluations as part of these projects should include attitudes, behaviors, and climate change on campus, including decreased prevalence of violence, to ensure their effectiveness. The combined continued research about factors associated with male social justice ally development and effective strategies

to engage men in this process would likely result in prevention strategies that engage men and lead to more sustained campus climate change and decreased perpetration of violence on college and university campuses, the ultimate goals of this project and this field of research overall.

Appendix A

Recruitment Letter to Nominators

Dear NAME OF NOMINATOR,

I am writing to request your support regarding my dissertation project. For this project, I am seeking to understand the process by which male college students become social justice allies in the cause of preventing men's violence against women, which includes instances of acquaintance rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and partner stalking committed by men against women. Since you work in the field of men's violence against women prevention work on a college campus, I am contacting you to ask if you would be willing to serve as a nominator for potential participants.

I am interested in completing interviews with male social justice allies and intend to recruit potential participants through a nomination process. Specifically, I am interested in men enrolled as undergraduate students or within two years post-graduation who most exemplify a social justice ally for this cause through sustained involvement, defined as consistent engagement in prevention efforts that are not solely to fulfill the expectations of a class for over one academic semester. This involvement should manifest in two ways, as either two distinct forms of involvement or multiple instances of the same form of involvement, to indicate that it is sustained. This involvement includes, but is not limited to, challenging others who make victim-blaming statements, challenging others who endorse rape myths, supporting someone who has been victimized, volunteering at an agency related to this issue, volunteering with awareness raising activities and events related to this issue, and enrolling in courses that address this topic.

Since you work in this field, I think you would have unique access to men who fit the eligibility criteria and would be great participants for my project! The nomination process will consist of you considering men with whom you have worked who fit the eligibility criteria, and after identifying them, providing the men with a flyer describing the project. You will not need to answer any questions about the project but rather just inform the participants that they are eligible and should contact me if they are interested in participating. Please let me know if you are willing and able to serve as a nominator for my project, and I will provide you with flyers to hand out. I appreciate your consideration and look forward to hearing from you!

Sincerely,
Allie Minieri

Appendix B

Research Project Fact Sheet

- This research project is being conducted by **Allie Minieri, MS**, a graduate student in the Counseling Psychology program at the University of Kentucky. She is being assisted with the project by her advisor, Dr. Pam Remer, a faculty member in the Counseling Psychology program at the University of Kentucky.
- The **purpose** of the project is to begin to understand how men who work to end or decrease the prevalence of men's violence against women on college campuses understand their involvement in these efforts.
- Your **involvement** would consist of discussing your experiences related to preventing men's violence against women and any personal changes that accompanied your involvement in these efforts during two individual, confidential interviews with Allie lasting between 60 and 90 minutes each. You will also be asked to complete a few forms about yourself and your work preventing men's violence against women during these interviews as well.
- If you have any **questions** about the project or are **interested in participating**, please contact Allie at alexandra.minieri@uky.edu or 848-702-4547.

Thank you for your interest!

Appendix C

Script for Screening Possible Participants

The following outline provides a script for the phone call to recruit nominated men:

“Hi _____, my name is Allie Minieri and I am a doctoral student at the University of Kentucky. I am contacting you because you were nominated to participate in a study I am working on by _____, who also provided me with your contact information. I am calling today to provide you with some information about the study and see if you would be interested in participating. Is this a good time to talk for a few minutes?”

If participant responds **yes** – continue with script; **no** – ask “When would be a better time for you to talk?” and arrange callback

“I’m currently conducting a study about how male college students become involved in preventing men’s violence against women, which includes acquaintance rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and partner stalking. You have been specially selected to participate in this project because of the work you are currently doing here on campus. Through this study, I hope to understand how men like you become involved in these prevention efforts to find ways to encourage other men to become involved. Do you have any questions at this point?”

If participant has **questions** – answer all questions then continue with the script; **no** – continue with the script

“In order to be eligible to participate in this project, individuals need to be at least 18 years of age and be enrolled as a male undergraduate student or been enrolled within the last two years. Do you fit these criteria?”

If person responds **yes**, continue with script; if person responds **no**, “Unfortunately, you are not eligible for the study at this time. Thank you for your interest and taking the time to talk with me!”

“I would like to begin by asking a few questions about ways you work to end or confront men’s violence against women. Do you challenge others who make victim-blaming statements? How many times have you challenged others who make victim-blaming statements? Do you challenge others who endorse rape myths? How many times have you challenged others who endorsed rape myths? Have you supported someone who has been victimized? How many times have you supported someone who has been victimized? Have you volunteered at an agency whose mission is related to this issue? How many times have you volunteered at an agency whose mission is related to this issue? Have you volunteered with awareness raising activities and events, such as Take Back the Night? How many times have you volunteered with awareness raising activities and events? Have you enrolled in a class that addresses men’s violence against women? How many times have you enrolled in a class that addresses men’s violence against women? What others ways have you worked to end or confront men’s violence against women?”

If person responds **yes** to at least two questions OR indicates that he has been involved in one form of prevention at least twice, continue with script; if person responds **yes** to fewer than two questions and does not indicate he has been involved in one form of prevention at least twice, “Unfortunately, you are not eligible for the study at this time. Thank you for your interest and taking the time to talk with me!”

“Based on your responses, you are eligible to participate in this project. If you decide to participate in this project, your involvement would consist of two individual interviews with me, each of which would last between an hour and an hour and a half, completing two short demographic forms during the first interview, and completing a short handout about your involvement in preventing these forms of violence against women during the second interview. The total time you would participate in this study would be around three hours over the course of the academic year. We can coordinate a confidential and comfortable location to meet to complete the interviews. The information that you share during the interviews will be kept confidential and your name will not be attached to anything you share. Do you have any questions about the project at this point?”

If participant responds **yes** – respond to questions asked; **no** – “Are you interested in participating in the project?”

If participant responds **yes** – schedule a meeting time based on participant’s availability and continue with script; **no** – “Thank you for your time.”

“Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today and for your willingness to participate in my study. I look forward to meeting with you on _____ (day, time, location of interview). If you have any questions before our meeting, feel free to contact me at alexandra.minieri@uky.edu or via phone at (848) 702-4547. I will be in touch with a reminder phone call and email the day before our interview to make sure the scheduled time still works for you. Thank you again!”

Appendix D

Sustained Involvement Checklist

The following table provides a checklist for determining whether a possible nominee demonstrates sustained involvement with respect to preventing men's violence against women. The checklist was used to document information collected when screening the nominees to evaluate their eligibility and level of sustained involvement.

Name	Male?	Undergraduate student or within two years post-graduation?	Involved for over one semester?	Not involved solely to fulfill a class requirement?	First way involved in antiviolence work? (ex. Challenging others, supporting survivors, volunteering in antiviolence work)	Second way involved in antiviolence work? Or second time involved in same way as first way?

Appendix E

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

MEN PREVENTING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about the process through which you became involved in efforts to prevent men's violence against women, which includes acquaintance rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and partner stalking, on college campuses. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you were nominated by a staff member based on your involvement in prevention efforts at the University of Kentucky. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about ten people to do so.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Allie Minieri, MS a student in the Counseling Psychology program in the Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology at the University of Kentucky. She is being guided in this research by Dr. Pam Remer, a faculty member in the Counseling Psychology program. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

By doing this study, we hope to learn the process through which men become involved in prevention efforts related to men's violence against women on college campuses to inform ways to engage other men in these efforts.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

The only reasons you should not participate in this project include if you are not a man, you are not at least 18 years of age, you are not currently enrolled or have not been enrolled within the past two years as an undergraduate student, or you have not been involved in men's violence against women prevention efforts for over one academic semester.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research procedures will be conducted at the University of Kentucky campus at a confidential location of your choice or via Skype, or telephone depending on your location. If you are in Lexington, KY and can meet at the University of Kentucky campus, you will need to come to campus two times during the study. Each of these visits will take about 90 minutes. If you are associated with another institution or no longer living in Lexington, your participation will consist of two Skype calls or two telephone calls lasting no more than 90 minutes each. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is three hours over the next nine months.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

As part of this project, you will be asked to discuss your experiences related to preventing men's violence against women and any personal changes that accompanied your

involvement in these efforts. This discussion will occur over the course of two individual interviews, scheduled at a day and time of your convenience. You will be asked to complete two demographic forms at the beginning of the first interview. You will also be asked to complete and discuss a worksheet related to your process of becoming involved in preventing men's violence against women during the second interview.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

You may find some questions we ask you to be upsetting or stressful. I will provide you with the contact information for the University of Kentucky Counseling Center and the Bluegrass Rape Crisis Center, both of whom provide services free of charge to students enrolled in at least 6 credit hours at the University of Kentucky, in case you become upset during the course of these interviews and want to speak with someone about your reactions. If you do not live in Lexington, KY or are not associated with the University of Kentucky, I will provide the information for a local rape crisis center at which you can speak with someone about your reactions if you become upset during the course of the interviews.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

After participating in this study, you may be more aware of how you became involved in efforts to prevent men's violence against women on this college campus and may even feel a sense of pride related to your efforts. Since so little research has been conducted about male college student involvement in preventing these forms of violence, your willingness to take part may also help society as a whole better understand how to prevent men's violence against women on college campuses and continue to engage other men in prevention efforts.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering. If you are currently enrolled as a student, your decision to take part or not take part in this study will have no effect on your academic status or grade in any of your classes.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

We will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you participated in this project or what you shared. For example, your name will not be connected to any of the information you provide. Specifically, you will be assigned a pseudonym, or code name, that will be used on written materials associated with the study so you are not identifiable. Further, any documents with your name will be stored in a separate locked filing cabinet from the information you give. With your consent, the researcher will record the interviews and will transcribe the interviews. All identifying information will be removed during transcription since you will be identified by your pseudonym on the interview documents, and the tape of the interview will be destroyed after it is transcribed. The recorder and tapes will be stored in a separate locked filing cabinet from the informed consent forms so your name will not be associated with your interview, and only the principal investigator will have access to them. A coding team will be used to analyze findings from the interviews, but members of the coding team will receive a de-identified version of the transcript.

We will make every effort to keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law. However, you should know there are some circumstances that require we show your information. For example, we may reveal your information to the proper authorities if you report information about a child being abused or if you pose a danger to yourself or to someone else. Also, we may be required to show information that identifies you to people who need to be sure we have conducted the research correctly and ethically; these would be people from the University of Kentucky.

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?

If you decide to take part in the study, you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

The individuals conducting the study may need to withdraw you from the study. This may occur if you are not able to follow the directions they give you, if they find that your being in the study is more risk than benefit to you, or if the agency funding the study decides to stop the study early for a variety of scientific reasons.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Allie Minieri at alexandra.minieri@uky.edu or (848) 702-4547 or her supervisor, Dr. Pam Remer at premer@mail.uky.edu or (859) 257-4158. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at (859) 257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428. We will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

If you are not living in Lexington, KY, I will mail you a copy of this informed consent form. Please sign and return it in the stamped, self-addressed envelope to indicate your consent to participate.

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent

Date

Appendix F

Demographic Questionnaire

The following questionnaire includes some basic questions about you. Please answer them to the best of your ability by either writing your response on the line provided or circling one of the responses provided. You may choose not to answer any of the questions that make you feel uncomfortable. Remember that all of your information will be kept confidential.

1. What is your academic year in school?

First year student

Sophomore

Junior

Senior

2. What is your academic major? _____

Your academic minor (if applicable)? _____

3. With which campus groups are you affiliated? _____

4. Are you involved in any sport(s) on campus?

yes

no

If yes, which sport(s)? _____

Please indicate whether your involvement is through recreational sports, intramural sports, club sports, or for the Varsity team at the University. _____

5. What is your current age? _____

6. How would you identify your race/ethnicity? _____

7. What is your primary caregiver's highest level of education completed?

completed some high school

graduated high school

completed some college

graduated college

completed some of an advanced degree

received an advanced degree

8. What is your secondary caregiver's highest level of education completed?

- completed some high school
- graduated high school
- completed some college
- graduated college
- completed some of an advanced degree
- received an advanced degree
- no secondary caregiver

9. Did you receive free or reduced lunch in high school?

- Yes
- No

10. Have you received a scholarship to attend college?

- yes
- no

If yes, which scholarship? _____

11. How would you describe your sexual identity? _____

12. What is your current romantic relationship status? _____

13. Do you consider yourself religious/spiritual?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how would you describe your religious/spiritual affiliation? _____

Appendix G

Self-Assessment: Exploring Personal Identity

Each person has answers to the question “Who am I?” Most of us respond to this question in ways that are both similar and different from how others respond. Some of the group identities that individuals use to define themselves are listed next. In the spaces to the right, briefly in your own words state “Who you are” or how you define yourself. For example, for the space marked *nationality*, you might write “American” or “Chinese.” For the space marked *ethnicity*, you might write “African American” or “Caribbean.” *There are no wrong answers.*

Gender _____

Age _____

Education Level _____

Sexual Orientation _____

Race/Ethnicity _____

Religious/Spiritual Orientation _____

Social Class Status _____

Citizenship Status/Nationality _____

Primary/Secondary Language(s) _____

Physical Characteristics/Body Image _____

Physical & Mental Ability/Disability _____

Other _____

Adapted from: Worell, J., & Remer, P. (2003). *Feminist perspectives in therapy: Empowering diverse women*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons. Revised: Fall, 2005; Spring 2008

Appendix H

Protocol for Interview One

For this project, I am defining men's violence against women as "a form of violence that has as a primary motivator the assertion of power, control, and/or intimidation in order to harm another" perpetrated by men against women (Edwards, 2008). Men's violence against women represents acquaintance rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and partner stalking. The following questions will be related to your involvement in preventing these forms of violence. When I say the word "involvement," I mean both formal involvement, such as through an organization on campus, and informal involvement, such as challenging a friend who makes a victim-blaming joke or walking a friend who is drunk home from a party.

1. I would like to begin this study by getting to know you a little better. Please take a moment to fill out this form (Personal/Social Identities Worksheet) about how you self-identify based on common social categories in society, such as gender and race, and we will take some time to discuss your responses when you are done. I encourage you to be creative and consider unique identifiers for yourself in this activity.
2. What made you want to participate in this study?
3. Tell me some ways that you have worked to end or confront men's violence against women.

Probes include – What exactly do you do? Do you challenge others who make victim-blaming statements? Do you challenge others who endorse rape myths? Have you supported someone who has been victimized? Have you volunteered at an agency whose mission is related to this issue? Have you volunteered with awareness raising activities and events, such as Take Back the Night? Have you enrolled in a class that addresses men's violence against women?

4. What is your first memory of working to end or confront men's violence against women?
5. What people and circumstances helped you along the way? On this campus in particular?
6. What struggles did you initially face? What struggles do you face now? How do you deal with these struggles?

Probes – What responses do you receive from friends or other students on this campus?

7. What did you learn about men's violence against women as you were growing up? What were your views about men's violence against women growing up?

Probes include – Messages received as a child, adolescent, in college; How have your views changed?

For these next two questions, please consider examples that represent both your formal and informal involvement in working to end or confront men's violence against women.

8. Please describe a specific time you did something to work to end or confront men's violence against women.
9. Please describe a time that you could have worked to end or confront men's violence against women but did not. What was different about this situation?
10. What is the hardest part about being a person who works to end or confront violence against women?
11. What is the best part about being a person who works to end or confront violence against women?

Appendix I

Protocol for Interview Two

Thank you for being willing to meet with me again. We will start by reviewing the information we discussed during our previous interview to be sure I heard you correctly. Then we are going to begin this interview by completing a timeline together about how you became involved with preventing men's violence against women.

1. I reviewed our last interview and noticed some common ideas that you discussed throughout our conversation. I would like to spend the beginning of our time together today reviewing those ideas to make sure I understood you correctly.
2. We will begin the timeline with your early childhood. What did you learn about men's violence against women as a child? What memories do you have as a child working to end or confront men's violence against women?

Probes – I will ask similar questions related to different age groups, including late childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood; If person seems overwhelmed by the timeline, I will explain that we can focus on just a few instances of involvement

3. Looking at this timeline, what was a turning point you can identify that helped you develop a commitment to working to end or confront men's violence against women?
4. Now I would like to go through the important events on your timeline and discuss how your identity as a man and other parts of your identity, such as your race and your sexual identity, affected your experiences.

Probes – Starting with your turning point experience; What identities seem important to you as you reflect on those experiences?

5. How have you changed since you have been involved in this work?
6. Thinking about both your formal and informal involvement, what is it like for you to work to end or confront men's violence against women on a college campus? Both positive and negative aspects.

Probes – How do you express your commitment to working to end or confront men's violence against women with others who do not also work in this field.

7. How will you continue to work to end or confront men's violence against women?
8. What was it like to participate in these interviews?

Appendix J

Male Social Justice Ally Timeline

Instructions: Social justice allies are defined as “members of dominant social groups (e.g., men, Whites, heterosexuals) who are working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership” (Broido, 2000, p. 3). We are going to use the timeline below to explore your development as a social justice ally related to your efforts in preventing men’s violence against women by talking about your life experiences related to your views about violence against women and the influence of those life experiences on your social justice ally development. We will start at birth and discuss specific memories you have related to your awareness of men’s violence against women and your current involvement in prevention.

Birth



Current

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Vita

Alexandra M. Minieri, M.S., Ed.S.

EDUCATION

- Education Specialist in Counseling Psychology** *May 2010*
University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY
- Master of Science in Counseling Psychology** *May 2009*
University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY
- Bachelor of Science in Psychology** *May 2007*
Magna cum laude, graduated with honors in psychology
Lafayette College, Easton, PA

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS HELD

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant

Fall 2011-Summer 2013

Diversity and Social Justice Training for Healthcare Evaluation Project

College of Health Sciences, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Randa Remer, Ph.D.

Field Intervention Coordinator

Summer 2011-Fall 2011

Alcohol Services for Rural Offenders Project (randomized control trial project funded through the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse (NIAAA))

College of Social Work, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Michele Staton-Tindall, Ph.D.

Research Team Member

Summer 2011

Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Survey (APOS) Revision Project

College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Research Team Member

Fall 2010-Spring 2010

Reliability Generalization Project

College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Research Team Member

Spring 2009-present

Implications of Diversity Programs

Gatton College of Business and Economics, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Randa Remer, Ph.D.

Research Assistant

Spring 2008-Summer 2008

Development of Comprehensive Drug/Alcohol and Mental Health Treatment Systems for Persons Who are Homeless (evaluation grant awarded by Center for Substance Abuse Treatment to the

Hope Center for Women and Chrysalis House, Inc., residential substance abuse treatment programs)
College of Social Work, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Evaluation Coordinator

Fall 2007–Fall 2011

Pregnant and Postpartum Women Grant (awarded by Center for Substance Abuse Treatment to Chrysalis House, Inc., a residential substance abuse treatment program)

College of Social Work, University of Kentucky
Supervisor: Michele Staton-Tindall, Ph.D.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Co-Instructor

Spring 2013

Cultural Competence in Healthcare Course

College of Health Sciences, University of Kentucky

Teaching Assistant

Spring 2010, Spring 2012

Lifespan Gender Development Course

College of Education, University of Kentucky

Guest Lecturer

Fall 2011

Behavioral Factors in Health and Disease Course

College of Medicine, Department of Behavioral Science, University of Kentucky

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Counseling Psychology Predoctoral Intern

Summer 2013-present

University of North Carolina at Charlotte Counseling Center, Charlotte, NC

Supervisors: Elizabeth Malone, Ph.D. and Erica Lennon, Psy.D.

Practicum Student Counselor

Fall 2012-Spring 2013

Newtown Counseling Center (community mental health center), Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Patricia Burke, Ph.D.

Volunteer Crisis Counselor

Summer 2012-Summer 2013

Bluegrass Rape Crisis Center, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Rory Remer, Ph.D.

Resource Group Leader

Fall 2011

Counseling Psychology Program, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Rory Remer, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Counselor

Fall 2011-Spring 2012

Georgetown College Counseling Center, Georgetown, KY

Supervisor: Lloyd Clark, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Counselor

Spring 2011

Federal Medical Center (women's administrative level prison), Lexington, KY

Supervisors: Susan Masterson, Ph.D. and Jeff Reese, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Outreach Program Counselor

Fall 2010

University of Kentucky Counseling Center, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Felito Aldarondo, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Counselor

Summer 2010-Fall 2011

Telehealth Alcohol Services for Rural Offenders, Lexington, KY

Supervisors: Ted Godlaski, M.Div. and Jeff Reese, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Counselor

Fall 2009-Spring 2010, 2012

University of Kentucky Counseling Center, Lexington, KY

Supervisors: Monica Thiagarajan, Ph.D., Susan Mathews, Ph.D., and Jeff Reese, Ph.D.

Supervisor of Master's Students

Spring 2009, 2010, 2013

Clinical Supervision Course, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Sherry Rostosky, Ph.D. and Pam Remer, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Primary Therapist

Fall 2008-Spring 2009

Chrysalis House, Inc. (residential substance abuse treatment facility), Lexington, KY

Supervisors: Carmella Yates, Ph.D. and Jeff Reese, Ph.D.

Practicum Student Group Leader

Fall 2008

Bryan Station High School, Lexington, KY

Supervisors: Keisha Love, Ph.D. and Jeff Reese, Ph.D.

SOCIAL JUSTICE PROJECT EXPERIENCE

Liaison to Multicultural Resource Center

Fall 2013-Summer 2014

Gender and Sexuality, UNC Charlotte, Charlotte, NC

Supervisor: Gene Edwards, Ph.D.

Planning Committee Member

Spring 2012, 2013

Take Back the Night, Lexington, KY

Graduate Assistant

Fall 2011-Summer 2013

College of Health Sciences, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Randa Remer, Ph.D.

Outreach Workshop Leader and Consultant

Fall 2010, Summer 2012

Ally Development Workshop, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Diversity Trainer

Fall 2008-Fall 2009

Gatton College of Business and Economics, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Pam Remer, Ph.D.

Students Educating and Empowering to Develop Safety Workshop Leader

Spring 2008-Fall 2008

Violence Intervention and Prevention Center, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY

Supervisor: Pam Remer, Ph.D.

PUBLICATIONS

PEER REVIEWED

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., Leukefeld, C., Clarke, J., Surratt, H. L., & Frisman, L. (2013). Perceived relationship power as a mediator of the relationship between intimate partner violence and mental health symptoms in a sample of incarcerated, substance using women. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. Pre-published January 27, 2013. doi:10.1177/0306624X12472017

Basow, S. A., & **Minieri, A. M.** (2010). "You owe me": The effects of the cost of a date, who pays, and participant gender on perception of rape. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26, 479-497. doi:10.1177/0886260510363421

REFEREED

Slone, N., & **Minieri, A.** (Summer 2013). Transitioning from internship, transitioning to early career psychologist. *Student Affiliates of Division 17 Newsletter*, 9-10.

Remer, P., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Miserocchi, K. (2013). Women psychotherapists: Journeys in healing. [Review of the book *Women psychotherapists: Journeys in healing*, by L. Comas-Diaz & M. B. Weiner]. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 134. doi:10.1177/0361684312450862

PRESENTATIONS

Reese, J. R., Owen, J., Slone, N. C., Simpson, N., Zetzer, H. A., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Kodet, J. (March, 2014). *Client feedback and Counseling Psychology: A match made in evidence-based practice heaven?* Symposium to be presented at 2014 Counseling Psychology Conference, Atlanta, GA.

Remer, R. R., Harper, C., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Collett, D. (February, 2014). *When it Seems like Your Wellness Provider is Speaking a Different Language: Raising awareness and appreciating our unique traits*. Workshop to be presented at 10th Annual Tri-State Diversity Conference, Cincinnati, OH.

Remer, R. R., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Collett, D. (August, 2013). *Cultural competency in healthcare: Strategies to increase future providers' awareness*. Poster session to be presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Honolulu, HI.

Remer, R. R., **Minieri, A. M.**, Collett, D., & Murphy, R. (January, 2013). *Multicultural competency in healthcare: Empowering change agents through education*. Poster session presented at biannual National Multicultural Conference and Summit, Houston, TX.

Miserocchi, K., **Minieri, A. M.**, Pascale-Hague, D., & Reese, J. R. (August, 2012). *Client feedback in training and supervision: Building a bridge between evidence-based and social justice*

practices. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Orlando, FL.

Minieri, A. M., Miserocchi, K., Remer, R. R., & McClellan, M. J. (August, 2012). *Changes in students' cultural awareness after multiple social justice courses*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Orlando, FL.

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., Webster, M., & Leukefeld, C. (August, 2012). *The role of relationship influences on rural offenders' desire for alcohol treatment*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Orlando, FL.

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., & Leukefeld, C. (August, 2011). *Relationship power as a mediator of intimate partner violence and mental health symptoms among incarcerated, substance using women*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Washington, DC.

Minieri, A. M., Miserocchi, K., Remer, R., McClellan, M. J., & Remer, P. (August, 2011). *The effects of personal goal orientation on students' cultural awareness in social justice-focused undergraduate courses*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Washington, DC.

Miserocchi, K. M., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Reese, R. J. (August, 2011). *Exploring how various presenting concerns of undergraduate females respond to counseling*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Washington, DC.

Miserocchi, K. M., Reese, R. J., & **Minieri, A. M.** (August, 2011). *An analysis of client feedback in supervision and the relationship between outcome and counselor self-efficacy*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, Washington, DC.

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., & Leukefeld, C. (April, 2011). *Social support as a moderator of perceived relationship power and mental health symptoms in a sample of incarcerated, substance using women with a history of intimate partner violence*. Poster session presented at the annual Center for Clinical and Translational Science Conference, Lexington, KY.

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., & Yates, C. (April, 2011). *An exploratory study of children of mothers in substance abuse treatment*. Paper presented at the Center for the Study of Violence Against Children Research Symposium, Lexington, KY.

Minieri, A. M., Staton-Tindall, M., & Yates, C. (October, 2010). *Social support and service utilization as correlates of mental health outcomes*. Poster session presented at Addiction Health Services Research Conference, Lexington, KY.

Reese, R. J., Banks, J. R., Miserocchi, K., **Minieri, A. M.**, Pascale-Hague, D., Gerrard, L. L., Gifford, B. L., Grossl, B., McCants, L., Monge, A., Roll, B., Sievers, H. M., Ward, C. A., & White, C. L. (August, 2010). *Client feedback in psychotherapy: Improving outcome and empowering clients*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, San Diego, CA.

Remer, R. R., McClellan, M., **Minieri, A. M.**, & Miserocchi, K. M. (August, 2010). *Impact of undergraduate diversity courses on students' cultural awareness*. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, San Diego, CA.

Minieri, A., Staton-Tindall, M., Scott, J., & Yates, C. (March, 2010). *The relationship between social support and mental health among women in residential substance abuse treatment*. Poster session presented at the Kentucky Psychological Association Student Conference, Louisville, KY.

Basow, S. A., & **Minieri, A. M.** (August, 2007). *“You owe me”*: How dating costs affect rape judgments. Poster session presented at the annual American Psychological Association conference, San Francisco, CA.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Website Coordinator, Division 35, Society for the Psychology of Women, *Fall 2012-present*.
University of Kentucky Campus Representative, Division 35, Society for the Psychology of Women, *Fall 2012-Spring 2013*.

Student Reviewer for proposals submitted to Division 17, Society of Counseling Psychology, for the annual American Psychological Association conference, *Fall 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014*.

Student Reviewer for proposals submitted to National Multicultural Conference and Summit, *Summer 2012*.

Student Representative for task force to prepare Accreditation Self-Study of Counseling Psychology Program at the University of Kentucky, *Spring 2010*.

First and Second Year Doctoral Student Representative to Counseling Psychology Area Committee at the University of Kentucky, *Fall 2007-Spring 2009*.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Carol Williams-Nickelson Award for Women’s Leadership and Scholarship in Women’s Issues from the American Psychological Association of Graduate Students, 2013.

Third Place Student Poster Award from Division 50, Society for the Psychology of Addiction, for poster presentation at American Psychological Association convention, Orlando, FL, 2012.

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) travel award to attend Early Career Poster Session/ Social Hour at American Psychological Association convention, Orlando, FL, 2012.

Junior Investigator Travel Award to attend grant workshop sponsored by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) at Addiction Health Services Research (AHSR) conference, Lexington, KY, 2010.

Scholarship to attend *Teaching the Psychology of Men* workshop presented by Drs. James O’Neil, Chris Kilmartin, Michael Addis, and Mark S. Kiselica at American Psychological Association convention, San Diego, CA, 2010.

Rogers Award, awarded annually to the outstanding senior psychology major at Lafayette College judged by the department to be the most deserving, 2007.

Phi Beta Kappa, 2007.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Psychological Association Graduate Student (APAGS) member

American Psychological Association, Division 17 student affiliate

American Psychological Association, Division 35 student affiliate

American Psychological Association, Division 51 student affiliate