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Chapter 13

“Coaching Boys into Men”: A Social Norms Change Approach to Sexual Violence Prevention

Elizabeth Miller, Maria Catrina D. Jaime and Heather M. McCauley

Sexual Violence Prevention as a Gendered Problem

Educating men and boys to adopt gender equitable, nonviolent attitudes are increasingly recognized by major global health organizations as a promising public health strategy to prevent violence against women and girls and to improve health outcomes for both sexes (Barker et al. 2007; International Center for Research on Women [ICRW] 2007; United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA] 2010). A growing body of research has found males' attitudes and behaviors that endorse violence against women, blame women for sexual violence, foster homophobia, and uphold rigid distinctions in gender roles are associated with poor health outcomes for men (including HIV infection) and increased violence victimization and poor outcomes for women (Barker et al. 2007; Courtenay 2000; Jewkes et al. 2011; Santana et al. 2006). Health interventions that focus on promoting gender equity demonstrably reduce violence and substance use, increase condom use, decrease transactional sex, and increase communication between couples (Barker et al. 2005, 2007; ICRW 2007; UNFPA 2010; Jewkes et al. 2008, 2010a, b; Miller et al. 2008, 2012; Pulerwitz et al. 2006). Thus, the World Health Organization (WHO) has concluded that health promotion efforts should include opportunities “to critically

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reflect about, question or change institutional practices and broader social norms that create and reinforce gender inequality and vulnerability for men and women” (Barker et al. 2007, p. 11). Efforts to integrate gender equity into gender violence prevention programs have been referred to as ‘gender transformative’ programs. This chapter explores the “Coaching Boys Into Men” (CBIM) program, which is an evidence-based sexual and dating violence prevention program that teaches coaches to talk to their male athletes about nonviolence, respect, and healthy masculinity. This is one promising approach for integrating masculinity norms change into sexual violence prevention while also raising some potential challenges, limitations, as well as directions for future research.

Gender equity has been defined by WHO, UNFPA, and other global organizations as (1) supportive relationships based on respect and equality rather than sexual conquest, (2) involvement as a partner/father in terms of childcare and household activities, (3) shared responsibility for reproductive health, and (4) opposition to violence against women (Barker et al. 2007; UNFPA 2010). While female-perpetrated violence (including sexual violence) is also a concern for violence prevention, differences between female-perpetrated and male-perpetrated violence can be examined through a gender and power framework as cultural practice, recognizing differences in risk factors for abuse perpetration (Follingstad et al. 1998; Foshee et al. 2001; Hines and Saudino 2003; Reed 2008; Reed et al. 2010; Tharp et al. 2013). Specifically, attitudes that denigrate women, promote homophobia, and legitimize sexual violence perpetration have been identified as key modifiable risk factors for male-perpetrated violence (Abbey and McAuslan 2004; Cleveland et al. 2003; Degue and DiLillo 2004; Foshee et al. 2004, 2001; Hines 2007; McMahon 2010; Reed 2008; Santana et al. 2006; Warkentin and Gidycz 2007; Wekerle and Wolfe 1998). Because sexual violence perpetration (and associated dating abuse and intimate partner violence) often emerges in the context of male peers who demonstrate negative attitudes toward females, hold bias-based prejudices regarding homosexuality, and condone abuse perpetration, prevention requires addressing perpetrator attitudes and behaviors as well as the peer environment in which they are embedded (Berkowitz 2002; Espelage et al. 2000, 2001, 2008; McMahon et al. 2011; Reed et al. 2008, 2011). Perceived peer tolerance for sexual violence promotes individual likelihood of these behaviors, and reduces comfort and ability to intervene when faced with negative behaviors among peers, contributing to a social climate that enables such behavior. Sexual violence prevention programs with college males demonstrate that combining change in gender attitudes with a bystander approach can result in greater reduction in sexual aggression than a bystander approach alone (Banyard et al. 2004; Foubert and Newberry 2006).

Sex category differences in sexual violence perpetration are also apparent during adolescence. While adolescent males experience violence victimization and prevention efforts addressing girls’ violence perpetration are needed (Mulford and Giordano 2008), the recent National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) data highlight the alarming rates of teen dating violence (TDV; physical and sexual violence and psychological aggression in adolescent dating relationships) and sexual violence

(SV; sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape) victimization among women and girls in the U.S. (Black et al. 2011). Sexual and intimate partner violence affect an estimated 1 in 3 women across the lifespan, and disproportionately impact adolescent girls (Black et al. 2011; Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS] 2000; Masho et al. 2005; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998; Vagi et al. 2015). Nearly 1 in 3 adolescent girls in the U.S. is a victim of physical, emotional, or verbal abuse by a dating partner, 1 in 5 adolescent girls report physical or sexual violence by a dating partner, and over 1 in 10 high school girls report forced sex (Basile et al. 2006; Davis 2008; Eaton et al. 2012; Silverman et al. 2001). In a survey of severe TDV among 12–17 year olds, girls were 4.7 times more likely to be victimized than boys (Wolitzky-Taylor et al. 2008). Almost 80 % of women sexually assaulted indicate their first such experience was before the age of 25, a similar proportion reported by female rape and stalking victims in NISVS (Black et al. 2011; Masho et al. 2005; Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Women ages 16–24 report the highest rates of violence by a partner; women ages 12–19 have the highest rates of rape and sexual assault (Black et al. 2011; BJS 2000; Hamberger and Ambuel 1998; Truman and Rand 2010). With broader definitions of SV inclusive of coercive sexual experiences (e.g., unwanted sexual intercourse or contact), an estimated 28–70 % of adolescent females are affected (Masho et al. 2005; Raj et al. 2000; Rickert et al. 2005). TDV/SV victimization is associated with poor adolescent health, including suicidality, depression, substance use, unintended pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infections (Ackard and Neumark-Sztainer 2003; Amar and Gennaro 2005; Champion et al. 2008; Howard et al. 2003, 2007; Lehrer et al. 2007; Ramisetty-Mikler et al. 2006; Silverman et al. 2001; Callahan et al. 2003).

Even among younger ages, TDV/SV perpetration has notable sex category differences. A study with 7th graders found girls were twice as likely to have been sexually victimized than boys, while boys reported forced sex perpetration four times more than girls (Swahn et al. 2008; Espelage et al. 2012). In a study with 6th and 7th graders, 1 in 5 students ever perpetrated physical or sexual TDV, and close to 50 % perpetrated sexual harassment, with boys 1.2 times more likely to report sexual harassment and violence perpetration (Taylor et al. 2013). In the American Association of University Women survey among students grades 7–12, girls were 40 % more likely to be sexually harassed than boys; boys were 28 % more likely than girls to report sexually harassing others (Hill and Kearl 2011). Harassment in person and cyberspace occurs more frequently against girls than boys; girls report being more negatively affected by such behaviors (American Association of University Women [AAUW] 2001; Hill and Kearl 2011; Ormerod et al. 2008; Sagrestano 2009).

TDV/SV perpetration prevention, then, should be considered through a gender lens, to challenge attitudes and behaviors regarding masculinity norms tied to expectations for sexual violence. This “gender transformative” approach targets adolescent males in early and mid-adolescence as their attitudes around gender, sexuality, and intimate relationships are being shaped. “Gender transformative” refers to a theory- and evidence-based approach that seeks to alter gender norms that foster TDV/SV perpetration, while also promoting bystander intervention (i.e.,

giving boys skills to recognize and interrupt disrespectful and abusive behaviors they witness among peers), to reduce TDV/SV perpetration and *gender-based violence* more broadly (violence perpetrated against persons on the basis of their gender) (Barker et al. 2007; ICRW 2007; Pulerwitz et al. 2006).

Focus on Adolescence

The 2013 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System included an item about sexual violence victimization in the context of a dating relationship (i.e., “force you to do sexual things that you did not want to do? (Include such things as kissing, touching, or being physically forced to have sexual intercourse.)”) Fourteen percent of high school females and 6 % of high school males reported this occurring at least once in the past year (Vagi et al. 2015). Females also reported a higher prevalence of physical dating violence victimization compared to males. A focus on adolescence for sexual violence prevention acknowledges this highly dynamic period when youth are exploring emerging sexual and gender identities and their romantic and sexual attractions. While not the focus of this chapter, it is also worth noting that youth who have experienced early exposure to violence, childhood sexual abuse, and harassment (such as homophobic teasing) are also at heightened risk for unhealthy relationships and sexual violence victimization (as well as perpetration) as they enter adolescence. Behaviors that increase this vulnerability include earlier age of onset of sexual intercourse, multiple sexual partners, and use of drugs or alcohol with sexual activity. Thus, prevention efforts should also ensure that youth with prior exposure to such traumas receive appropriate intervention and supports.

Teen dating violence (TDV) and sexual violence (SV) are also common among younger adolescents. In a study of over 5000 6th graders, 42 % of dating students (about half the sample) reported being victimized by a boyfriend/girlfriend and 29 % reported TDV perpetration, with youth reporting high acceptance of TDV (Simon et al. 2010). In a national online survey, 1 in 5 teens (ages 11–14) said their friends have been victims of TDV; almost 50 % who were in relationships knew friends who were verbally abused (Teenage Research Unlimited 2008). A survey of 7th graders found 28 % of students reported being a victim of physical dating violence in the past year, and 22 % reported perpetrating physical violence in a dating relationship in the past year (Swahn et al. 2008). Similarly for SV, in the American Association of University Women survey of students grades 7–12, nearly 50 % of students had experienced some form of sexual harassment in the past academic year (Hill and Kearl 2011). The alarmingly high rates of TDV/SV reported among younger adolescents point to the need to target TDV/SV prevention among middle school and high school-age youth.

As youth age, TDV/SV increases (Wolitzky-Taylor et al. 2008; Pellegrini 2001). Our data from over 2000 male high school athletes in California showed that among 9th grade boys who ever dated, 14 % reported being abusive (physical, sexual, or verbal) toward a female partner in the preceding 3 months; this increased to 32 %

among 12th graders. A greater proportion of the self-reported abusive behaviors involved physical and sexual abuse in the higher grades. Similarly, 68 % of 9th grade athletes compared to 81 % of 12th grade athletes reported witnessing abusive behaviors perpetrated against girls by their male peers. Evidence that such behaviors are prevalent in adolescence and increase as youth age strongly supports the need for early primary prevention targeting early and mid-adolescence (McMaster et al. 2002; Noonan and Charles 2009).

A growing body of adolescent interpersonal violence literature is pointing to the overlap of SV, TDV, and bullying behaviors (Basile et al. 2009; Espelage et al. 2012; Finkelhor et al. 2005, 2009, 2010; Tharp et al. 2013). Verbal aggression and/or bullying during early adolescence can involve homophobic name-calling and sexual commentary or sexual touching, also referred to as sexual harassment (Phoenix et al. 2003). Sexual harassment and bullying behaviors are increasingly being linked to the onset of TDV and SV (Espelage et al. 2012, 2013; Kimmel and Mahler 2003). In a cross-sectional study of Canadian middle school youth, for example, students who reported bullying their peers also reported more violence in their dating relationships (both physical and social) than non-bullies (Connolly et al. 1997). Further, in a recent longitudinal study of the U.S. students, homophobic attitudes and teasing during middle school predicted verbal, physical, and sexual violence perpetration in dating relationships four years later into high school (Espelage et al. 2013). Given the interactional and relational aspects of SV, TDV, homophobic teasing and other sexual harassment, it is likely these behaviors are developmentally linked (Kimmel 2007; Quinn 2002). Prevention programs working with early adolescents need to connect homophobic teasing and sexual harassment that are not uncommon behaviors in this age group to their efforts to reduce TDV/SV perpetration, with an emphasis on helping younger adolescents recognize and understand the destructiveness of these behaviors.

Homophobic teasing among adolescents is prevalent (among adolescent males in particular) and is a specific form of gender-based victimization and sexual harassment that merits attention as an important precursor to SV perpetration (Basile et al. 2009; Espelage et al. 2012, 2013; Poteat et al. 2011). Homophobia, the underlying attitude that informs this form of teasing, is the negative beliefs, attitudes, stereotypes, and behaviors directed toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (Bernat et al. 2001; Kimmel and Mahler 2003). Examples of homophobic teasing include epithets that infer or otherwise expose the victim as homosexual, threats of physical violence, and social isolation. Homophobic teasing, while less studied, is a commonly reported experience, particularly by students who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. Rivers (2001) reported that gay and lesbian students frequently experienced incidents of name-calling (82 %) and being teased (58 %), and had incidents of assault (60 %). These students also experienced rumor spreading (59 %) and social isolation (27 %). But homophobic teasing is not only directed at sexual minority students. In California, a large-scale survey of students in grades 7–11 found that 7.5 % reported being bullied at school because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation (Furlong et al. 2005). Homophobic language is also often used by boys to reinforce their own (hyper) masculinity in groups of

other boys, regardless of whether they perceive their peers to be gay (Pascoe 2005; Kimmel et al. 2005; Poteat et al. 2011, 2012). Interventions focused on TDV/SV perpetration prevention must attend to addressing homophobic attitudes and associated homophobic teasing and gender-based harassing behaviors.

Bystander Intervention Approach

Studies suggest the utility of TDV/SV interventions rooted in Social Norms theory, which posits that individual behavior is informed by perceptions and misperceptions of others' attitudes and behaviors (Berkowitz 2002; Fabiano et al. 2003). The bystander approach, in which individuals are taught skills as active interveners in TDV/SV rather than responding with apathy or tolerance (DeGue et al. 2012; Miller et al. 2014b), is one strategy for promoting change within social contexts (Banyard et al. 2004; Foubert and Perry 2007). The bystander education approach involves training youth and young adults to speak up or to use strategies to interrupt disrespectful or harmful behaviors enacted by their peers. In a college sample, inclusion of bystander education facilitated greater modification of harmful attitudes regarding sexual violence (such as rape myth acceptance) as compared with standard sexual assault training (Foubert and Newberry 2006). Other sexual violence prevention programs have educated college students to intervene when faced with peers' TDV/SV perpetration, with increases in willingness to help as a bystander and decreases in rape myth acceptance (Banyard et al. 2007; Gidycz et al. 2011; Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al. 2011; McMahon et al. 2011; Moynihan et al. 2011). This bystander approach has been shown to reduce sexual harassment among middle school students in New York (Taylor et al. 2013), and to increase positive bystander intervention behaviors related to TDV/SV among high school athletes in our study in California (Miller et al. 2012, 2013). Literature from younger populations highlight the utility of teachers and mentors in promoting bystander efforts, including a randomized trial of a bystander intervention approach to reduce bullying behaviors among elementary school students (Bauer et al. 2007; Espelage and Swearer 2003; Karna et al. 2011; Katz et al. 2011; Newman-Carlson and Horne 2004; Twemlow et al. 2004). Thus, a growing body of literature suggests the bystander approach does reduce abusive behaviors over time, including with the CBIM program described in greater detail below (Gidycz et al. 2011; Katz et al. 2011, Miller et al. 2013).

Development of “Coaching Boys into Men”

“Coaching Boys into Men” (CBIM) began as a public service announcement campaign in 2001 and evolved into a bystander intervention program over the course of a decade. The program, a coach-delivered intervention for adolescent

student-athletes, was based on an integrative review of the literature on TDV/SV, primary prevention programming for adolescents, and bystander intervention; founded on a solid theoretical model; and refined using athlete and coach feedback. CBIM meets the criteria for a “culturally appropriate” intervention, given that it is designed for a multi-ethnic, multiracial, multicultural audience with input from members of the target population, uses language the target population finds relatable, has staff who reflect the cultural diversity of the athletes and coaches, is conducted in an environment in which athletes normally meet and are comfortable, and incorporates diverse culturally based values, norms, expectations and attitudes (Gillum 2008). In January 2015, CBIM cards were updated to reflect that some athletes identify as gay/are in same sex relationships and to include more scripted discussions about homophobic teasing and sexual harassment.

Why Student-Athletes? Why Coaches?

Male student-athletes constitute an important target for TDV/SV prevention, given the prevalence of abuse perpetration among athletes and their endorsement of attitudes supportive of violence against women (Boeringer 1999; McCauley et al. 2013, 2014; Moynihan et al. 2011). Athletes also demonstrate greater leadership skills compared to nonathletes, suggesting that interventions with this population may diffuse through student populations (Dobosz and Beaty 1999; Jackson and Davis 2000; Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005; Katz et al. 2011). Nationally, over 80 % of school-age children participate in formal athletics programs, also highlighting that athletics represents an important out-of-classroom setting for prevention programming (Hilgers 2006; “POP 1 Child” 2012).

Coaches are a natural ally for such interventions; their role as influential, non-parental role models renders them uniquely poised to positively impact how young men think and behave (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005). Most coaches recognize their role in teaching life skills, and willingly incorporate discussions about character and conduct into their coaching (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005). Supportive coach–youth relationships as well as engaging in sports decrease the risk of problem behaviors among young people, nurturing positive youth development (Benson et al. 1998; Lerner et al. 2000; National Research Council and Institute of Medicine 2002). Training coaches to talk to young male athletes about preventing TDV/SV is a strategy to reduce abuse perpetration. Recent literature suggests that some coaches may also have a negative influence on youth through use of demeaning language and other bullying behaviors, thus coaches do need appropriate training and support to deliver such prevention messages (Lyndon et al. 2011; Swigonski et al. 2014). Our data on coaches from the high school cluster-randomized controlled trial demonstrated that training coaches to talk to their athletes about TDV/SV is acceptable and feasible, coaches’ attitudes and behaviors can be shifted, and coach–athlete relationships are meaningful for youth (Jaime et al. 2014; Miller et al. 2011a, b).

The Intervention

CBIM (a) uses adult, male coaches as the social learning role models; (b) communicates coaches' expectations for positive masculine behaviors to result in violence reduction; (c) communicates a belief that nonviolence and respect in relationships is a valuable societal, community, and team goal; (d) communicates coaches' and peers' disapproval of harmful and disrespectful behaviors; and (e) provides motivation for athletes to support one another to reinforce positive bystander intervention behaviors (i.e., speaking up and interrupting disrespectful and harmful behaviors, especially among fellow team mates, and refusing to go along with or ignore those incidents) and respectful interpersonal conduct.

The CBIM Coaches' Training is a 2–3 h program, which has been extended from the original 60-min training based on feedback from stakeholders. All coaches receive the Coaches Kit (www.coachescorner.org) to support their implementation of the CBIM intervention among their male athletes. Coaches are guided to address all aspects of the program hypothesized to increase athletes' likelihood of positively intervening in cases of male peers' disrespectful or abusive behaviors toward females, and to decrease the likelihood that male athletes will engage in such behaviors themselves. The rationale, as illustrated below, is when coaches define and identify what counts as disrespectful and coercive behavior, promote gender-equitable attitudes and norms that place value on respectful interpersonal relationships, and educate athletes on the importance of engaging in and supporting one another in positive bystander intervention that leads to the athletes having an increased awareness of and ability to identify disrespectful/abusive behaviors, developing more gender-equitable and respectful attitudes, and increasing their intentions to intervene as bystanders with peers. In turn, these attitudes and intentions lead to increased bystander intervention behavior by the athletes, and decreased abuse/coercion behavior (and homophobic teasing or sexual harassment behavior) on the part of the athletes.

The Conceptual Framework

Consistent with Social Norms Theory and Theory of Reasoned Action, Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) trains coaches in three core intervention components to: (1) raise awareness about the scope of abuse while promoting respectful alternatives, (2) promote gender-equitable attitudes, and (3) encourage positive bystander intervention when witnessing disrespectful behaviors among peers. By making clear expectations for positive masculine behaviors and strong disapproval of harmful and disrespectful behaviors, this intervention is intended to correct athlete misperceptions that others endorse violence against women and to promote subjective norms of nonviolence and respect for women (see Fig. 13.1).

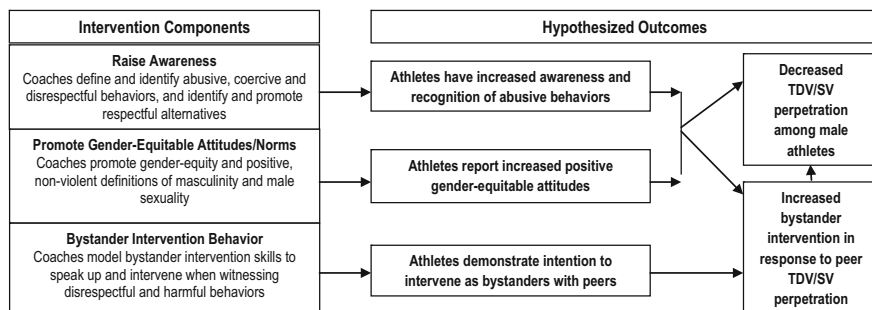


Fig. 13.1 Conceptual model of intervention design and hypothesized outcomes

Coaches raise awareness about the scope of abuse and define respectful alternatives. Many young men demonstrate limited knowledge about what constitutes abusive behavior, and many do not define abusive behaviors as such, limiting recognition of their own behavior, and that of others, as problematic (Jaycox et al. 2006; Pinzone-Glover et al. 1998; Oswald and Russel 2006; Rothman et al. 2006; Scott and Straus 2007; Wood 2005). Educational efforts have demonstrated success in increasing college males’ understanding of the impact of TDV/SV on victims (Foubert and Perry 2007; Pinzone-Glover et al. 1998). Evidence that increased attention to the scope of abuse can prompt reflection on personal behavior (Connolly et al. 1997; Miller et al. 2014b), and that education can clarify definitions of abuse further strengthens the rationale for raising awareness of abuse in the athletic context (Foubert and Perry 2007; Pinzone-Glover et al. 1998; Verma et al. 2006). In the college setting, inclusion of awareness training with bystander education facilitated greater development of empathy toward TDV/SV victims as compared with standard training (Foubert and Newberry 2006). Witnessing peers enacting disrespectful and abusive behaviors is common, further underscoring the need to clearly define healthy, respectful alternatives to abusive behavior (Reed et al. 2008; Silverman et al. 2006; Verma et al. 2006).

Coaches promote gender-equitable attitudes and norms. Promotion of gender-equitable attitudes has been integrated into TDV/SV prevention interventions focused on males (Barker et al. 2007; ICRW 2007; Schewe 2002; Verma et al. 2006). SV prevention programs with college males demonstrate that combining change in gender attitudes with a bystander approach can result in greater reduction in sexual aggression (Banyard et al. 2004; Foubert and Newberry 2006). In our study with high school athletes, youth on football and basketball teams held more inequitable gender attitudes, which in turn was associated with greater abuse perpetration toward female partners (McCauley et al. 2013, 2014). Evidence that gender norms are socially reinforced and that male role models wield influence suggests that addressing gender norms within sport (especially sports regarded as more ‘hypermasculine’ such as football) may be an effective means of shifting young men toward more positive gender-equitable attitudes (Christine 2003; Reed et al. 2008, 2011).

Coaches incorporate positive bystander intervention behavior and observational learning. Athletes learn from role models, i.e., coaches. By observing coaches and peers intervene when witnessing inappropriate behavior, athletes develop skills and confidence to intervene themselves. Rooted in Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), this observational learning aims to modify individual behavior and social context (Bandura 1989). Observing appropriate bystander behavior provides direct training for athletes to intervene positively themselves while also influencing the peers around them, which creates a social climate that promotes such intervention. CBIM aims to increase youth's self-efficacy by promoting skills in intervening as a bystander when witnessing abusive behavior perpetrated by peers. As behavior change is rarely unidirectional, SCT posits intervention occurs at both the environmental and individual level (Baranowski et al. 2002). Individual and environment synergistically interact—CBIM activities lead to attitude and behavior change among teammates in addition to changes among individual athletes themselves (Story et al. 2002; Bandura 2004). The utility of observational learning integrated with raising awareness and gender norms change is bolstered by evaluations of bystander programs for college students which highlight that awareness of the problem, skills to intervene, and opportunity to view role models for such behavior are critical elements to serve as effective bystanders (Banyard et al. 2004). Engaging in positive bystander behaviors is in turn associated with reductions in abuse perpetration (Banyard et al. 2004; Foshee et al. 1998; Foubert and Newberry 2006; Katz et al. 2011).

CBIM is innovative in three key ways: (1) It is a novel TDV/SV prevention program that targets adolescent male athletes as key youth leaders and peer influencers; (2) It trains coaches, who are key adult role models and influencers of young male athletes, in TDV/SV prevention thus implementing primary prevention that does not rely on teachers or classroom time; and (3) It integrates gender norms change with a bystander intervention approach (promoting gender-equitable attitudes while building skills to interrupt disrespectful and harmful behaviors toward females) to reduce TDV/SV perpetration among adolescents. The literature on evidence-based TDV/SV prevention programs is limited (Heise 1998; Howard et al. 2003, 2007), there is only one other evidence-based TDV/SV prevention program that is developmentally tailored for middle school-age youth (Taylor et al. 2013); and there are no evidence-based TDV/SV programs for youth that take place outside of the classroom setting (Foshee et al. 1998; Taylor et al. 2013; Wolfe et al. 2009).

CBIM is the first program to employ a TDV/SV prevention strategy for youth that involves athletic coaches as the primary educators, rather than using a classroom teacher or community violence prevention advocate. Coaches have been under utilized and overlooked in TDV/SV prevention efforts, and can be potential sources of health promotion with youth. One of the primary advantages of this approach is it can be integrated into a school's existing athletic program, making it as less expensive and less time consuming than classroom-based education. A second advantage is that this approach may be more effective, because male athletes may model their behavior more after their athletic coaches than their classroom teachers, due to the time commitment and coach–athlete bond that develops over the camaraderie for the game. Further, bystander intervention combined with changing gender attitudes is an

innovative approach for SV prevention in adolescence. “Bystander intervention” prevents SV with college students, bullying behaviors with elementary school students, and TDV perpetration among high school male athletes from our CBIM 12 month follow up data (see below) (Banyard et al. [2004](#), [2007](#); Foubert and Newberry [2006](#); Foubert and Perry [2007](#); Karna et al. [2011](#); Miller et al. [2013](#)). This strategy, much like the successful “Friends Don’t Let Friends Drive Drunk” campaign against drunk driving in the 1980s, is particularly salient for adolescents as individuals are not only targeted for behavior change themselves, but are persuaded to intervene with friends and other peers (Hudson and Bloom [1984](#)). Developmentally, youth are primed to care deeply about what peers think and do, while less prepared to be self-critical about their own behaviors. Equipping adolescents with skills to intervene with peers, then, is a logical way of bringing about behavior change while avoiding the “trap” of targeting youth directly.

Research and Practice-Based Evidence

CBIM has undergone rigorous testing as well as ongoing iterative evaluations in the U.S. and in India. Several of these studies are summarized here.

High School Male Athlete Randomized Controlled Trial

We examined the effectiveness of CBIM in a cluster-randomized trial among high school male athletes in California (CDC CE001561-01, PI Miller). The unit of randomization was the high school (16 schools) and the unit of analysis, the athlete ($N = 2006$ students). Athletes were assessed before the start of the sports season, immediately at the end of the sports season, and again 12 months after baseline. Intervention athletes’ changes in intentions to intervene were positive compared to controls, resulting in an estimated intervention effect of 0.13 (95 % CI 0.02, 0.24). Intervention athletes also reported higher levels of positive bystander intervention behavior than controls (0.25, 95 % CI 0.13, 0.38) (Miller et al. [2012](#)). The 12 month follow up data indicate that CBIM appears to have an important protective effect: 17 % of intervention arm athletes reported any past 3 month abuse perpetration toward a female partner at baseline compared to 15 % at 12 month follow up; in contrast, 14 % of control athletes reported any past 3 month perpetration at baseline which increased to 20 % at 12 month follow up. Relative to control athletes, intervention athletes demonstrated less overall past 3-month dating abuse perpetration at 12 months, resulting in an estimated intervention effect of -0.15 (95 % CI: -0.27 , -0.03). Intervention athletes also reported lower levels of negative bystander behaviors (i.e., laughing and going along with peers’ abusive behaviors) compared to controls (-0.41 , 95 % CI: -0.72 , -0.10) (Miller et al. [2013](#)). These findings support the effectiveness of this athletics-based prevention

program as a strategy to help reduce TDV/SV, as an adjunct to more comprehensive TDV/SV prevention efforts.

Additionally, while changes in gender attitudes over time were not significant in the high school study, boys with more gender-equitable attitudes were less likely to perpetrate abuse against their dating partners at baseline (0.29, 95 % CI 0.22, 0.37) (McCauley et al. 2013). Moreover, among students who witnessed peer-perpetrated abuse, for every one negative intervention behavior reported (meaning the respondent reported laughing or going along with the behavior), boys had a 22 % increase in odds of perpetrating abuse themselves (1.22, 95 % CI 1.10, 1.35) (McCauley et al. 2013). These findings underscore the rationale for focusing on both changing bystander intervention behaviors and targeting gender-inequitable attitudes as a strategy to reduce TDV/SV.

Analyses of the type of sport, gender-inequitable attitudes, and TDV perpetration identified that football and basketball are most closely associated with gender-inequitable attitudes and abuse perpetration. Gender-inequitable attitudes (adjusted odds ratio (AOR), 3.26; 95 % confidence interval (CI), 2.56, 4.15), participation in both high school football and basketball (AOR, 2.08; 95 % CI, 1.37, 3.18), and participation in football only (AOR, 1.50; 95 % CI, 1.02, 2.22) emerged as independently associated with recent TDV perpetration, highlighting the cultures of specific sports that may condone hypermasculine and aggressive behaviors (McCauley et al. 2014).

The CBIM high school study also assessed changes in coaches' attitudes and behaviors. Analyses from the coach preseason and immediate post-season surveys revealed significant differences in coaches' confidence talking to athletes about stopping violence against women and girls and increased bystander intervention behaviors (Jaime et al. 2014). In subsequent interviews, coaches described how the program encouraged them to think about their own behaviors and language. Moreover, coaches reported how the program structure allowed them to intentionally engage in meaningful conversations and have unanticipated discussions with their athletes about respect and nonviolence. Similarly, high school athletes who received CBIM described how these messages from their coaches translated into noticeable changes in the language and behaviors of themselves and their fellow athletes. The athletes also highlighted that the program allowed them to have discussions around topics they otherwise may not have talked about.

Parivartan—CBIM Adaptation for Cricket Coaches and Middle School Athletes in Mumbai, India

Funded by the Nike Foundation, Miller (PI) in partnership with the International Center for Research on Women (based in New Delhi, India) and Futures Without Violence embarked on an adaptation of CBIM in India, where cricket is highly popular, a 'male only' sport, and associated with aggressive behaviors on the field. Following a one year period of formative research to understand the role of cricket

coaches and strategies for engaging them in gender violence prevention, “Parivartan” (meaning change or transformation) was developed and pilot tested with a quasi-experimental design involving 44 urban schools in Mumbai (25 intervention and 19 controls) among middle school cricket athletes (ages 10–16) (Miller et al. 2014a, b). *Among this younger sample, the program demonstrated increases toward more gender-equitable attitudes (0.28, 95 % CI 0.12–0.43) among intervention athletes compared to controls, and marginally significant reductions in negative bystander behaviors* (Das et al. 2012; Miller et al. 2014a, b). A primary difference with the India adaptation compared to the U.S. was an intensive focus on introducing and training coaches in a ‘gender transformative’ approach; that is, coaches participating in Parivartan attended a three-day workshop dedicated to exploring gender norms and how to work with boys to change their gender attitudes. Such time-intensive training for coaches in the U.S. athletic setting is challenging to implement, and raises questions about how much training for coaches is both feasible and necessary to achieve successful implementation of the program as intended.

CBIM Adaptation Study

As part of a broader effort at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Division of Violence Prevention Research and Evaluation Branch, CDC researchers (Friere, PI) are leading an in-depth examination of strategies and implications of adaptations to existing violence prevention programs, including Coaching Boys into Men. This Robert Wood Johnson-funded mixed-methods study in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Miller, site-PI) focuses on whether having a coach versus a violence prevention advocate as the implementer results in different program outcomes as well as acceptability for schools, coaches, and athletes. Using DV advocates in addition to coaches could increase the spread and reach of CBIM by increasing the number of potential implementers. Additionally, for coaches reticent to implement the program on their own, having a DV advocate present some of the material initially so that a coach can gain increasing familiarity with the material is another potential implementation adaptation to consider. In this adaptation study where we assessed the acceptability and feasibility of an advocate delivering the program compared to coaches delivering the program as well as intervention effects, no significant differences by implementer emerged in athletes’ intentions to intervene, knowledge of abuse, or positive bystander behaviors. While athletes reported positive views of and relationships to both coaches and the DV advocate, the athletes also reflected on how having their coaches engage in these serious discussions was meaningful. Findings suggest that athletes may be receptive to CBIM messages delivered by both coaches and male DV advocates because survey results had similar athlete outcomes. Based on athlete’s reflections, the reasons the DV advocate was well received, despite being an “outsider,” include because he invested time and effort to cultivate relationships with athletes, build rapport as a nonjudgmental ally, employ an interactive

delivery style, demonstrate his expertise, and integrate himself into the team setting (Jaime et al. 2016).

Adapting and Testing CBIM for Middle School Male Athletes

Futures Without Violence, responsible for national implementation of CBIM, receives frequent feedback from coaches who work with both high school and middle school athletes. These coaches (including those from the high school RCT and the adaptation study in Pittsburgh described above) encouraged testing this program with middle school male athletes. A cluster-randomized controlled trial in over 30 middle schools in Pittsburgh, PA is currently ongoing (CDC R01CE002543). Key adaptations include some change in program content to integrate more discussion about sexual harassment and homophobic teasing (training cards revised in January 2015) and inclusion of broader measures for sexual harassment and related sexual violence perpetration beyond just dating abuse. While we encourage coaches to implement the training cards in sequence without skipping, we know from our previous studies that some coaches will inevitably adapt, skip over, or emphasize particular training cards over others. Thus, the tracking and observations of coaches' delivery of the program has been a key element of building practice-based evidence for the field and to guide technical assistance to violence prevention advocates, school administrators, and coaches themselves about how best to implement this program.

We have not yet conducted a formal cost-benefit analysis of this prevention program. The approximate costs for program implementation are primarily personnel costs, i.e., the time for a violence prevention advocate or CBIM trainer to (1) reach out to school administrators and coaches (to conduct an organizational assessment and formalize the partnership with schools, athletic departments and coaches through a memorandum of understanding), (2) introduce the program to coaches in an introductory training (a half to full day training appears to be optimal to allow time for coaches to practice implementing specific cards), and (3) observe and provide real-time support to coaches implementing the program throughout the sports season. The cost of the printed Coaches Kit (which can be downloaded for free online at www.coachescorner.org) is approximately \$42.

Challenges with “Coaching Boys into Men” as a Community-Level SV Intervention Strategy

While CBIM has been used with co-ed sports and adapted by coaches for girls teams, anecdotally, to date, there has not been a parallel “Coaching Girls into Women” program, recognizing the sexual and dating violence experiences and the risk and protective factors related to adolescent females' aggression are not simply

parallel with adolescent males. The lack of focus on girls is certainly a limitation of this program. Also given the focus on athletes, this program in its current form does not target nonathletes who might also benefit from such program content. The role and meaning of having the coach deliver these consistent messages around respect and nonviolence are a core component of this program.

An additional limitation and challenge associated with CBIM are unintended consequences of program implementation by coaches who do not necessarily subscribe to gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors. Our observational data to date suggests that coaches are far more comfortable and willing to encourage positive bystander behaviors than to discuss intimacy, sexual consent, and sexual violence. While many prevention programs focused on social norms change employ this bystander behavior approach, the extent to which bystander approaches may fail to recognize gender-inequitable practice as problematic or may reinforce gender-inequitable attitudes unintentionally (i.e., girls are weak and need to be protected) has not been examined. That is, do programs using bystander approaches attend to gender-inequitable practice? What are the limitations of gender-neutral bystander approaches?

Future Directions

In summary, CBIM is one evidence-based program to prevent SV that has a strong theoretical and empiric base. Improvements to the training for coaches to ensure that they have greater comfort with the material prior to implementation are needed. We are also looking at adapting and testing the program for the college athletic setting (with more discussion of excessive drinking and sexual consent). Additionally, we are exploring additional more in-depth programming that brings together gender norms change with bystander behavior interventions and discussions of healthy masculinity and healthy sexuality. Such intensive programming is likely beyond the scope of what coaches would be willing or could be trained to do, thus SV prevention must always consider multiple other strategies and levels (including parent communication and community-level social norms change) so that youth and young adults are receiving consistent, repeated messages about respect, responsibility, and consent from multiple sources. This includes engaging parents, youth advocates, teachers and school administrators, school nurses and counselors, policymakers, healthcare providers, and other social service providers serving youth.

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